Encyclopædia

of

Religion and Ethics
Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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<td>Methodism (Doctrine)</td>
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<td>Meletianism</td>
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Magic (Babylonian).

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Momentary Gods.

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Monophysitian, Monotheliasm.

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Mononites.

LATTE (Kurt).
Königsberg.

Love (Greek).

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Montanism.

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Modernism.

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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).

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Marriage (Slavice).

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Melancholy.

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Monotony and Henotheism.

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Literature (Chinese), Love (Chinese), Mencius, Siblicus.

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Light and Darkness (Christian), Ministry (Early Christian).

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Marcionism.

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Men, The.

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Magic (Slavie).

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Life and Death (Greek and Roman).

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Magic (Introductory), Mana.
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Monarchism.

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Lotus of the True Law, Mahāyāna, Magic (Buddhist), Mahāvastu, Mahāyana, Manjusri, Mara, Materialism (Indian).

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<tr>
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| **Rivers (W. H. R.), M.A., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P.**  |
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| **Muhammadanism (in Persia)**. |

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Muhammadanism (in Central Asia).

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Moral Law.

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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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<tr>
<td>EV, EVV</td>
<td>English Version, Versions</td>
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<td>F.</td>
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<td>Germ.</td>
<td>German</td>
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<td>Gr.</td>
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<td>H.</td>
<td>Law of Holiness</td>
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<td>Heb.</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
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<td>Ir.</td>
<td>Irish</td>
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<td>Iran.</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

II. Books of the Bible

**Old Testament**

- Gn = Genesis
- Ex = Exodus
- Lv = Leviticus
- Nu = Numbers
- Dt = Deuteronomy
- Jos = Joshua
- Jg = Judges
- Ru = Ruth
- 1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel
- 1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings
- 1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles
- Ezr = Ezra
- Neh = Nehemiah
- Est = Esther
- Job
- Ps = Psalms
- Pr = Proverbs
- Ec = Ecclesiastes
- Ca = Canticles
- Is = Isaiah
- Jer = Jeremiah
- La = Lamentations
- Ezk = Ezekiel
- Dn = Daniel
- Hos = Hosea
- Jl = Joel
- Am = Amos
- Ob = Obadiah
- Jon = Jonah
- Mic = Micah
- Nah = Nahum
- Hab = Habakkuk
- Zeph = Zephaniah
- Hag = Haggai
- Zeo = Zechariah
- Ml = Malachi

**Apocrypha**

- 1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras
- 1 Te = Tobit
- Jth = Judith
- Te = Tobit
- Jth = Judith

**New Testament**

- Ad. = Additions to
- Est = Esther
- Wis = Wisdom
- Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiastes
- Bar = Baruch
- Three = Song of the Three Children
- Mt = Matthew
- Mk = Mark
- Lk = Luke
- Jn = John
- Ac = Acts
- Ro = Romans
- Co = Colossians
- Eph = Ephesians
- Php = Philippians
- Col = Colossians
- 1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians
- 1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy
- Tit = Titus
- Ph = Philemon
- 1 P = 1 Peter
- 1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, 3 John
- Jude
- Rev = Revelation

**Note:**

- LV = Revised Version
- RV = Revised Version margin
- Vulg. = Vulgate
- WH = Westcott and Hort's text
Lists of Abbreviations

III. For the Literature

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

Beehagen = Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch., 1888.
Benninger = Hdb. Archäologie, 1894.
Bruns = Sartorius = Syr. - Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert, 1880.
Darenbourg-Saglio = Dict. des ant. gr. et rom., 1886-90.
De la Saussaye = Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch., 1895.
Denzinger = Enchiridion Symbolorum, Freiburg in Br., 1911.
Dougherty = Arabia Deserta, 2 vols. 1888.
Grimm = Deutsche Mythologie, 3 vols. 1875-1878.
Hamburger = Religionsgeschichte der Bibel, 2 vols. 1872-1874.
Held = Altesreligion, 2 vols. 1894-1896.
Hottentot = Native Tribes of S. E. Africa, 1904.
Jubalville = Courte de Litt. celtique, 1-xxii, 1883 ff.
La Cimbrie = Etudes sur les religions sémitiques, 1894.
Lane = An Arabic-English Dictionary of the Koran, 1835 ff.
Lepsius = Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopien, 1849-1890.
Lichtenberger = Encyc. des sciences religieuses, 1876.
Listhaus = Handbuch der nord. Epigraphik, 1889.
Muir = Orig. Sanskrit Texts, 1858-1872.
Muss-Arnolt = A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language, 1894 ff.

Pauly-Wissowa = Realencycl. der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1894 ff.
Perrot-Chipiez = Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, 1881 ff.
Preller = Römische Mythologie, 1883.
Rivail = Religion des peuples non-civilisés, 1883.
Robinson = Biblical Researches in Palestine, 1856.
Roscher = Lexic. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie, 1884 ff.
Schneller = Leben nach dem Tod, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade = Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT, 1893.
Smend = Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch., 1899.
Smith (G. A.) = Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 1896.
Smith (W. R.) = Religion of the Semites, 1894.
Spencer (H.) = Principles of Sociology, 1885-1896.
Spencer-Gillen = Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1899.
Spencer-Gillen = Northern Tribes of Central Australia, 1904.
Swete = The OT in Greek, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
Tylor (E. B.) = Primitive Culture, 1871 (1909).
Webber = Judge's Theology on Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften, 1897.
Wiedemann = Die Religion der alten Ägypter, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, Religion of the Anc. Egyptians, 1897].
Wilkinson = Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 2 vols. 1878.
Zunz = Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, and other standard works frequently cited.

AAS = Archiv für Anthropologie.
AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
AG = Archiv für Geschichte der Wissenschaften.
AHB = American Historical Review.
AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
APJ = American Journal of Philology.
APP = American Journal of Philology.
AYKA = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
AJS = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatur.
AT = American Journal of Theology.
AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
APF = Archiv für Papyrologie.
AR = Anthropological Review.
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAIN</td>
<td>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBTS</td>
<td>Calcutta Buddhist Text Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHC</td>
<td>Catholic Encyclopedia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGS</td>
<td>Cults of the Greek States (Farnell)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Census of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIÉ</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIG</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLI</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinae</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Sertalicarum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng.] tr. of KAT; see below</td>
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<tr>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Contemporary Review</td>
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<td>CRG</td>
<td>Celtic Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Classical Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>CQR</td>
<td>Church Quarterly Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSBL</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Latinorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>DACL</td>
<td>Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cahiers)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>Dict. of the Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCA</td>
<td>Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCH</td>
<td>Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Cheetham)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCQ</td>
<td>Dict. of Christ and the Gospels</td>
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<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>Dict. of Islam (Alam)</td>
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<td>DNB</td>
<td>Dict. of National Biography</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPP</td>
<td>Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DWF</td>
<td>Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften</td>
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<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia Biblica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBRE</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia Britannica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEFM</td>
<td>Egypt. Explor Fund Memoira</td>
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<td>EBIS</td>
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<td>ERS</td>
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<td>Expositor</td>
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<td>ET</td>
<td>Expository Times</td>
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<td>FHB</td>
<td>Fragments Histoire et Graecorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885)</td>
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<td>FL</td>
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<td>FLJ</td>
<td>Folklore Journal</td>
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<td>FLR</td>
<td>Folklore Record</td>
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<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Gazette Archaeologique</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB</td>
<td>Golden Bough (Frazer)</td>
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<td>GGA</td>
<td>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</td>
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<tr>
<td>GGN</td>
<td>Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen)</td>
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<td>GIAP</td>
<td>Grundzüge d. Indo-Arischen Philologie</td>
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<td>GRF</td>
<td>Grundzüge d. Iranischen Philologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>GVG</td>
<td>Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Geschichte des Volkes Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>Handbook of American Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBD</td>
<td>Hastings' Diet. of the Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>HEC</td>
<td>Historia Ecclesiastica</td>
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<td>HGL</td>
<td>Historical Geography of the Holy Land (6. A. Smith)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>History of Israel</td>
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<tr>
<td>JJ</td>
<td>Hibbert Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>JLP</td>
<td>History of the Jewish People</td>
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<tr>
<td>HN</td>
<td>Historia Naturalis (Pliny)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HWR</td>
<td>Handwörterbuch</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICA</td>
<td>International Critical Commentary</td>
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<td>ICOM</td>
<td>International Congress of Orientalists</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>Indian Census Report</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td>Inscrip. Graecae Antiquissimae</td>
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<td>IGI</td>
<td>Imperial Gazetteer of India ² (1888); new edition (1903-1909)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JIE</td>
<td>International Journal of Ethics</td>
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<tr>
<td>ITL</td>
<td>International Theological Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique</td>
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<td>JAF</td>
<td>Journal of American Folklore</td>
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<td>JAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Anthropological Institute</td>
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<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JASS</td>
<td>Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay</td>
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<td>JASBB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>JTBS</td>
<td>Journal of the Buddhist Text Society</td>
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<td>JDT</td>
<td>Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie</td>
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<td>JE</td>
<td>Jewish Encyclopedia</td>
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<td>JGOS</td>
<td>Journal of the German Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JHU</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University Circulars</td>
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<td>JHS</td>
<td>Journal of Hellenic Studies</td>
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<td>JLL</td>
<td>Julius Litteraturzeitung</td>
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<td>JPh</td>
<td>Journal of Philology</td>
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<td>JPT</td>
<td>Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie</td>
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<td>JPTS</td>
<td>Journal of the Punjab Text Society</td>
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<td>JQR</td>
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<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>JBAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch</td>
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<td>JBASO</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch</td>
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<td>JRNAK</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch</td>
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<td>JRGS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society</td>
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<td>JSST</td>
<td>Journal of Theological Studies</td>
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<td>KAT</td>
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<td>KAT</td>
<td>Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work) 1903</td>
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<td>KG</td>
<td>Keilschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878</td>
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<td>LOB</td>
<td>Literarisches Centrallblatt</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOPF</td>
<td>Literaturblatt für Oriental Philologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOT</td>
<td>Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>Legend of Persia (Hartland)</td>
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<td>LSS</td>
<td>Leipzig sem. Studien</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Mélanges</td>
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<td>MBW</td>
<td>Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften</td>
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<td>MGH</td>
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<td>Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde</td>
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<td>MGW</td>
<td>Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</td>
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<td>Mi</td>
<td>On the Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermann)</td>
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<td>MNPDV</td>
<td>Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</td>
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<td>MG</td>
<td>Methodist Review</td>
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<td>MVD</td>
<td>Mitthellungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</td>
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<td>MWJ</td>
<td>Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums</td>
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<td>NBAC</td>
<td>Nuovo Bulletin di Archeologia Cristiana</td>
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<td>NC</td>
<td>Nineteenth Century</td>
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<td>NHWB</td>
<td>Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch</td>
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<td>NINQ</td>
<td>North Indian Notes and Queries</td>
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<td>NZ</td>
<td>Neue Zeitschrift für Geschichte</td>
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<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Notes and Queries</td>
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<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft)</td>
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<td>NTZG</td>
<td>Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte</td>
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<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td>Oxford English Dictionary</td>
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<td>OLZ</td>
<td>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</td>
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<td>OS</td>
<td>Onomastica Sacra</td>
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<td>OTJC</td>
<td>Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith)</td>
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<td>OTF</td>
<td>Oriental Translation Fund Publications</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAOS</td>
<td>Proceedings of American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAMB</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay</td>
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</table>
LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

PB = Polychrome Bible (English).
PBE = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PC = Primitive Culture (Tyler).
PEFM = Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs.
PFEF = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PGL = Patrologia Graecia (Migne).
PJB = Preussische Jahrbücher.
PJL = Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PQ = Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).
PRE = Prof. Reisencyclopaedie (Hertzog-Hauer).
PRH = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PRS = Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PSPA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
PTS = Full Text Society.
RA = Revue Archéologique.
RAnth = Revue d'Anthropologie.
RAL = Royal Asiatic Society.
RASy = Revue d'Asiatriologie.
RB = Revue Biblique.
RBEW = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).
RC = Revue Critique.
RCB = Revue Celtique.
RCh = Revue Chrétienne.
RD = Revue des Deux Mondes.
RE = Reisencyclopaedie.
RGG = Revue des Études Grecques.
RGe = Revue Égyptologique.
RJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RÉ = Revue d'Éthnographie.
RH = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses.
RHI = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RN = Revue Numismatique.
RP = Records of the East.
RPH = Revue Philosophique.
RR = Romische Quartalschrift.
RS = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphe et d'Histoire ancienne.
RSA = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
RSI = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
RTAP = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.
RTS = Revue des traditions populaires.
RTAPh = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
RTv = Recueil de Travaux.
RV = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.
BW = Reiseberichte und Forschungen.
SBAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.

SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
SBB = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
SBOT = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SBB = Single vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SMA = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
SVAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
TAPA = Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASJ = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC = Tribes and Castes.
TES = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
TAZ = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
TAZ = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TRHS = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRESE = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSLA = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
ZAS = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAS = Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertums- wissenschaft.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDA = Zeitschrift für deutsche Altertum.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina- Vereins.
ZEE = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keil- und Schriftforschung.
ZKG = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKT = Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie.
ZM = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNNTW = Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
ZPFP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
ZTK = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZVK = Zeitschrift für Volkswunde.
ZVW = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZWT = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT, LOP, 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 immanence of life has 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., 1915, p. 436), who recognizes five 'elementary functions': (1) self-dissimilation; (2) self-preservation, including assimilation, growth, development, etc.; (3) self-reproduction; (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 psychological functions.

The persistent use of the prefix self, on the part of the founder of Entwicklungsmechanik, is very interesting. Prichram (Experimentelle Zoologie, i.) 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 albuminous 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 organism and not for other organisms; and (c) that they are correlated in such a way that they continue and the associated structure persists. Each of these peculiarities requires some explanation. Many chemical changes occur in the living organism, and some of them are of a relatively simple, but the essential changes appear to be concerned with protein or albu'minoid substances, which are always present. 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, and, although some are crystallizable, e.g. hemoglobin, they are not known in a crystalline state in the living organism; they are relatively stable bodies, yet they are continually being broken down and being built up again in the living body, partly under the direct influence of ferments or enzymes. The construction, synthesis, up-building, winding-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 part of the term 'metabolism', for which we have, unfortunately, no English equivalent like the fine German word Stoffwechsel, 'change of stuff'.

It is a noteworthy fact that each kind of organism, so far as we know, has its specific metabolism, its own chemical individuality. This is often well illustrated by the difference in the analogous chemical products in closely related species. There is a chemical specificity in the milk of nearly related animals and in the grapes of nearly related vines. It has become possible of recent years to make absolutely sure, within given limits, of the kind of animal to which a blood-stain is due—e.g., whether horse or ass. The familiar 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 finger-prints, but to his chemical molecules. We come back to what was said of old: 'All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is a kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds' (I Co 15) 1.

(c) In the ordinary chemical changes of the organism, as in the weathering of rocks in 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 same until it showed, for a short time at least, not merely activity, but persistent activity. The organism is like a clock, inasmuch as it is always running down and always being wound up; but, unlike a clock, it can wind itself up, if it gets the chemical processes are so correlated that up-building makes further down-breaking possible; the pluses balance the minuses; and the creature lives on. We are familiar with the self-preservative activity of an organism, but not less important is the continual maintenance of the specific chemical activity of each cell and of the correlated invisible structure or organization. It is an extraordinary fact that a particular functional activity in a nervous system 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 survive a 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 to prevent misunderstanding. The organism is no exception to the law of conservation of energy. In doing work and even in mere living it expends energy and suffers wear and tear. It cannot continue active unless it captures more energy and has means of 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. (2) 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 characteristic of life which is not in 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—neither consumption of fuel nor a living cell were to be made up quickly, no change of chemical composition would necessarily occur for some little time. But what exhibition would there be if the alleged fundamental characteristic of self-repair? It may be answered that the minute-up organism would be dead, whereas we are dealing with living organisms. Or it may be more shrewdly pointed out that the living unity of the body are adapted to chemical self-repair in particular conditions—e.g., an environment of other cells, which have been abolished by the mining. But perhaps the most instructive answer is the experimental one, that, if a sponge be mined up and forced through a cloth filter, little drops of the debris, placed in appropriate environment, will at once proceed to build themselves up into new sponges. (3) It has to be admitted that the criterion of life to which we are giving prominence is relative. Some organisms can keep going 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 seconds? How would they these hypothetical creatures have differed from the will of petals that flies from 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 reconstruction processes 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 responses to stimuli in no cases are 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. Not less important is an organism which balances its accounts 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 the scurvy, going concerns, but they have a very restricted basis 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 fundamentally characteristic of organisms—especially of plants. As regards income and output of energy, an organism is far and away more efficient than the engine that man has yet invented. The organism can make its income go farther. It allows a smaller proportion of energy to sink into unavailable form. It can turn potential energy into useful form, it has an engine that can work continuously without enormous waste. More than this, however, there is a power of laying by what can be used later on.

J. D. L. (The Abundance of Life. "Scient. Proc. Rog. Roy. Soc. Dublin," vii. [1891] 55-90) expressed the dynamic contrast long ago when he said that, whereas the transfer of energy into an insatiable material system was attended with effects conducive to dissipation and retaractivity to further transfer, the transfer of energy into an animate material system is attended with effects retarding of dissipation and conducive to further transfer. This seems to lead on to the criterion of growth. A surplus of income over expense 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 it is the existence of the plant world that has made it possible for animals to dispense, relatively speaking, with inorganic substances.

In the art. Growth 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 now 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 mere specialized modes of reproduction, such as budding and so on. Going back to the beginning of 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 outstrips—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 grows 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 disproportion is counteracted. It has also been suggested that there is a certain normal proportion between the nucleus and the cell substance or cytoplasm; it is difficult 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 can neither feed nor grow.

Thus, it is obvious that the nucleus is a trophic and respiratory centre of the cell. It may be that the division of the cell is a means of restoring the balance between volume and surface. The division of the cell is a fundamental feature of all cell nuclei.

The balance may also be restored by the emission of processes from the surface of the cell, as in rhizopod protozoa (Amoeba, Foraminifera, Radiolaria, etc.) or by a multiplication of nuclei, as often happens. But what has been suggested is a theory of the advantage of cell-division, not of the immediate physiological function for the cell.

As to this, it has been mooted that a period of growth is followed automatically by a process of 'antokatalysis,' but precise data are wanting. It cannot be gainsaid that the division of a cell remains one of the deep problems of biology. W. Bateson writes:

'I know nothing which a man well trained in scientific knowledge and method brings so vividly to life as the ignorance of the nature of life as the mystery of cell-division.

... The greatest advance I can conceive in biology would be the discovery of the nature of the instability which leads to the continual division of the cell. When I look at a dividing cell I feel as an astronomer might do if he beheld the formation of a double star; that an original act of creation is taking place before me' ([Problems of Genetics, p. 36].

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 constituents of the original nucleus. In some cases among higher animals and in many unicellular organisms the cell-division may be apparently less complicated than in the usual 'indirect' method. The cell contracts in a dumb-bell-like fashion, and the nucleus likewise. In some unicellular organisms there is fragmentation of the unit. It is probable that the complicated methods of cell-division which are now the rule are the results of a long period of evolution, and that the fundamental characteristic is simply division. In any case there is no doubt 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 has of growing and differentiating until it has literally reproduced the whole. Development is the expression of the latent possibilities of an imperfect organism in an appropriate environment. It is the blending visible of the indistinguishability 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-mutilation in the spasm of capture and finds safety in reflex device (for it often escapes and regrows at leisure whatever it has lost), may also (e.g., Linckia videogilii) habitually multiply in this rather expensive fashion.

Bateson quotes Sir Michael Foster's definition: 'A living thing is a vortex or cellular and molecular changes;' and points out that "the living thing differ from all others, this, that it can divide and throw off other 'vortices,' through which it can maintain a connection with other vortices which again matter continually swells. We may perhaps think of the parallel a stage further. A simple protoplasm, if projected in a suitable way will twist and form two rings. If each loop is formed, split, and grows and then twists again to form more loops, we should have a model representing several of the essential features of living things" (op. cit. p. 26). It has to be added, as we have seen, that the living
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'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.

(3) Environmental 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 organismically determined, correlated series of acts which leads to a definite result. 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 (tropisms, taxisms, insinuative behaviour, intelligent behaviour), but there is the common feature of correlation, of purposiveness (not necessarily purposefulness), and, usually, of individuality. When an amoeba 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 amoeba knows what it is about, but it is very difficult not to say that its awareness is accompanied by some analogue of 'will.' In the case of instinctive behaviour there is often an extraordinary adherence to routine, and this may defeat itself, but in ninety-nine cases the question of what is done is effective, and the individuality probably finds expression in ways that escape us. (b) The effectiveness which characterizes the behaviour of organisms (i.e. of those that show behaviour enough to be studied) in their system of experiments, or the results of successful ancestral experiments, or, usually, on both. It appears to us to be one of the insignia of the organism. The organism forms its experiments or the results of its experiences. We must here include under the term 'organism' the germ-cell, which is an organism implicit or in potentia, and may be said to make experiments in internal organization just as much as, in reality far more than, a protozoan which makes experiments in its skeletal architecture 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 the changes which take place in them is not lost, but retained, and as it were built into the organism to serve as the foundation for future action." (Lectures and Essays, London, 1879, p. 53).

As Bergson puts it,

"Il est la particularité des êtres vivants que, même dans le cas le plus sans influence extérieure, il y a un processus d'adaptation qui ne se perd pas et qui persiste."

As Jennings says, from the physiological point of view, in discussing the behaviour of the starfish.

"The resultant part shall act under the influence of the stimulus must be determined by the past history of that part; by the stimulus which 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 the present action).

We know as solidly we know anything in physiology that the history of an organism does modify it and its actions—so was not yet thoroughly understood, discomfited, and now the less real. (Behavior of the Starfish, University of California Publications in Zoology, iv, 1907, p. 177).

(c) The organism's variability or power of producing some distinctively new character must, in the present state of science, be taken as 'given.' The only capacity like it that we know of is our own power of mental experiment—the secret of the artist, the musician, the thinker, or the inventor. It may be noted that 'modifications' brought on the body by some peculiarity of nurture, environment, or germinal variations. They are important individually, but they are not known to affect the progeny in any representative fashion. We may also distinguish those negative variations which are of an ancestral character, like horns or a tail, for there are various opportunities in the history of the germ-cells for the dropping out of an hereditary item. Similarly, in regard to those variations which are plainly interpretable as new arrangements of previously expressed ancestral characters, there is no theoretical difficulty in seeing what is happening, however, is the origin of something definitely novel, especially when there 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, from amoeba to elephant, tries experiments, so the germ-cell, which is no ordinary cell but an implicit organism, a condensed individuality, may perhaps make experiments, 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 swarms 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 microbe death, when some organism, inactivating 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 wild nature there is little microbe death except when man affects disarrangements in distribution, so that organisms are exposed to the attack of new microbes. (3) There is natural death, which results from breakdowns in the breakdown in the 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 nervous system tend to lose early 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 areas which eventually implies physiological insolvency. Especially does the process of reproduction attain the resources of the organism.

In spite of criticism, Weismann's doctrine of the immortality of the protozoa remains acceptable. Not that these unicellular organisms live any longer; they are continually being killed by accidents, vicissitudes, and enemies; some of them are occasionally consumed by other protozoa; but it seems to be the case 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 in the epigamous lines, 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 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 the energy of the organism in maintaining this persistence. Instead of seeking to avoid death, to speak metaphorically, they often rather invite it, sacrificing themselves to the maintenance of the species. As has been noted in art. 405, 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 10 years have been selected in others. It is certain, as Weismann says, that "worn-out individuals are not only valueless to the species, but that they are often harmful" (Essays upon 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. Organic Mechanism.—The task of mechanics, as G. Kirchhoff said, is "to describe completely and in the simplest manner the motions which take place in nature" (Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik, Leipzig, 1879). A mechanical description is satisfactory as such when 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 waterwheel. 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 we can describe characteristically vital events in terms of those concepts and formulæ which certainly serve us well when we study the tides or eclipses, the fashioning of a dewdrop, or the making of a star; and (2) how far a mechanical description answers the distinctively biological questions as to the correlation of an organism's activities, its behaviour, its growth and reproduction, its development and evolution.

There is no doubt that chemical and physical laws describe inorganic creatures—to what has been called their inorganic aspect. Chemically regarded, living involves a complex of reactions in association with the material with which we call "protoplasm," and some of these can be reproduced apart from the organism altogether. Some vital processes illustrate 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 similarity 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 protoplasm 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 results of the experiments to inanimate nature and leave the question open how far its laws can be extended beyond. In ultimate analysis, however, we can neither maintain that the internal phenomena of animated beings obey the same laws nor that they follow other laws (quoted by J. E. Mure, History of Darwinian Thought, ii. [Edinburgh and London, 1902] 584).

It is plain that many physical processes occur in the body which are comparable to those observable in the inorganic domain—processes of diffusion, capillarity, surface-tension, and so on. Just as the living body illustrates the law of matter, so is it with the conservation of energy. One mode may change into another mode, but no energy ceases or is lost in the transformation. Careful experiments with a calorimeter show that it is possible to measure the amounts of the energy-income and energy-expenditure of an organism, the slight discrepancy that is sometimes observed being reasonably explained as due to the inevitable imperfections of instruments and methods. It should be noticed, however, that, according to some physicists, the second law of thermodynamics does not apply to living creatures. While no fact is considered in regard to organisms that 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 physico-physical methods to living creatures, we believe it to be quite inaccurate to say that mechanical concepts and formulæ suffice for more than a partial and abstract description of the life of organisms. We shall proceed to show that

(a) Everyday Functions.—As things stand at present, there is no forthcoming any physico-chemical description of any total vital operation, even of everyday functions such as the interchange of gases in the lungs, the digestion of 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 physiologic 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 the flow of blood through the brain there is nothing which is either easy to understand or easy to express. The result of physiological stimulus and response no 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 responsible energy (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, yields different answers. We can indeed give reasons for this, but the reasons are not mechanical reasons.

(b) Behaviour.—When we think of a collie dog controlling a flock of sheep according to instructions, or of a swallow returning to its nest in the South to the place of its birth, or of the spider spinning a typical web without experience or model, or of the larval freshwater mussels fastening themselves to minnows, or of the larval larval larvæ, or of the larval larvæ, or of the larval larvæ responding to the contact of the water-snail by which alone it can successfully continue its life, or of the ameba capturing its prey, losing it, following it, recapturing it, and so on, we are face to face with animal behaviour 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 animal mentality. It goes without saying that the behaviour implies chemical and physical events, but the bond of union eludes the chemist and physicist. There are elements of spontaneity, plasticity, adaptability, 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 differential growth takes 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, concerted towards some future result—these and many other facts lead towards a convincing impression that development far transcends mechanical description.

But if 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 work of Roux? It may be answered that the embryo, as a material system, does of course exhibit chemical and physical processes which may be analyzed apart and treated singly; that development shows a continuous action and reaction between an implicit organism and the environment; and that developmental mechanics so-called is in great part concerned with discovering the correlation between steps in development and their appropriate external stimulation and nurture. But a further answer is this, that the term 'mechanical' or 'mechanistic' is often, unfortunately, applied to a systematic or connected description which displays a series of events in causal coherence without any intervention of mental facts. Given certain properties of organisms in general and of nerve-cells in particular, we may give a more or less connected and complete account of a reflex action without impressed any psychological agency. But this should not be called mechanical description.

(d) Evolution. — The adequacy of mechanical description may also be tested in reference to evolution. There is apt to be talk in speaking of evolutionary explanation as a continuation of 'evolution' in the inorganic domain. For it is more accurate, probably, to speak of the development than of the evolution of the solar system, since it is the action of one mass into explicit manifoldsness. The material nebula, if such it was, is comparable to a great world-egg which developed into several embryos, as eggs sometimes do, but there were no fluctuations between them and their environmental limitations, no sifting process which eliminated some and left others surviving. There were no alternatives, no trial and error mechanism was not comparable to that skaking of individual lives and losing of them which is so characteristic of that sublime adventure which we call organic evolution. The theory of organic evolution starts with the mystery of variability, which is more like experimenting in self-expression than anything in the inorganic world. Indeed, it is not without its analogies even there. In natural selection the organism is often anything but a passive pawn. It does not simply submit to the apparently inevitable. It often evades its fate by change of habits or of environment; it compromises, it experiments, it is full of device and adventure. It not only adapts itself to its environment, it adapts its environment. The evolving organism is an historical being, a genuine agent which trades with its talents. Such mechanical description as is possible leaves the essential features undescribed.

4. The uniqueness of life. — The negative conclusion was arrived at 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 classified as biological. Before considering these, however, we must refer, practically rather than philosophically, to three preliminary points. (a) It is maintained by many that mechanical formulation, legitimate and useful for certain purposes, apparently for things as they are in certain cases, such as some animal movements, is not the ideal formulation even within the domain of the not-living. But, if it is not adequate there, it will be still less adequate within the realm of organisms. Practically, however, it may be answered that this is not a biologist's business. All will admit that chemical formulæ work very usefully within the inorganic domain; but the biologist finds that they do not help him to answer his particular questions. He therefore seeks for formulae of his own. (b) It is often pointed out that, although we cannot at present translate vital happenings, such as growth and division, into terms of any known mechanica, 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 consciousness, or mind, that gives organisms their apartness or uniqueness. But, without entering into a discussion of this, we may again give a practical answer, that the problem 'vitalism or mechanism' is the same for plants and animals and that we do not know anything about the mind or consciousness of plants.

There are three well-known positions in regard to the apartness of living creatures, which may be roughly described as the three grades of vitalism or mechanism.

(1) The first finds the differentia of organisms in the greater complexity in the configurations of elementary particles; protoplasmic metabolism is extremely intricate—indeed, the activities of organisms cannot be predicted from a formulation of what occurs in the inorganic domain. Biology may be allowed a laboratory of its own, but it should be called chemical. The main objection to this view is simply a matter of fact—that no headway has been made in giving mechanical answers to characteristically biological questions. (2) The second view is that there is a peculiar kind of activity in living creatures and nowhere else. Organisms have a monopoly of some power in the same series as, say, electricity. This theory is a lineal descendant of one form of vital theory brought up to date. It has been suggested that there may be a specific intra-organismal form of energy evolved by and
pertain to the complex nature of the molecule of protoplasm or of protoplasmic, which exhibits an incessant alternation of unipolar and bipolar states, the latter resulting in cell-division.

The current regulation observed between cell and cell are certain of the manifestations of this supposed form of energy—but probably not at all, just as the alternations and regulating mechanisms of electrical energy under certain conditions, but not by any means the only manifest distortion, which we may be experiencing manifestations in another way of the same form of energy which under other conditions produces the alternations and the phenomena of strain in the dividing cells, and the actual cell-division... By this supposed form of energy, I do not mean a new form of the universe, but a new phenomenon of some constellations; it involves only at certain steps, introducing an occasional indeterminism; it is supposed to be a genuine agent, counting for something, 'at work,' as Driesch says. This is a deepening—on a 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 completely worked-out theory of entelechy, or one of the three proofs which he gives of the autonomy of life. The first is based on a study of morphogenesis, i.e., 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-material nature, without a seat of localization. It is immaterial in itself; it is not energy; it is not in communication in its agency with the laws of energy; its function is to suspend and set free, in a regulatory manner, pre-existing faculties of organic interaction. Because of the nature of the organism's behavior—the widest sense of the word—which is opposed to an inorganic reaction, the same, and which shows the living organism is more than a sum or an aggregate of its parts... This something we call entelechy' (op. cit. ii. 285).

In illustration of the criteria 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 this 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 exist, 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 compensated for by a slight opposite spin put on the whole entity.

(b) The will may act as a guiding power changing the direction of motion of the atoms and molecules, and this guides molecules to glide past one another instead of clashing—a slight change of spin which may be compensated for by a slight opposite spin put on the whole entity. But this will be found to be merely transferring our problem from the complex that we are actually and in time and space to a sort of manufactured by the law of the organism, presenting the same difficulties, with the additional one that it is inadmissible and cannot be directly dealt with at all. The entelechy simply adds to our difficulties.

(c) Another objection is stated by J. S. Haldane: 'In order to "guide" effectively the exact system of physical and chemical phenomena occurring in living material, and at many different parts of a complex organism, the vital principle would apparently require that the whole system be adjusted 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 behavior 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-maintaining, self-repairing, self-perserving, self-adjusting, self-increasing, self-reproducing engine.'

(d) Another objection is stated by J. S. Haldane; 'In order to "guide" effectively the exact system of physical and chemical phenomena occurring in living material, and at many different parts of a complex organism, the vital principle would apparently require that the whole system be adjusted 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 behavior 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-maintaining, self-repairing, self-perserving, self-adjusting, self-increasing, self-reproducing engine.'

Jennings also points out that, according to Driesch, two living systems absolutely identical, in every physical-chemical respect may be different under absolutely identical conditions, this depending upon whether, and how, the entelechy takes part in the process. This leads to a very serious admission of the kind, which would be enough to condemn the theory. It should be stated that Driesch has replied vigorously to the criticism brought against him, and that he was a moment pretended that we could understand
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‘even in the slightest degree’ how entelechy is able to discharge its function as regulator and guide.

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 (1911). The panpsychism of the very distinctive position of Bergson should also be considered.

According to McDougall, ‘not only conscious thinking, but also all organismic activity and evolution are psycho-physical processes. All acts are conditioned and governed by psychical dispositions that have been built up in the course of the experience of the race’. (p. 370).

5. Provisional conclusion.—Looking backwards, we cannot admit that the study of animal behaviour, for instance, is no 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 like; 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 in general, we hold to what we believe to be a fact, that mechanical formulae do not give the answer to the biological question. Bio-chemistry and bio-physics added together do not give us one biological answer. We need new concepts, such as that of the organism as an historic being, a genuine agent, a concrete individual, which has traded with time and has enregistered within itself past experiences and experiments, and which has its consensive bow ever bent 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 knowledge we cannot tell in what the newness or apartness essentially consists, and this appears to us to be a quite legitimate, though provisional, stopping place, without pressing on to any positive vitalistic theory, which must be, from the nature of the case, metaphysical.

If we go beyond science in the endeavour to form some connected reconstruction, we should say that those constellations of ‘matter’ and ‘energy’ called organisms afford opportunity for the expression of aspects of reality which are not patent in the larger world. We must 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 realm of organisms, and we call it ‘life’. It is neither a product of ‘matter’ and ‘energy’, nor an outcome of the interaction 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 closest to the ‘philosophical system’ and in normal conditions in all of them. May it not be that the qualities which render the postulation of entelechy or vital impulse necessary to something of this kind is a great factor in the history of the Nature that we know? We say ‘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 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, multiplying, and developing, for behavior of the general kind, which we call ‘life’, which can 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 to be content in this article 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 fullness. 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 in which to elaborate the data of biology; and we need not be afraid of exaggerating the wonder of life. Sympathetically and imaginatively, therefore, as well as with precision, we must seek to envisage the variety of individuals or species; the abundance of life—as a river always tending to overflow its banks; the diffusion of life—exploring and exploiting every corner of land and sea; the inscrutability of life—self-preserving, persistent, dominant, continually achieving the apparently impossible; the cyclical development of life—ever passing from birth, through love, to death; the intricacy of life—ever setting the acorn; the subtlety of life—ever drop of blood an index of idiosyncrasies; the relatedness of life—with myriad threads woven into a patterned 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—ever under our short-lived eyes; the progress of life—slowly creeping upwards through the immeasurable time, expressing itself in other forms; the beauty of life—every finished organism an artistic harmony; the morality of life—spending itself to the death for other than individual ends; the mentality of quiet dreaming, sometimes sleep-walking, sometimes wide awake; and the victory of life—subduing material things to its will and in its highest reaches controlling itself towards an increasing purpose.

Sec. further, ABIÓGENESIS, 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, unatural, miraculous, and territorial. It is to be expected when a man kills his quarry or his foe; here the satisfaction of an end achieved inhibits the feelings aroused by the non-violent death of a tribesman. According to Australian philosophy, the living would only live on in the dead man's place for the result of actual physical violence or of sorcery, a refined form of it. This is the usual view of the savage, though it is hardly a refined conclusion. The savage does not ask the major question 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 man, when he exercised himself on the subject of life, was concerned with the acquisition of physical strength and moral influence rather than 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' which by itself is not a clear concept and an idea of the soul.

For the earliest stage of thought 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, identified vaguely at first, later with some precision, as a special entity, or identified with one or other part of the living organism.

Certain Australians speak of 'something,' a yuva, not described, which never leaves the body of the living man; it grows as he grows, and decays as he decays. This illustrates well the confusion between a concept and a fact of life. Put in another form, the inference is that the soul does not finally leave the body until decomposition is well advanced. Such cases indicate that the inference of life from observed movement is not in itself proof of regard inanimate objects as 'alive,' but the meaning of this is clearly shown by the Tengan and West African notion that these objects die when they are broken or destroyed.

The view that this primitive conception that life is not continuous, but that so vaguely ideated a content is a concrete is supported by the fact that any haphazard identification serves as 'life'; examples will be found below. But the primal conception, as the first Australian instance shows, very nearly to a result in which a man's 'life' is himself in reply.

This perhaps is to be regarded as the second stage of analysis. The Hervey Islanders considered that the soul of a dead man had fat, so that the soul of an animal could be 'fat.' According to the Karera, that which 'personates the varied phenomena of life' is the kohak or lo, 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 can not 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 Papuan and Malay belief.

The Dayak idea of life is this, that in mankind there is a living principle called aumangot or aumangu whose existence is caused by the temporary absence and death by the total departure of this principle from the body.

But this principle is a reproduction of the individual, and a miniature replica. This is the tanama, or 'little man,' of the Toraja of Celebes. The aumangot of the wild Malay tribes is a 'shape, exactly like the man himself, but no bigger; and this aumangut of the Malays is a 'thumbing,' and corresponds exactly in shape, proportion, and complexion to its embodiment or casing (asung), i.e. the body. It is the cause of life; it is itself an individual person and is separable from the body in sleep, sickness, and death. A similar conception is found in S. Africa, America, and other localities 

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 in 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

4. R. M. J. and E. S. (1845), 306ff.
LIFE AND DEATH (Primitif)

necessitated by the idea that the life must take its departure by some one of the orifices of the body, and it is possible also that certain characteristics of the memory-image may have exercised an influence.1

1 In the early stages the life-principle is, though 'refined,' always material; the conception of insubstantiality is quite a late achievement of thought.2 But certain natural confusions occur. Thus, the sëmaingat of the wild Malayas differs from that held by other races in the same regions, for that which gives life is the jieus. The Patani Malay also believe in a 'life breath,' gyana, the sëmaingat, in their view, is not the vital principle, but is possessed by every object in the universe.3

In his study of the animism of the Malayans and their larger district, A. C. Krafft 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 regarded as a person, and always a miniature replica of the owner; it gives him life. Its material is fine, eternal substance; it has various seats in the body where its action is most conspicuous, such as the pulses. It dies when the man dies. The other soul is a continuation of the individual life and does not die. In the latter conception we seem to have a combined result of the memory-image and the hallucinatory ghost.

The soul, which involves the idea that all things in nature either are animate or possess a soul, is also attached to the theory of the sëmaingat, though it is chiefly a thing concerning our interesting man that possesses the miniature replica.4

The sëmaingat of the Eastern Semang is red like the earth, or in the blood.5 Life is usually regarded as being closely connected with the blood—a natural inference from observation of wounds or of death in the body. Life and blood are identified.6 A vaguer identification is frequently found with parts or parts of the living organism. To some, as the jieus, life is the flesh—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.7 The Australians regard the kidney-fat as an important seat of life,8 and the brain and fat and omentum are so regarded.9

The absence of breath in the case of the dead is a fact naturally suggesting a belief that the breath is the life, or that the life is in the breath. In the Marquesas, when a man died, it was the custom to hold the nose and lips of the dying persons, in order to prevent death.10 In primitive thought there is no explicit inconsistency in the identification of life with various things; the older books of the OT hold, now the breath, now the blood, now the dead, to be the life. Primitive biology, in its secondary stages, has a larger list.11

In this to be included the shadow of a man, which is (like everything connected with personality) a vital part,12 and a man's reflexion is also closely akin to, if not identified with, his life. In Melanesia a pool into which any one looks he dies; the image is supposed to hold upon his life by means of his reflection on the water.13

The lore of shadow, mirror-image, and portrait becomes prominent, however, only in the third stage of animism—that of the higher barbarism. The Chinese place the dying man's picture upon his body, in the hope of saving his life.14 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 picture.15 The comparison of the life-essence with fire is the best known of the material analogies, and occupies a prominent place in myth—e.g., the fire of life infused by Prometheus into the clay figures 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 makers of the world, who regard a point as the beginning of existence, are rare. Hence, also are such pseudo-anthropological ideas as the Maori concept that the life of a man is contained in the catamenia,16 but the usual conclusion is that the soul is the source of life itself.

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 life the operation of personal life and will,17 can be applied only to certain developments of the higher barbaric stage.

1 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 an object over which he never thought about the matter at all, in his act... he distinguished as well as between animal and inanimate. 2 Whatever power and importance the man may have ascribed to inanimate objects, he drew the strongest of lines between such objects and what was endowed with life. 3 An excellent observer remarks of the Kafirs 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 Kafir's head to think stones felt in that sort of way.' 4 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 represents the more nearly the former perceptual. An excellent illustration of the distinction is the Indonesian view, expounded by Krafft, that the life-soul of creatures is never confused or compounded with the after-death soul. In later psychology, on the other hand, Taylor's hypothesis, that the life-soul of a thing and its phantom are combined, holds good. Language has probably had much to do with the combination. The view of Krafft, however, that the Indonesian 'life-soul' is but a part of the world-soul, applies only to the higher developments of animism.5 Here we have a parallel with the pantheistic theories of the world.

5 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 animism, but later it is fused

4 On the Kaingay Dakat term in point, see Crawley, op. cit., p. 110.
5 Skene-Blagdon, ii. 394; H. Amundsen, Man, iii. (1901) 27.
7 On纸上 Liv; Crawley, p. 117; Frazer, p. 149.8 See references in Crawley, Mythic Races, London, 1911, p. 181 ff.
9 R. H. Cobbold, in JAF, p. 311.
11 C. F. Wallis, History of the New World called America, Oxford, 1900-01, ii. 292.
13 C. F. Wallis, History of the New World called America, Oxford, 1900-01, ii. 292.
14 C. F. Wallis, History of the New World called America, Oxford, 1900-01, ii. 292.
16 See Crawley, Mythic Races, London, 1911, p. 181 ff. In Semitic thought living water is running water, living flesh new flesh (Gen. 2:25). These phrases are probably metaphorical only.
with metaphysical estimates of the intrinsic value of life, as such.

1. 'The Way' Jaimin, and Taedoon the respect for animal life is extreme. 1

'A disciple of Buddha may not knowingly destroy a living organism, be it the intangible, or the visible, lest he inhale a living organism.

He considers that the evening and night are not times for eating, since one might swallow a live thing by mistake.

Thruout Japan, the life of animals has always been held more or less sacred. 2 In China it is regarded as a sin to kill wild animals for food. 3 Even in the misteke, the object is not to be killed by a blow from the plant is explained by Friz: "With the head of a man's life is conceived as embodied in a particular object, the existence of which his own existence is in some way 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. 4

The idea that the misteke itself is the life of the tree on which it grows is of the same order as the Malay and Chinese ideas with regard to the knobs and excresences on tree trunks. 5 Two converse ideas may be noted. A person whose life is magically isolated has a one weak spot, the head of 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.

5. Life magic—When the concept of life as a magical essence was established, the formula is applied all round the social and religious spheres. The elementary facts of nutrition thus become the basis of an elaborate vitalistic philosophy. More primitive forms of this appear as a practical science of life insurance. Food..., during thousands of years occupied the largest space in man's mental area of vision. 6 This consideration helps to explain the existence of so large a number of superstitions connected with food. And into these enter the magical and, later, the vitalistic theory. Particular creatures are eaten because of their particular vital force. The slayer eats part of his foe in order to assimilate his life and strength (see, further, art. CANNIBALISM, §§ 3-7).

In order to procure longevity the Zuuls ate the flesh of long-lived animals. 7 Medes injected into the veins of animals an infusion of the long-lived deer's blood. 8 In the lower culture special virtue is assigned to human flesh. 9 Besides the eating of flesh and the drinking of blood, there are various methods of acquiring the 'life essence.' The Caribs took the life of an animal following a boy by rubbing its juices into his body. 10 Anointing with amara oil and with gold-in-view are methods of procuring life found in Indian and Chinese folk-lore respectively. The Tibetan Buddhist sects require 'life drinking' 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. 11 The Hindus asserted long life to be continent. 12 Most religions include prayers for long life. After

1. Frizo, Bulgar, ii. 1566.
2. Bally, op. cit. p. 279.
7. E. M. J. VIII, 266.
8. Parker, p. 58.
a death, magic is employed to prolong the life of the survivors.4

Magicians, and later the gods, are regarded as both possessing a richer store of life and being able to impart it to others; the savage medicine-man is able to infuse life into an inanimate fetish. Breathing upon the object gives it the breath of life (as in Ezekiel’s apologue of the dead bones); smearing it with blood gives it the life of the blood.2 According to the Tantras, a king may slay his enemy by infusing life into his foe’s effigy and then destroying it.3 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 by eating ambrosia, the ‘food of deathlessness,’ and by drinking nectar; and similar ideas were connected with the Persian haoma and the Hindu soma. In Scandinavian and Slavonic folklore, men are eaten by the gods in order to perpetuate their life.3 The Egyptian gods were mortal.8 The tendency to immortality, however, is carried out in the higher religions, probably in connexion with the natural attribution of a general power over life and a control of creation. In the end the gods assume in themselves 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.2 Similarly, on the W. Coast of Africa it is the man himself in a shadowy or ghostly form that continues his existence after death.3 The belief in the revivification of a dead person does not appear until the thauomorphic stages of barbarous religion, when it becomes a favourite miracle, 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.9 The Central Australians have developed it into an elaborate theory of heredity, in which the ‘life’ is a germ-plasm.10 Other Australians believed the notion that while 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.11

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.’ Then the actual re-incarnation of the father.12 This frequent belief has been sug-

gested as an explanation of certain customs of which killing the first-born is a culmination—in the child is supposed to have robbed the father of a portion of his life (cf. ERE vi. 359).

7. The nature of death.—Primitive thought has no definition of the nature of death, but the view that life is transferred from one individual to another is superimposed. Grievance is felt among the lowest races, and they develop with culture. Another emotion is fear of the corpse as a mysterious personality; a parallel fear is that of the departed ‘something,’ ghost or spirit. Like other tabu states and social crises, death has not only its rites de passage, such as mourning, but a mysterious power of pollution. This is partly connected with a fear that the survivors may also become victims, a fear which develops into an avoidance of infection.2 These ideas reach their climax in the Zoroastrian conception of the absolute impurity of death, a type of all uncleanness.2 In others of the higher religions, particularly Christianity, the materiality of the state of death give way to spiritual. The departed soul has less connexion with the body, although even here a physiological fact has kept up the idea of ‘the odour of sanctity.’

Fear of dying has no connexion with the primitive fear of death.3 Suicide for trivial reasons is very common among the lower races.4 Many savages meet death with much indifference, or regard it as no great evil, but merely as a change to a life very similar to this. But it is a fact often noticed among ourselves, that a person on the verge of death may recover from the greatest caimens, although he has been afraid to die throughout his life. Moreover, the fear of death may be disguised by thoughtlessness, checked by excitement, or mitigated by dying in company. There are peoples who are conscious for their bravery, and yet have a great dread of death. Nobody is entirely free from this feeling, though it varies greatly in strength among different races and in different individuals. In many savages it is so strongly developed that they cannot bear to hear death mentioned.4 The last objection, however, may often be due to mystical notions.

Christianity estenmes death as the passage to a better life, and the higher religions, generally, mitigate the inevitable lot.

Speculation on the origin of death is considerable in early thought, and myths innumerable have been invented to explain it (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Introductory], vol. iv. p. 411 f.). A common motive of these is a misunderstanding or a trick. At a higher stage death is attributed to the malievole of demons, often supposed to eat the life of men and so produce death.6 Otherwise, the separation of the life-spirit 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.8 By various means the human sorcerer, or the supernatural demon, destroys or abstracts the life.

In the higher barbarism death appears as a punishment for breaking tabu or other supernatural injunctions. The greater religions connect its origin with sin, Christianity with the primal sin of disobedience.1 Throughout, humanity is instinctively agreed that death is unnatural, 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 less frequent fancies of a mystical or magical life-source, primitive thought makes little use of the concepts of the dead and of death, as motives of lore.1

1 Crawley, Myth of the Dead (Anthrop. Inst. vol. i.), p. 357.
2 ERE iv. (1936) p. xxv f.
3 For the contrary view see MI vi. 550 f.
4 MI i. 385.
6 MI i. 24, 25, 26, 553, 651.
8 MI i. 24, 25, 26, 553, 651.
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 deathless if Maui, the culture-hero, had succeeded in passing through the body of Night. In other stories, life and 'desiring life' survive the destruction of the world. The usual result is that some great deity possesses control over life, as in Brahminism, Christianity, and Islam. There is a tendency also to connect immortality with the sun-god; the Rigveda speaks of the sun in the character of Savitar, the 'Vivifier'.

In Hindu theology Yama, the first of mortal men, became King of the Dead. In Chinese 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.

'Let him hope for and, if possible, provide for proper burial. Even in the tomb, at least, he has the peace of mind that he has not suffered the pang of hunger in the world of spirits.'

The Scismatic figures, Lil and Liliprasir, are among the rare cases where life is frequently desired. Old Slavic myth seems to have had a goddess Sm., but the Baganda are said to have a god of death, Wulumbe. The Etruscan figure of Charun may be similar to the last, the concept being derived from hunting executors, and the god being a slayer rather than a god of death. The Thanatos of Greek poetry, the brother of Sleep, is hardly a religious personification. The Shadow of the Dead, the double of the living, is originally placed which receive the dead. As a rule, the figure later described as Death is either a messenger of the gods or a god whose office is indirectly connected with the death of men. So Yama is his messenger, and the Taoists believe 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 Gigamesh must die and cannot escape the universal lot.

'A certain control over life is assumed in primitive ritual dramas, as in the pretended death and resuscitation 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 concept of sin and death, and the consequent aspiration towards a purification of sin accompanied by a renewal of life. Out of these elements arises the ethical view of the renewal, but still undivorced 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 some 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 more or less feared in early thought; the infection of death is carefully avoided; the ghosts of the dead are intensely dreaded, and many spirits are therefore carefully propitiated. Many ghosts, it is true, have been developed 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 Culture, London, 1886, applies to the subject.

A. E. Crawley.

LIFE AND DEATH (American).—The beliefs of the aborigines of America agree in the main with those of other peoples at the same stages of development; but there are a few interesting features of a universal character.

With regard to ideas of the life which informs the organism, the Eskimos identify it with its action with the life-warmth. So the Navahos regarded the warmth of the body as the living soul; the 'shade' or 'double', a distant concept, was supposed to wander anywhere when a man was sick or dying. The Sunk identified the soul with the 'vitality', and supposed it to exist after death. The Toltec explained that it was 'something within' them which made them live and was caused by death when it quitted them. Identifying breath or air with the vital principle, the Aztecs represented them as breathing the atmosphere with a mortiferous quality.

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

The Aztec word cheechah, c.e., means 'wind, air, life, soul, shadow.' A phrase attributed to an Indian orator is, 'The fire in your heart and the life in your body are one and the same thing. The 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 relate 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, Tezcalipoca, is credited with perpetual juvenility. The principle was developed that the gods, in particular the sun, would die if deprived of life. Hence the perpetual round of human sacrifices offered on Maya and Nahua 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 to save the victims. The hunt, as the symbol of life, was the choicest portion.
It is natural that an old chronicler should say: "The ancient Chinese were unable to distinguish between death, sleep, and a swoon. They therefore tried to reanimate the dead by calling them by name to return, etc., by providing food for them, by keeping their faces in the dress that they had worn, at first tightly covering the corpse. Many customs now in use in China are due to this belief. Death was a pro-longed sleep (or due to suspended animation); and, as the sleeper will wake if he is called, the Chinese believe that 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 mouths 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 the corruption caused by the decomposition of the body. This prevented the spirit from entering the coffin, for it was thought that the soul would enter the coffin only when the body was in a state of putrefaction.

The ancient Chinese were most scrupulous in washing and dressing the dead, so that the body might be ready at any time for the soul to return to its fleshly dwelling-place.

The strong Chinese reparation of the mutilation of the body had its origin in these ancient ideas, for mutilation prevents the body from being in a fit state for the soul to return to it, or to appear in the next world. Hence criminals were beheaded as a severe punishment, and strangulation 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 belief in a life in death itself, or, as de Groot graphically describes it, a habitation of the soul and the 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 distinguished by it. One of the other souls is believed to inhabit the ancestral tablet, while the third passes 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 that they 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. Confucianism teaches that 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 to heaven (whether the spirit was gone), and buried (the body in the earth). For as soon as the body and animal soul go downward; the intelligent spirit is on high.

1 J. Legge, Chinese Classics, Hongkong, 1861-72, SBE xxvii. 1880:1195, 123, 139, 157, etc.
3 De Groot, xxvi. 293 ff.
5 De Groot, 291ff.
6 Ib. p. 292 ff.
7 Ib. p. 311 ff.
8 Ib. p. 294 ff.
9 Ib. p. 295 ff.
10 Ib. p. 297 ff.
13 Ib. p. 50.
14 Cf. J. Legge, Religions of China, p. 117.
15 Legge, SBE xxvii. 395; see also p. 444.
16 Legge, Religions of China, p. 119.

LEGGE, RELIGIONS OF CHINA (Chinese).
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 how we live, how can we know about death?' The older commentators say that the master gave 'no answer, because on such subjects we are unable and unworthy to talk about.' Some of the modern Confucian writers agree with this opinion, but the majority say that the answer was probably the same as that given by the sage in the passage, "There is that which even the sage does not know about death." These are the followers of Confucius who have not risen above the agnostic position 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 the lives then lived.

The duration of life and its early or late ending were very generally 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.

Length of days, therefore, was regarded by the Chinese as a reward of virtue, and longevity is one of the five blessings earnestly desired. Over many a door is pasted a piece of red paper, renewed at 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 subscribed to it.

The materialistic Wang Ch'ung (c. A.D. 97) says, 'Worthy are those who live in early life and wicked people may be strong and robust and become very old.' 'Human diseases and death are not a retribution for evil doing.' 'When a man expires, his life is lost.' '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 concealed.

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 'pursuit of truth and wisdom' claimed a not a few noted 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 auspices such inquiries had arisen, to a large extent changed to a system of rites and idolatry.

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

Lao-tzü (Læ-tzu, 4th cent. B.C.) says: 'The living and the dead, ... know nothing of each other's state.' 'We all have an end, and at the end ends last is unknown.' Ch'üan-tzu (Ch'uan-tzu, 3rd and 4th cent. B.C.) asks: 'What should the dead know of the living, or the living know of the dead? You and I may be in a dream from which we have not yet waked.' 'To him who can penetrate the mystery of life, all things are revealed.'

The prolongation of life and the cheating of death by its due, or, rather, the raising of mortal life above death by the transforming of life into a higher existence, is the aim of Taoism, to be attained by quietism and dispassionatism, by regulating one's breath and using medicines.

Lao-tzü 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 Licius we find (as in the statement of one almost a sage) that life and death were looked upon in the same light. Licius says that 'the source of life is death.'

'There is no such thing as absolute life or death,' i.e., '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.' On the other hand, we have such statements as 'Great indeed is death: ... It gives rest to the noble-hearted and causes the base to sour.' 'The sage looks upon life and death merely as waking and sleeping.'

In the idealistic and mystical writings of Chuang-tzu (Ch'üan-tzu), one of the greatest Taoist philosophers, who lived about two centuries after the founder Lao-tzü, there are some striking statements.

He says that for the sage 'life means death to all that men think life, the life of ignorant or repetition, of doing or action, of being or individual self.' 'He who clearly apprehends the scheme of existence is not afraid of death.' 'He who knows that he is not he knows that he is he.' 'In other words, life and death are but links in an endless chain.' 'Life is inevitable, for it comes and cannot be declined. The quick passage of life is thus expressed: 'Man passes through this empty life as a white horse passes a crack. Here one moment, gone the next.' 'The life of man is but as a stoppage at an inch.' 'The living are men on a journey.' 'Life is a loan.'

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

In the Epicurean Yang Chu's philosophy (c. 300 B.C.) life is to be lived for the possessor's own sake and, to be an expression 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 is only during his brief existence. The Chinese have not followed this philosophy.

Wang Ch'ung, who holds a mid position between Confucianism and Taoism, was of the opinion that the dead do not become ghosts, and are unconscious, and that 'sleep, a trance, and death are essentially the same.' He also says that 'human death is like the extinction of fire.' 'To assert that a person after death is still conscious is like saying that an extinguished light shines again.' 'The soul of a dead man cannot be recovered.'

5. Buddhism. — For the general attitude of Buddhist as regards life and death see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Buddhist) and KARMA.

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 mass of the people. Accordingly, many of

1 H. A. Giles, Chuang Tzu, London, 1889, p. 56.
2 H. P. Blavatsky, Isis, ii. 244 ff.
4 See refutation of such ideas by W. Ch'ung in A. Forke, Lao Tzu, Leipzig, 1908.
5 See Legge, Religions of China, p. 159 ff.
7 H. A. Giles, Chuang Tzu, 2nd ed. (SBE xxvii), p. 56.
8 T. L. D. Hoek, Chien Ch'i, 1896.
9 H. A. Giles, Chinese Classics, 1, 1891, p. 263.
10 T. L. D. Hoek, Chien Ch'i, 1896.
17 H. A. Giles, Chinese Classics, 1, 2013, p. 131.
18 H. A. Giles, Chinese Classics, 1, 2013, p. 131.
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its votaries in the Northern branch of that religion believe in the glorious Paradise of the West, to which the souls of the believers in Amitābha (Amitābha Buddha, or the Northern Great Buddha) after the long chain of lives and deaths supposed to be the lot of the aspirant to Nirvāṇa on his weary road thither.

To vie with its sister religion, Taoism evolved in its turn a nine-storied heaven with the Dragon King as ruler to await the arrival of pious souls.

6. Conclusion.—Thus, with the multiplicity of lives to which Buddhism has accustomed the Chinese mind, death looms merely in the purview of life, not only to the Buddhist but also to the Taoist and even the Confucianist; for Buddhism has entered into the religious life of the whole people and tinted their ideas and thoughts. The Chinese is practical in his outlook on life. He finds himself in the midst of it, he has to accept it, and his thoughts turn more naturally to what its outcome is to be than to its source and origin. More fantastic than his visions of his future are these of his past. With no inking, for the most part, as to whence he came, he has given fall play to his fancy to conjure up the origin of the human race. One of the fairy-like tales of his mythology is the story of P'ei, the giant, who used to sit on the peaks of the mountains and who, when he became contrary, would bring order out of chaos, were the progenitors of mankind; while in another account the mountains produced the lowest of the lower creation, and these, in turn, developed higher forms, culminating in man, who was evolved from the ape.

We find higher ideas in the ancient classics; for, though covering but limited ground, the rudimentary knowledge of the Supreme Being possessed by the ancient Chinese embraced the idea that he gave 'birth to the multitudes of the people,' so that in the State worship by the Emperors He has been addressed as the maker of heaven, earth, man, and all animate beings.

LITERATURE.—Authorities are cited in the footnotes.

J. Dyer Ball.

LIFE AND DEATH (Christian).—In passing from the OT view to that of the NT there is no abrupt or startling gap, although a definite tacit in consciousness 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 Odyssey 'life' occur in 155 passages, and words denoting 'death' occur in 354 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 33; on the other hand, in the NT words denoting 'life' occur in 155 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 is 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 37: 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 of a proportion (Logos) of experience.

The significant feature of the NT allusions to life (and death) is their want of any real interest in mere earthly living, and this feature is plain everywhere the magnitudes of experience compel reference to the fact of physical death. Thus, out of the 135 passages where 'life' (exist) occurs, not more than seven can be referred to physical life, and the life referred to might be heavenly. In Lk 16 the life of Diwies is sharply contrasted with the life of Lazarus. Ac 23 is a quotation from the LXX; Ac 17 is inspired by Stoic thought. In, in Co 2: 3 and Ph 1: 2, where life and death are conjoined as correlative powers, the reference may be to earthly life and death, 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 understanding the Christian from Christ; in the second passage the words are equally patient of either meaning; and in the third, if Theophylic fact may be followed, the spiritual meaning prevails. Besides these seven passages, the word 'life' in the NT does not seem to be used anywhere in the lower sense.

The case is different with the term 'death' (θανατος), 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, either the death of Jesus, is the subject; and in Rev., 'death' is 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 θανατος, or their cognates, occur in the NT, in order to ascertain their precise meanings.

I. 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: 11, 'straitened is the way that leadeth unto the life'; 18: 36, Mk 9: 46, 'to enter into the life gained,' to enter into the life obtained'; Mt 19: 5, 'thou wouldst enter into the life'; Jn 5: 24, 'hath passed out of the death into the life'; 6: 4, 'the bread of the life'; 8: 32, 'shall have the light of the life'; 11: 25, 'I am the life'; Ac 3: 15, 'the prince of the life'; Ro 8: 4, 'the law of the spirit of the life'; 2 Co 4: 4, 'the life worketh in you'; 5: 8, 'the mortal may be swallowed up by the life'; 1 Tt 6: 12, 'lay hold of the neonian life'; 1 Jn 1: 4, 'the word of the life'; 5: 24, 'he that hath the Son hath the life'; Rev 21: 5, 13: 'the tree,' 'the crown,' the book of the life'; 21: 14, '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 instances given the implication is that the life mentioned is that with which the readers were already familiar as the subject of Evangelio 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, 1906, p. 146).

(b) Life which is unreal and fleeting is set aside in favour of the life which is real and abiding: 1 Tt 4: 8, 'life that is now and life which is come'; 6: 9, 'the life that really is.'

(c) It is assigned a heavenly nature by a prediactive clause: Ro 5: 1, 'we shall be saved by his [the Son's] life'; 2 Co 4: 4, 'the life of Jesus'; Eph 4: 20, 'the life of God'; 2 Tt 1: 1, 'life that is in Christ Jesus'; 1 Jn 5: 12, 'the life in his love.'

(d) The characteristic NT expression qualifying life, however, is 'souanic,' rendered in AV 'everlasting' 24 times, and 'eternal' 42 times, but both terms are misleading, as giving a quantitative

1 For the philosophical theory see art. COMMON AND CONCEPTUAL (Chinese).
3 A. M. Field, A Corner of China, New York, 1904, p. 158.6
5 Jn. p. 47.
6 'A kind of new life into which all things are to be brought' (see W. B. Vincent, Philosophus and Philosopher, IGC, 1927, in loco).
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stead of a qualitative category. 'Eonian' as an adjective occurs in all 71 times in the NT, and in 44 LXX passages (in addition to 17 in the Fourth Gospel) are Mt 19:26, Mk 10:23, Lk 18:28, Ac 13:24, Ro 3:22, Gal 4:6, Tit 3:5, 1 Jn 2:25, 3:9, 4:18, 5:16. In Greek science, the idea of duration is that of a qualitative category, in keeping with, but not dependent on, its nature and its source. Hence, though the rendering 'eternal' may be permissible, that of 'everlasting' is erroneous, and even 'eternal' can be misleading where eternity is understood as by Boethius:

'Whosoever, therefore, comprehends and possesses the whole patrimony of an immortal life at once, to nothing of the future is wanting, and from which nothing of the past hath bowed away, this may rightly be termed eternal' (Philos. Conclus., v. prop. 39). "Dea. Patr. Paral. xxii. 61-69."

It is in the prominence given to this view of life that ye are to find the superiority of the NT teaching on it over that of the OT.

The idea of 'soni' in the LXX (where it or its cognates are used about 330 times) to its sense in the NT is of the nature of an evolution. The NT sense of 'spiritual,' or 'divine,' is not wanting at all, it is true, in the LXX, but this possession of an essence superior to the category of time is that of duration. Out of this lower sense there gradually unfolds, at first tentatively, but at length surely and fully, the ground on which duration rests, and this possession of an essence superior to the category of time.

What endures is that of which time is but the changing expression, and the great gift of Christ is to be seen in the power which He confers on man, by a direct exhibition of the bountifulness of the soul of the power of the air' into the higher realm where the 'eon' or the 'sonian' king rules.

The use of the term 'eon' in the NT is important for our present purpose, for in addition to the power granted to the saints above everything, to which the temporal meaning of the term is required, there are a number which are ambiguous, and also a further number where 'eon' 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 'eon' is given. In Ae 18 39 the rendering should in all probability be 'God maketh these things known from on high.' So in Ae 34 and Lk 18 30 the prophets are said to receive their inspiration, 'from on high.' The sense of Jn 9 2 to 30 is best reached by paraphrasing it: 'From the realm of the Son the news has not been heard of anybody opening eyes to men who was not blind.' In Eph 2 3 no question can be raised, for the 'Son 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 Th 1 11 God is distinguished as the 'King of the sonians.' In Col 1 18; the revelations given to the saints is exalted above that given to the sons. The latter knew nothing of the mystery of the indwelling Christ, of the knowledge of this was the prerogative of the saints. In 2 P 3 3 the 'day of son' can be nothing but the 'day of the Lord,' and hence the 'Son here is Jesus (cf. also He 1 1, Co 10 28, Gal 1 15, and the appendix to Mk in the life of Freer-Jolig).

When we remember that Christianity grew up in a Gnostic environment, that among the Gnostics the doctrine of personal angels was upheld that (1 Tim 3 16) which declare that a worthy of note and demanding correction, we shall not be surprised if echoes of it are found within the Christian Scriptures. But this idea of 'Son of the man,' as a white to the use of the term outside the Canon attaches to it also within the Canon.

The greatest of all the antitheses is this, it is enough to say that the word 'son' may stand for a superhuman being who is god or

evil, supreme or subordinate. Hippolytus (Ref. iv. 3) mentions speculators who 'speak of a succession of sons and of a revolt of goods of power and evil, and of a council of personal angels, to which the Valentinians taught the existence of a certain perfect, pre-existent son whom they called the Proarche, Propater, and by whom the three persons (Monogones) are not God (bion) but man, and, therefore, moral; and pseudo-

Dionysius (de Diog. Nom. v. 4) says: 'Measure of Eons and Eternity of Times and Eon of things that are ... for He is the son of God, the Son that is before all others.' The Valentinians later taught a threefold Godhead, of whom the supreme Eon emanated eight sons, the ogres, and these nine others, after which twelve more, making thirty in all; they also saw in the vision of the Temple when He was twelve years old, and in His baptism when He was thirty, a cryptic reference in Mt 4:1-11. H. Reitzenstein (Pseudaetra, Leipzig, 1864, p. 270) quotes a Hermetic hymn addressed to Isis as the moon goddess in which it is said: 'Thou art the beginning and the end, and thou rulest over all, for of thee are all things and to thee are do
"include in the Godhead Mind unto Hermes, 2, it is said: 'God makes son, the son makes the world, the world makes time, time the life of the living.'

Hero son is the name of the ideal principle which ultimately takes form in the world of becoming. Similarly, Plato (Tim. 27) says: 'When the father and creator saw the creatures which he had made moving and living, and created the image of the eternal gods (nous kosmotonisios), he rejoiced, and he was about to make the copy still more like the original; and, as this was eternal (allos), he sought to make the universe eternal, but he might be.' In this passage, where Plato wants to express the idea of everlastingness, he has the word allos ready to his hand. But, when he goes on to express a different sense of 'eon' (stac. 44): 'Now the nature of the ideal being was sonian (sonios), but to bestow this attribute on a creature was impossible. When he was resolved to make a moving image of the son (sonios), and, setting in order at the same time the heaven, and all the powers of nature, at once, he saw that this was an image of nature, which in itself was sonian (sonios), to move in accordance with number, and be an image we call time.' In the latter passage, where Plato is dealing with the quality of the archetypal order, and, therefore, he uses the word allos instead of the former 'eon' which was dealing with a quantity of quality, and, accordingly, he employed the word allos, 'eternal,' in the same way. "Athin. (Finites of Plato's) Cambridge, 1911, p. 253) translates allos into Pindar (fr. 131, ed. Bergk) as the 'living man,' and says that it never means 'eternity' in Pindar. The passage is:

Philo, "Jewish Antiquities," 1. 2. 115, 490, who makes the three first days of creation, before sun and moon were created, an image of 'son' and the last three of time, for 'He set the three days before the sun for the son, and the three after the sun for time, which is a copy of son.' Similarly, he says (I. 619): "The days of the visible world is called son, as of the sensible is called time.'

The question whether 'son' and 'sonian' 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 Christianity was not in its acute form, from the earliest NT days.

Greek thought had penetrated Jewish before NT times (W. Bousser, Die Revolution des Judentums im neuesten. Zedelger, Berlin, 1938, p. 492). "The sonian life" in Enoch 10:17; 'judgment of the son of sons,' 10:2; 'the King of the son,' 27:2, and is embedded in the NT itself. Moreover, the Rabbinistical antithesis of 'this world' lies in the NT in the Greek thought, and might pass easily into it. The witness of Philo must be added to that of the Syoptic Gospels (with their many isolated sayings redolent of Greek thought and Greek, and in his tabulating 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 'sonian' life of 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 state of consciousness; and, present life indefinitely or infinitely prolonged, nor beyond the grave distinguished as such from life on this side of the grave. It is not possible here to do more than allude to the central place which the concept and truth of regeneration (q.v.) occupy in the religion of Jesus Christ. All that is required is a reminder of the close connexion of regeneration with the sonian.
life which forms the theme of the NT. To be born from above (\textit{ag. ep.}, John 3); to be turned and to become as little children (Mt. 18); to come out into the light (John 3); to put on the new self (Gal 2); to be quickened together with Christ (Eph 2); to be in Christ (2 Co 5); to put on the new man (Eph 4); to be a new creature (Gal 6)—these and many similar passages describe the death as the result of a new life, or salvation, or the Kingdom of God, or blessedness.

2. Death.—Christian theology has been at once oppressed and confused by its failure to note that in the NT it is not physical death cleared of its experienced ills that is called life, and that it is not physical death as such that 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. It is something other. (2) It has never been easy to maintain a causal nexus between sin as a wrong set of will and death as an event of the natural order. Modern science has convinced itself that death has reigned not only over the lower creation, but from the first appearance of life. Death indeed, apart from sin, is a process of nature and not a super-natural punishment for sin. (3) Christianity is admittedly a religion whose home is in the spiritual order, and its interest, therefore, 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 it does not make 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 analogously at other levels. Just as gravity may be described without assuming love embryonic 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 reflexion 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 event or fact, of the existence of a universal 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 a law. And St. Paul will add. 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 compare the expressions and 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); 'If a man keep my word, he shall never see death' (John 8); 'In ch. 11 the difficulty caused by the apparent indiffERENCE of Jesus in the beginning, by the reference to the resurrection of the soul from spiritual death; that is, or to the manner of death in 139 is contained in what is certainly a gloss. In 1 Ja we have similar references to spiritual death: 'He that loveth not abideth in the death' (3:4), where the death is clearly on the same plane of being as love; in 5:26 the sin unto death (or not unto death) is also clearly a sin which is followed by death of the same kind; in 5:10, for it is said in explanation that God will give life for them that sin not unto death—a sentence which is meaningless if physical life is meant, since that is ex hypothesi the ord. Rev, the second death, which is spiritual, is distinguished from the first death, which is physical (21:8–14 21:4).

In the Epp. also many passages occur in which death must be seen spiritual. In Ro 1:3–5 St. Paul, speaking not as a jurist but as a preacher (cf. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, \textit{Romans}, Edinburgh, 1903, 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 with the full knowledge that they deserve death ('und meint damit den ewigen Tod') (H. A. W. Meyer, \textit{Das Brief an die B\"{o}mer}, ed. H. Weiss, Gottingen, 1896, ad loc.). In the striking passage Ro 5:1–2, unless St. Paul is guilty of inexcusable logical confusion, the death which in vv. 11–12 is obviously spiritual must be of the same kind in vv. 13–14. This death which assumes such looseness of thought in St. Paul is itself responsible for the confusion. The meaning 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 on himself spiritual death, and this death has afflicted mankind ever since. But now at last the Christ of God, by Himself entering into vital union with a new self, is the ord. man 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 absence of spiritual life; and the death 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 sonian 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 sonian life and sonian death that are in question, and the best proof of this view 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 sense of the actual death, back and forths from the different senses of "life" and "death" almost imperceptibly (Sanday-Headlam on 6). But, from the facts that Christ's death was transfiguration 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 a sonian 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 sonian life that rules in both Christ and His members, the believer should not die, but he cannot sin; or, if he sins, the sin is proof that the life is not yet dominant. The argument in Ro 7, and by the affirmation that the image of marriage being valid for life, St. Paul says that the natural man has law for a husband and sin for his child, and sin in turn begeteth death, i.e. spiritual death (v. 2). This spiritual death is in turn undone by the spirit of life in Christ Jesus (8). We are given even an exact definition of death as being identical with the mind of the flesh, and of life as being spiritual-mindedness (9).
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, which are made the proofs of the reality of the heavenly order. 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 element that falls in your sight 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 overcome spiritual death is to be seen in the fact that He could not be held 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 parenthesis. That this is the true interpretation becomes clear when we observe that the remainder of the chapter (v. 20-28) is concerned only with affirming that this higher spiritual, or risen, life is a necessary part of His spiritual body and that as God gave the life so He will give the suitable body.

(6) There are, however, unquestionably many passages in the NT which seem to the higher state of being as at all events, to refer exclusively to a physical death. They are those 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 draw a distinction between 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 suffering 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 transcendent 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, is inscribed in the nature of all who are made one with His life (Gal 5:25, 6:14). What is signified is that the physical death and burial of Christ are a reflection 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 cosmic 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 O' 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 (7:29-10:19), still 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 (7:24) and thought of God (9:4). The life, we need say, that even here is dealt with is essentially spiritual, and is physical only in a secondary and subordinate sense.

Following (A) a third and small class of passages alone remains where death is of an ambiguous appearance. In Rev 1:18, 6:9, 20:2 the word is personified and joined with futilities, and both may attack man on his physical or on his spiritual side. In Mt 4 and Luk 4 the shadow of death falls across the heavenly realm, where spiritual death is nowhere meant. In Mt 16, Luk 9, and Luk 22, and the porpies of Jesus, it is said, should not taste of death till they saw the Kingdom of God. It is impossible to say what was the original context of this tripled passage, but it is improbable that the passage itself is to be regarded as a falsified prophecy of a historical fact. The 'Kingdom of God' and the 'Son of Man' are terms which express inner realities, and it is at least likely, then, that 'death' is also eschatological. 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 both 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—the life, in short, whose boundaries are set by the practical needs of the empirical Ego. On the other side is the life which creates the very power by which sense and intellect discharge their limited functions, which in itself delires, is only partially grasped by perceptions, and for the most part remains outside conceptions—to give, which is called economic, spiritual, or heavenly, or divine, and is that ever-flowing stream from the life of God of which all expressions of life are at all levels fragmentary fluxes. We pass from the fragment towards the complete and perfect in exact proportion to our surrender of our lower and separated self to the life of the whole, which is God. It is thus added 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, of reparation, though real, is subordinate only. It is concerned with a higher life experienced here and now, and to grow hereafter more and more towards the perfect day. It is involved in theories about that life, but its interest in them is not vital.


W. F. Conk.

LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian).—The Egyptian conceptions of life and death seem at first sight to be full of inexplicable contradictions. No wonder is felt when these states are found to be alternately praised and execrated, for in such praise and execration personal preferences are involved, and these may vary. But it is more perplexing to find diametrically opposite views expressed or implied with regard to the fact of belief, as when the same being is described almost in one breath both as alive and as dead, or when men who fear the dead are seen to have used
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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 simple distinction between physical life and death with the extremely ancient and almost universal belief in immortality—a belief that is rooted partly in the pantheistic 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,' mstt, Coptic mòt (inative), mòôpt (qualitative), is shared with all the Semitic languages, the verb for 'to live,' nbh, Coptic wnt, wmp, is of doubtful affinities. Several derivatives from the same stem, such as 'sandal-string,' 'sh,' 'goat,' 'anub,' 'ear,' fail to suggest any earlier or more concrete meaning for it, while other words having the same radical letters, such as 'nbh,' mstt' (Coptic mpt), or 'nbh,' mir, 'mirror,' clearly derive their meaning from 'nbh,' 'to live.' Closely related in sense are the verbs 'swn ('to exist,' and hpt (Coptic

belief in immortality; these are mti, 'the justified,' and wnt ('who repeats life,' respectively. The deceased Pharaoh was called 'the great god,' like his great prototype Osiris, while the living king is 'the good god.'

2. **Writing and figured representation.**—(a) The symbol of life, which is also the hieroglyph used for writing the words 'life' and 'live,' is the so-called cruz anasta, popularly known as the 'amkh ('nbh), or 'key of life.' Its origin has been much discussed, most scholars agreeing that the sign represents a tie or knot of some kind, though in V. Loret's opinion (Spina, v. [1902] 138) it depicts a mirror. The true explanation, hinted at but immediately rejected by G. Daressy (RTAP 2)

See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), 7.

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1. From an ivory tablet of King Den (W. M. F. Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, London, 1900, i, pl. 14).
2. Elaborate form of hieroglyph in Old Kingdom inscriptions (Margaret A. Murray, Sphenar Masticas, London, 1905, pl. 11, fig. 46).
4. J. Garstang, The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt, London, 1907, p. 6, opposite p. 183; over the sandal-strings the original has the superscription, 'the two nbh (sandal-strings) under his feet.'
7. N. de G. Davies, Deir el Gebari, London, 1907, i, pl. 11, completed from ii, pl. 6.

See particularly H. Hertz, La Représentation collective de la mort, in J. Soc. e. [1906-07] 224.
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xxvi. [1804] 130], was first enunciated by Battis-

together called Gnu, who proves the symbol to depict the

form of which the accompanying inscriptions describe the pair of objects as "the two 'nā' on the ground under his feet" (cf. Garcia, loc. cit.). The proposition 'under' must not be pressed too closely, but it at least shows that the 'nā' was part of, or belonged in some way to, the sandal. If now we compare the two objects with the representation of the sandals, we shall see that the same elements enter into both—the long loop that passes round the ankle, the straps that serve to bind this loop to the foot, and the two without being fastened together like a buckle. It is difficult to make the representations harmonize in detail, but matching the objects 'nā' is a very old one, that of binding the sandal to the foot very generally, and that possibly the sign depicts the straps not as actually wound but fastened on the foot in such a way to exhibit them to the best advantage, we shall hardly doubt that the objects shown on the above page are an ancient collection of a pair of sandals—strings for use in the event of those attached to the sandals requiring to be replaced. The note on the preceding page gives various examples of the sandal-strings both as an article of use and as a hieroglyph, together with pictures of men for comparison; the hieroglyph is normally painted black.

There being no obvious connexion between the idea of life and that of sandal-strings, 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 word for 'life'; this procedure is merely the procedure called 'phonetic transference,' extremely common in hieroglyphic writing.  It is, of course, possible that 'nā' ("sandāl"): 'sandāl-string,' and 'ā' ("one"), were united in the mind of the voice in both cases is hāyoth, are ultimately connected etymologically, but, as said above, the original meaning of the stem 'ā' is unknown. It would certain- l...

as a symbol the 'ānkh 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, v., London, 1906, pl. 149) or as itself representing the legs of a human figure (Lecoue, C. 15) and numerous representations have still to be collected and classified. As a mere ornamental device the 'ānkh-sign is frequently found on furniture, jewellery, etc., often in association with other auspicious symbols, e.g., \[\ldots\] . "life, stability, and prosperity." As an amulet the 'ānkh is fairly common, and is usually made of green or blue faience.

There is no corresponding symbol for 'death.' Though there is a stone plan in the 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 into another of wider application and varying form—the commonest meaning 'prisoner' or 'enemy.' Very often, however, these hieroglyphs are mutilated or suppressed because of their illomened associations (ZD ii. [1914] 19).

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

May there be given to this thy eye to see, thy ear 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 know thy flesh (and find it) whole and sound, without any blench upon thee; thy true heart being with thee, even the heart that thou didst have heretofore (K. Seth, Urkunden des altp. Apporten, Leipzig, 1904-06, iv. 114).

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 activities it was intended to deprive them. Further light is thrown on these materialistic conceptions of life and death in a passage of the 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead, where the state of death is described:

'of a truth it is without life, without air—deep, dark, and void, a place where one sleeps in quietude. Pleasure of life is not there to be had, may, but beauty of water and air and delight of life in life and peace and.'

Inertia is the chief characteristic of the dead, wherefore they were called 'the weary,' the inert (§ 2); elsewhere we find death compared with sleep (e.g., Pyramid Texts, ed. S. Seth, Leipzig, 1908, 721). Life, on the other hand, is full of activity, and chief among its needs the 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 grease, cloth and linen, incense and myrrh, and things good and pure wherein a god lives'—so runs the common formula, which hardly less often mentions 'the sweet breath of the Northwind' as a necessity of life. The place of life was pre-eminently the earth; all who live upon earth, begins a favourite invocation.

Various views were held as to the whereabouts of the dead, but their habitation was not that of the earth; those who are yonder is, as we have seen, a common designation of the dead. That the land of death is a land whence there is no returning was early said; already in the Pyramid Texts (172) we find the warning, 'Go not upon these western ways, for those who have gone yonder come not back again' (the same thought recurs later; cf. Harris 500, recto 7, 2). Reflections 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 RTAP xxiv. [1912] 16-18). In comparison with death, the emphasis rests on the renunciation of the ego, the 'city of eternity' for the necropolis, 'the lords of eternity' for the funerary gods; 'the span of things done upon earth is but as a dream' (PSBA xxxv. [1919] 117; cf. Pop. Pachyam 1154, sect 55. Les Papyris hiératiques ... de l'Ermitage, 1913); it should be said parenthetically that this comparison of life with a dream refers only to the dreamlike fugitiveness 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 where the symbol "life" is meant.

1 For this and other valuable references the writer is indebted to Professor Seth 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 indicate the neutral animistic state of things not belonging to the animal world.

4. The hatred of death.—The opening words of the graven-formula, 'O ye who love life and hate death' strike at the most profound and deepest feelings of the Egyptians, whose intense love of life and detestation of death made them devote 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 from the year 46 B.C., but wholly Egyptian in feeling; a woman speaks from the tomb to the husband who has survived her:

'O brother, husband, friend, highpriest—thy heart shall not grow weary of drinking and eating, drunkenness and love. Celebrate a happy day; stay thy heart by day and night; put no care in thy heart. What are the years upon the earth, what is the West (i.e., the place of burial) but a land of slumber, dark and heavy, the habitation of those who are yonder, who sleep in their mother-shaped, nor wake to see their brethren, nor regard their fathers and mothers, and their hearts are rent of their will, though for the body. The living water of which all have a share, for me it is thirst, but it comes to him who is upon earth. Thirst have I, though water is within me, and I knew not the place where it was, since I came to this valley. ... Turn my face to the North wind on the bank of the water: perchance so may I be saved and preserved with the benefaction. Nay but Death, his name it is Come! every one to whom he hath called comes to him straightway, their hearts beloved, through fear of him. There is none can him either of gods or of men; great and small alike rest with him, nor can any stay his fingers. He loves all, and robbeth the son from his mother. The old man moves to meet him, and all men fear and make petition before him. Yet he terms not his face towards them, he comes not to him wrappeth him, he hearkeneth not when he is worshipped, he shows himself not, even though any manner of befe is given to him. Amen.' Ausgrabungen Urbenden des Ägypt. Altbabyt. Leipzig, 1865, pl. 16.

This is perhaps the only passage in which death is personified, though the Egyptians were not averse to a sort of fictitious delineation of abstract ideas; Life, e.g., is found beside Health in the outward guise of a Nile-god (J. E. Gauthier and G. Jequier, Mémoires sur les fouilles de Licht, Paris, 1902, p. 23). The funereal 'coronation' or 'happy day' recurs again and again in the songs of the harpers at Egyptian banquetts, together with the reminder that life is short, death inevitable and eternal. Herodotus tells us (ii. 78) that at the end of each song there was 'the image of a dead body in a coffin was borne around and shown to the guests, with the words: 'When thou lookest upon this, drink and be merry, for thou shall be such as this was ere I made to this custom in our texts, but it is thoroughly Egyptian in spirit (see also Plut. de Is. et Ori. xvil.). The old songs collected by W. Max Müller, Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter, Leipzig, 1890 (pp. 29—31), recall the wretched fate of the dead:

'The nobles and glorified ones. . . buried in their pyramids, who build no more, nor is there more, what become of them? I have heard the words of inhabitants and Hard faced, told and told again; where is their place? Their walls are written, but their name is no more, as though they had never been. None cometh thence who can relate how they fare. For they came to the inevitable world. Be of good cheer, forget and enjoy thyself. Follow thy heart, so long as thou livest; place myrrh on thy head, clothe thyself with thy garb, sanctify thyself; forget sorrow and remember joy, until arrvies that day of putting to shore in the land that loveth silence."

5. The hope of immortality.—From the same Tebain tomb from which the last words are drawn (tomb of the priest Neferhotpe [56], XIXth dyn.) comes a song expressing widely different sentiments:

'I have heard those songs that are in the ancient tombs, and what they tell extolling life on earth, and belittling the region of the dead. Yet do they say that this is no more, what becomes of them? I am come to the valley, am come to the grave, and here where these tombs are not? Wrangling is in the abode of the dead, nor does any god himself against his fellow.

That land free of foes, all our kinsmen rest within it from the earliest day of the dawn. The children of millions of miles thus inherit, every one. For none may marry in the land of Egypt; none there is that passes not yonder. The span of days is but as the winter is to the summer, a transitory existence. What none awaits him who has reached the West' (P.B.S.A. xxxv. 136).

This pretty poem voices the opinions of those who, holding a firm faith in immortality, rejected the cold comfortless views of death as illustrated. No doubt that faith was born of a revulsion of feeling against the pitiless cruelty of death; and, being the offspring of the will rather than of the reason, it did not supersede nor drive out the opposite belief. The two arguments, controversial note in the state of the old funerary texts, 'Thou hast departed living, thou hast not departed dead' (Papyrus Tezeta, 154; cf. 563); or we may quote the reiterated assurance, 'Thou diest not,' in the same texts (637, 775, 781, 792, 810, 875, 1464, 1477, 1810, 1812, 2391). The multifarious funerary rites, the contracts made with the priests, and the petitions of the old strictly contrasted the tombs all imply that the benefits of immortality were not to be obtained except by elaborate forethought and deliberate effort. It is true that a discontinuance of the funerary ritual must not be identified with the beginning of the suppression; the Egyptians dreaded, for instance, lest the cessation of the offerings made to them might compel them to devour their own excreta (Z.A. xvii. [1910] 109—111). Nevertheless, there was ever lurking in the background the fear that a man might perish altogether, and that his corpse might decay and fall to pieces (Book of the Dead, titles of ch. 45, 163), this fear giving rise to the strange apprehension of a 'second death in the necropolis' (ib. chs. 44, 176, 176).

Similar conclusions might perhaps be drawn from the variety of the theories concerning the fate of the departed, who were alternately (or even simulaneously) believed to be stars in the sky, dwellers in the nether 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 native and credulous thoughtlessness, which at 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 the doctrine of immortality the terms 'life' and 'death' became so impregnated each with the meaning of the other that they no longer contradicted and excluded another one 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,' 'dise,' 'dead,' are terms that can be applied to various states from which some characteristic feature of living was absent. A few examples, mainly of philological 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 Ptahhotep we read:

'As for the fool who besmirches not, he achieves not anything, he looks upon him who knows as one who is ignorant, and upon things useless as things harmful.... he lives upon that
LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian)

wherein man die, . . . his character is told (1) in the opinion of the nobles in that he dies living every day" (Le Papyrus Prisse, ed. G. Guenard. Paris, 1899, pp. 111, 113).

Such was the fear felt by him who was admitted to the Egyptian pharaoh, that he knew not whether he was alive or dead (Sinuhe, 255; Köpel [ed. A. H. Gardiner, Literary Texts of the New Kingdom, Leipzig, 1911], iv. 1). The verb 'to live' was applied to other things besides human beings and animals; thus, whenever a man might die, his name, if properly tended, would continue to live (Pyramid Texts, 764, 899, 1024, and in later texts passionis), 'Living soul' (š-nfr) is a colloca-
tion of words which frequently occurs; yet, from its association with the dead, the word 'soul' is often determined with the hieroglyph that implies death. Pictures, statues, and images of all kinds were inculcated with a sort of life, (by virtue of a principle common to all early superstition; the sculptor was called 'he who makes to live' (š-nfr); hieroglyphs representing animals and human beings were sometimes mutilated or suppressed, obviously because they were considered the same power to injure as living things (ZA ii. 1-64).

7. Death and the gods.—Could the gods be said to live? In a sense, no doubt, they were con-
ceived as nothing more nor less than human beings. The solar deity in particular was of vitality; the Pharaoh is said to be 'granted life like Re'; Re is 'lives upon truth'; the solar hymns, especially those to the Aton (the solar god of the heretic king Akhenaten) represent all life as ema-
nating from the god; and (i) all gods and goddesses were dispensers of life. On a closer view, however, we find that the kind of life that was granted to the gods was more and more the prerogative of 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, Gespräch eines Lebens mit seiner Seele, Berlin, 1896, p. 142; cf. Papyri Petropolitani, 1164, recto 56). That the gods dwelt 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, 39455). Various dead Pharaohs and cele-
brities were posthumously deified (see art. Heroes and HERO-GODS (Egyptian), and the green or black costume that marked them as different from other beings was regarded as wholly alive. Osiris, as King of Eternity, chief of the Westerners, led but a shadowy existence, and similar conclusions are implied by the fact that certain deities were regarded as living for a time at Medinet Madi. The Pharaoh mired as Horus 'on the throne-of-Horus of the living'; under another aspect he was the 'living sphinximage of Atum' (špy nṯry n-ḥm). Alternately regarded as son of Re and 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, 71). The Apis and Mnevis bulls were respectively living emanations of Ptah and Atum, and other sacred animals whose cult was celebrated in late times doubled stood in a similar relation to the gods whom they represented. Lastly, the historical aspect from which the human soul is constructed before God was regarded as mansions of the dead, some and, in consequence, as beings long since dead.

8. The dead as a class of beings.—In the Book of the Dead, the following classification: men, gods, blessed dead (š-nfr, 'bright' ones), and dead (nw-t) (see E. A. W. Budge, Book of the Dead, London, 1898, pp. 113, 293, 298, 308, 366, 389, 477). In this classification there is a kind of chronological hierarchical arrangement; the dead of the most remote times are heller and partake more of divinity, than those recently deceased. So, too, the Pharaoh knew that he was one of the earliest rulers of Egypt to have been the gods of the first aneud; then came the lesser gods, and, lastly, the followers of Horus and earliest historical kings. Manetho records a similar sequence of gods and 'semidivine dead' (viz. of spōtānē). In the Book of the Dead, 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 Egyptologists, 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 serving to protect the living against the dead (e.g., J. Capart, in Trans. Third Congr. Hist. Rel., Oxford, 1896, 233). 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 created, finally, more truly, that pyramid but also the practice of mumification and a very extensive funereal literature—were due to the anxiety of each member of the community with regard to his own individual future welfare 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 thus deprived of the benefits and offices of his dead relatives; it is a feeling akin to that which created the whole system of funereal observances. It does not vitiate the assertion here made that the dead cannot bury themselves, and are to 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 a proper monument 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, consisted in their not asking a 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-clothes of a bluish colour were worn by women at the funeral (ZA xiv. 162); we have at least one possible allusion to lasting on the occasion of a death (Pap. Petersburg, 1167B, recto 49); friends as well as relatives attended the funeral. It was thought that after death the deceased might return 'to afford protection to their children upon earth' (Urkunden, iv. 491; Nina de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhat, London, 1914, pl. 27); and we have a number of pathetic letters to departed relatives craving their intervention and help (Pap. Caire, 25, 257, and Petrie collection, bowls with hieratic inscription, before Middle Kingdom; Pitt-Rivers collection, eur with hieratic inscription, before XVIIIth dyn. In PSBA xiv. [1892] 286). In one of these
bitter reproaches are addressed to a dear woman by her widower, who has fallen ill, blaming her for her neglect of him, and 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 'every enemy male or female, every enemy 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 are meant who still wandered homeless over the whole land. 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 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. 121.). At the same time, the duly-buried dead also had power to take vengeance on those who injured their property (see JAHN, Die Lebendigen in den Papyri des Verh. von der Gesellschaft für orientalische Sprachen, Leipzig, 1889, p. 231.). Evidently in Egypt, as in other lands, there was a danger inherent in death and in the dead, as well in blood, the symbol of death; but it is remembered that 'plague is throughout the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking' (Gardiner, The Adorations of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1906, p. 25); and, perhaps because of its association with blood, religion is in many papyri avoided for writing the names of the gods, except in the case of the evil god Seth.

11. Origin and nature of life and death.—The Pyramid Texts (1466 B.C.) reach a stage in which '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 Religions, Berlin, 1909, pp. 22-26), but in most of these 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 connexion, doubtless owing to the numbers in which tadpoles appear, just as though they had come into existence by themselves out of the water. Hence not only did the frog become a symbol of the resurrection (when 'a, 'living again'), but it was intimately associated with the beginning of things: in the Hermopolitan myth the eight primitive creatures were the first born, and in the Abydene tale the frog-headed goddess Heket was associated with Khnum in the creation (see W. Spiegelberg and A. Jacoby, in Sphinx, v. (1903) 212-228). Life, once being started, was sustained by the physical process of reproduction (see esp. Song of Harper, 1, 1; Adorations, 12, 2-4), but the gods, especially the sun-god, Re, were none the less the cause and mainspring of life (the birth of Osiris 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 (H. Breasted, 'The Philosophy of the Memphite Priest,' in ZET xxix. (1903) 35.), which seeks to explain how the 'soul' (the soul of the united human) is united into 'Heart' (that seat of the imaginative, judging faculty), as inseparable by Horus, and 'Tongue' (the organ of command, i.e. the executive, with the heart or imagination as impersonated by Thoth, here personified as the voice of the individual). All this, through the heart and the tongue, is the heart of man, and it is the heart that causes every recognition (judgment) to go forth; it is the tongue to make the servant of the human mouth; to the heart is given what the heart desires. In this way Prab necessarily appears to be the cause of all things done by living creatures; he is, in other words, the vital principle itself. This philosophical analysis of human, or rather animal, activity is up to the present unique, and perhaps represents the thought of some unusually gifted 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 no other effort of such scientific views with the current mythology has yet come to light.

12. Magico-medical views.—A certain pre-natal existence is assumed in many hyperbolic expressions, as 'he who is in the womb' (see P. P. Bagh, supra, p. R 33.). The normal view, of course, was that life began with birth; with a writer speaks of 'the children who are broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the crocodile before they ever lived' (Tabnit, iii. 49.). The medical papyri contain prognostications for telling whether a child will live or not; 'if it says Ny [a sound like the word for 'yes'], it will live; if it says emu [a sound like the word for 'no'], it will die' (Pap. Ebers, ed. L. Stem, Leipzig, 1872-76, 97. 13. f.). Spolia were used to prevent women from conceiving, and there are various other ways in which birth is touched upon by the magico-medical Amarna papyri; all sorts of amulets were employed to protect life; and, conversely, magic was secretly employed to bring about an enemy's death (e.g., by means of waxen images (Pap. Lee; see P. E. Newberry, The Ancient Egyptian Papyri, London, 1866). A Turin papirus 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, 1860, p. 86). Some kinds of death were considered happier than others; death by drowning, e.g., was a kind of apotheosis, doubtless because Osiris had perished in this way, and those who died thus were called kheru (see JAHN, v. xvi. (1909) 132.). Curses were considered efficient magical means of afflicting 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 'an, 'to live,' was used transitively in the sense of 'to swear by,' and the Coptic word for an oath is anash. Most contracts and legal deposition during the New Kingdom begin with the words, 'As Amun endures, and as the Sovereign endures.' In the law-courts witnesses often swore oaths affecting their own life and property (conditional self-curses; see Spiegelberg, Studien und Mittheilungen der Pharaonischen, Hanover, 1892, pp. 71-81).

13. Life and the law.—On this subject consult the art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 13 (1-8), 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 (Pap. Turin, 55, 1), unless the charge made in the passage here quoted was one of brutality leading to a miscarriage. Particularly abhorrent was bloodshed between close relatives, as father and son, or a man and his maternal brothers (see Gardiner, Adorations, p. 10); capital punishment was less favourably considered than punishment by imprisonment and the bastinado (Pap. Ptolemaea, 11164, 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. The concept of the mystical 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 anarchical 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, i. 30 f., puts into the mouth of Solon in his interview with Croesus, 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 Croesus whom he considered the happiest man (Oδηγείτωρ) he had ever seen. To the surprise of Croesus, Solon answered that one hand, 'In a prosperous city, and had sons handsome and good (ευχάριστοι καὶ καλοεύς), and all ascribed to a thrift that carried them all and all, and he was fortunate in his fortune, and in his circumstances, and in his health, and in his leisure, and in his self-control, and in his constitution, and in his family, and in his character, and in his friends. He was the only man who could say that his whole life was happy.'

Croesus then asked whether he considered second in happiness Solon answered, 'Chlos and Bithon.' These were natives of Argos, possessed of sufficient fortune, and, moreover, endowed with physical vigour of body that both were prize-winners in the games. It is further related of them that on one occasion, when the Arigtes were celebrating a festival in honour of Hera, it was customary that their mother, as priestess of Hera, should be conveyed to the temple on an ox-waggons. The oxen not arriving from the field in time, the young men hurried themselves to the waggon and drove it to the temple, a distance of forty-five stades. After they had performed this feat in view of the assembly, there came upon them a most unexpected end of life, wherein God clearly revealed that death is better for a man than all the wealth of Argos. The strength of the young men, and the women of Argos called their mother blessed in that she had such sons. Then their mother rejoiced and said, 'It is her sons' deeds and in the speech of the neighbours, and, standing before the image of the goddess, besought her to give to them what they had done. The goddess called on her such honour, the best thing that man can acquire. After this prayer, whereas her husband had sacrificed and feasted, they fell asleep in the temple and in their sleep they died of natural causes.

For the rich-innumerable, rich in riches, rich in life, rich in property, rich in children, rich in friends. The Argives in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made with the following inscription: 'The one who belongs to Argos.'

Croesus was ignorant that Solon should not assign to him even the second place among happy men. Then Solon said:

"Of necessity I am bringing up many affairs—me who know that the deity (ζήλους) is always jealous and delights in confusion. Yet the length of days men are constrained to see many things they would not willingly see, and to suffer many things they would not willingly suffer, in the term of a man's life at seventy years... Now in all these days of seventy years... no one day brings us at all anything like another. Thus, O Croesus, man is altogether the sport of chance (τίρτης ἐποιηήρει διάμαρτυς). That is why men are told to keep away from the sight of the beautiful; for that is the way to show the secrets of the god—of his mercy. For all the actions of the son of Mars are by nature beautiful. Many who abound in wealth are unhappy in life (εὐδαιμονοὶ), and many who have only a moderate competency are fortunate (εὐτυχεῖς). He that abounds in riches and is yet unhappy (Οὐδένα), excels the other only in two things; but the other surpasses him in many things. The former is indeed, better able to gratify his desires and to bear a great blow of adversity. But the other surpasses him in all other respects: although he is not able to meet the blows of misfortune or the claims of his desires, yet his good fortune (εὐτυχία) wards off these things from him, and he enjoys the full use of his limbs; he is free from disease, unshaken by evil, blessed with a fine form (εὐθαλείον), happy in his children (εὐγενεῖς); and, if all these things come at last to be crowned by a decent end, such a one is the man you seek, and may justly be called happy (εὐδαιμῶν). For until that time we ought to suspend our judgment, and not to pronounce him happy (εὐδαιμῶν), but only fortunate (εὐτυχεῖς). Now because no man can possibly attain to this perfection of happiness; as no one region yields all good things, but produces some and wants others, that country being best which affords the greatest plenty; and, further, because no human body is in all respects self-sufficient, but, possessing some advantages, is destitute of others: he who continues to enjoy the greatest number of these and then ends his life graciously, in my judgment, O Croesus, deserveth the name of happy (εὐδαιμών). For he that is happy (εὐδαιμῶν) is happy (εὐδαιμών) in every way, however the end shall be: for many to whom God has given a glimpse of happiness (εὐθαλείας θηρίος), He has afterwards utterly overthrown.

In reviewing these passages we may begin with the last point: 'Consider the end of everything.' This is a favourite sentiment in Greek poetry, and there seems to be a note of conscious pride in the words with which Herodotus concludes the episode:

"When he made this reply, he found no favour with Croesus, who held of him no account and dismissed him, considering him a very foolish man (μήθης) who, overlooking present blessings, looks men look to the end of every thing. Life is to be viewed as a whole. Already in Homer we find it a mark of the wise man that he 'looks before and after.' It is a favourite notion in Finlar:

'The ring around the minds of men unnumbered errors, and this is the hopeless thing to discover—what is best for a man both now and in the end' (Od. vii. 314). Hence the hopeless distinction here drawn between the 'happy' man (Oδηγείτωρ ὁ Διὸς θείου θεοῦ μεγαρριστὸς [Διῳνισίας] and the merely fortunate (εὐτυχεῖς). A man may be prosperous, but 'the Greek way is not to call him happy, but the 'foolish.' Greek refuses that title till he has seen the end of all:

'Behold, this is Odipus; he is he who solved the famous middle and was a man most mighty. But what avail is what a sea of dire calamity is he taken? Therefore, while a mortal waits to see that final day, call no man happy. For all men who have passed the final bounds of life, having suffered no evil (Sophocles, Oid. 1354 f.; cfr. Trag. 15 f.; Eurip. Androm. 100 f.),

Aristotle discusses the saying of Solon in Eth. Nic. i. 10:

εὐθαλείας έστι εὔδαιμον, δόκει ὧν ἐστιν εὐθαλείας ἐστιν εὔδαιμον, ἐστιν ὧν ἐστιν εὔθαλος καὶ εὐθαλοῦς τες.

He begins by asking what the saying means. Does it mean that a man is happy (εὐθαλεῖα) only when he is dead, as a hereditary end of life, wherein God clearly revealed that death is better for a man than all the wealth of Argos. The strength of the young men, and the women of Argos called their mother blessed in that she had such sons. Then their mother rejoiced and said, 'It is her sons' deeds and in the speech of the neighbours, and, standing before the image of the goddess, besought her to give to them what they had done. The goddess called on her such honour, the best thing that man can acquire. After this prayer, whereas her husband had sacrificed and feasted, they fell asleep in the temple and in their sleep they died of natural causes.

The Arkites in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made with the following inscription: 'The one who belongs to Argos.'
seen, is characterized by self-sufficiency (σέρταρες), it is a self-sufficiency which includes children and other relatives and friends; otherwise it would have to include the relatives of relatives, the friends of friends, and so on indefinitely (Eth. Nic. i. 7). When we are estimating the happiness of a man's life, then, we must take into the balance the fortunes or misfortunes of relatives and friends: but, here again, within limits. A man may have lived happily until old age and have died happily. But after his death (1) his relatives may not have been happy, (2) and these relatives will be of all degrees of nearness and remoteness of relation to the dead man. Now it is equally absurd either (1) to suppose that we must include in our consideration all sorts of degrees of distant relations, which would mean an indefinite postponement of our verdict, or (2) to refuse to take account any posthumous happenings at all. The ground of our refusal to bestow the title of 'happy' on a living man is that we consider happiness as something stable and abiding, whereas life is subject to continual change. Consequently, if we judge a man by his condition at any one given time, we shall have to call him sometimes happy, sometimes unhappy. Is not our true solution that we must neglect accidents in our estimate? Most accidents are not determinative of τὸ διανοητικός. What determines happiness or the reverse is ἡ ὅδε τεκμιρσία or the reverse. This view is supported by our present problem. So long as we judge by accidents, we are not better off when the individual is dead than when he was alive. We can judge by the stable things, i.e., by the ἔργων καὶ μέρισμα, on which the reverse is more abiding, as it is in these chiefly that the happy live out their lives (καὶ ἐργα). Hence these are more stable and abiding even than our knowledge of special sciences, which we are not living in and are therefore liable to forget. Thus the stability and permanence which we desire will belong to the ἔργων, and he will be ὅδε τεκμιρσία all his life. His happiness may be tarnished by untoward accidents, but it will not be extinguished. He will never become ὅδε τεκμιρσία, or truly unhappy, for he will never do things which are ἔργα καὶ μέρισμα. If overwhelming misfortunes come to him, he will cease to be μέρισμα, but he will not become ὅδε τεκμιρσία. Happiness can be affected only by the greatest things, whether for good or evil. Hence we may add the proviso 'if it continues.' If so, we shall say that those who have goods and shall continue to have them are μέρισμα, but μέρισμα ἔργων—always liable to εὐμνησία. We may not defer our judgment, but we may qualify it by saying that they are happy, but with a mortal happiness.

To confine our view to the individual's life, and to neglect all that happens to others that affect his death to those near and dear to him, is to take too un-social a view. On the other hand, we must make some limitation. There are two further considerations: (1) posthumous events must be regarded as neutral in our judgment of a man's life much less than if the same thing happened while he still lived; he, at any rate, was spared the knowledge of them; (2) we do not know whether the death of others in these cases is contrary to our own.
LIFE AND DEATH (Greek and Roman)

This is the point of Clytemnestra's words in Iliad. Agam. 904 f.: "Let there be no jealousy; for many were the evil deeds that we endured abscissina." That is, our present good fortune should not act as a spur to new ambitions, but as a warning against any evil intentions. We have been sufficiently punished.

It is nothing to be jealous of a friend's happiness. "Our calamities are likely to abate; for the enemy have had enough success; and if our expedition prospers, the jealousy of them will be abated."

Sokias in Thucyd. vii. 77. 3: "Our calamities are likely to abate; for the enemy have had enough success; and if our expedition prospers, the jealousy of them will be abated."

2. Miles of Polycrates of Samos (Herod. iii. 48). His continued prosperity (corycæa) excited the anger of Polycrates, who spoke to him in these terms: "It is pleasant to hear of the good fortunes of a friend and ally. But the excess of 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 fortunes and sometimes stumble, rather than be fortunes or stumble in everything."

Though Polycrates' prosperity surpassed my fortunrear in every way, it is not a cause of envy. "It is well known how Polycrates cast a valuable ring into the sea, but it was never found."

The jealousy of the gods is not the jealousy of men. They do not base their jealousy on caprices, but the little changes in the balance of power. That jealousy is not towards us, but towards those of us who are too powerful. The jealousy of the gods is a balance of power. It is a balance of the undoing of one man, and the doing of another. If the balance is not kept, then the gods will not be at peace. If the balance is kept, the gods will be at peace. The gods are jealous of the balance of power.

The wise and good man is the man who recognizes the chances of mortality. The fools that are happy cannot be happy.

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 Aristotle in his "Ethics" (1045 b). This passage excellently illustrates the Greek doctrine:

The doctrine of the jealousy of the gods is re-published as a "poetic falsehood" by Aristotle, Met. 1. 2, 983.

The things which make us happy are, according to Socrates, adequate endowments of worldly goods, health, beauty of person, prosperous children, and a death in accord with these goods.

This enumeration of the elements of happiness is consonant with general Greek views of human happiness. What is distinctive is the interest of the character in asking for a happy life. In contrast to the Greek ideal of the individual, the character is interested in the happiness of the whole community.
Sophocles, frag. 328 (f.). A popular svolon, or drinking-song, says:

"Health is best for a mortal man; second, to be free of body (φυλαται τον ανθρωπον); third, to have wealth without guilt; fourth, to be unknown to your friends." (Pindar, fr. 163, gives (1) health, (2) success (ευτυχεια), (3) joy (χαρα), and (4) to owe no man.

Pindar (Pyth. i. 99 f.) says:

"Health is the first of the first prizes; a fair issue of (κατεχεστικα) is in the second lot; he who has chanced on both and on them has the crowns." (Cl. Isag. i. 17, v. 12, Numa i. 33, i. 40, Pyth. ill. 104; Aristoph. Av. 405; Soph. Est. i. 144; Pindar, Pyth. i. 53; Thucyd, vi. 116; Bacchyl. i. 27 f.)

According to Aristotel. happiness is an ευτυχεια καθ' άρχην. But he admits, in Eth. Nic. i. 8, that "nevertheless it does appear that happiness has need also of the external 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 many and good happiness—the lack of birth, children, beauty. You could not well apply the term "happy" to a man who was utterly ugly, or lew-born, or solitary and childless. Again, less still, 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 need such outward prosperity. Hence some identify good fortune (ευτυχεια) with happiness, others identify happiness with virtue (ερημος)." 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 ευτυχεια, παλαια, χρυσωπα, δολαι, ευτυχεια, πολιτευεια, ευτυχεια: the physical excellences, as ευτυχεια, εκλογα, ετυχεια, μέγεθος, δομας αγωνιστικης; and δεσμος, τιμη, ευτυχεια, ερημος.

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

(a) ευτυχεια, good birth, may be predicated of a nation or a State, 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 has 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 (δεσμοι, ανθρωπος) in lawful wedlock (Arist. Pol. iii. 1. 4 f.; Dem. adv. Neer. Aristoph. Av. 1600 f.). It implies, further, that the earliest members 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. PINDAR).

(b) γαλολος and χρυσωρας, the possession of many 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 takes a prominent place in the Greek ideal of life.

"Of all kinds are the uses of friends; above all is troubish, and joy also seeks to behold its own assurance" (Pindar, Nem. viii. 84 f.). It is a good friend I could not even as that a man should cast away the life in his own bosom, which he loves most" (Soph. Oed. Rex, 611 f.).

We next consider friendship among men—Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pythai, Castor and Pollux. The last is the theme of one of the most beautiful of Pindar's poems, Nem. x.

The former has the life of Homer, and the latter is what is main. Pollux asks to be allowed to die with him: 'Grant me, O Lord, to die with him.'

with him! A man's honour is departed when he is rift of his friends, and few there be that are faithful in the day of trouble to share the travail' (76 f.).

The false friend is the object of bitter scorn (Finn. Isag. ii. 11; Hesych. Aet. 786, et seq.). We hear, of course, of a more cynical sort, and split one should always look upon a friend as a possible enemy (Sop. Af. 677 f.; Eurip. Hipp. 253 f.).

(c) Ανοιχτεια, wealth.

ευτυχεια and ανοιχτεια: 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 physically—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 illiberality' (πετραγά αμεταναπτατος).

The high standard of female excellence is very important for the state; for when the condition of the woman is vicious, as at Lacedaemon, there is no happiness in half the state.

The importance of having children lies partly in keeping property within the family, since the better thought of the childless is that he is too soon 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 other side of youth, and greatly warms his heart, since wealth that falls to an outsider without expecting is most hateful for a dying man' (Pind. Ol. 4. 154 f.).

partly in that there will be no one to pay the memorial offerings to the dead (ετυμοτωρας). These motives find their frequent occurrence in the frequency of adoption (ευτυχεια),

ευτυχεια, a good old age. This denotes an old age which approaches gradually and 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 ηλικιως. 'It is indeed true that some attain long life without physical excellences.'

(f) The physical excellences: (1) ειρημος, health, i.e. freedom from disease, full possession of bodily faculties. Such a thing as the want of health is entirely outside the circle of Heroidus (Plato, Rep. 3. 406) is not desirable, as it means the denial of all, or nearly all, human pleasures. (2) καλος, beauty. A different kind 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 pentathlete 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) εκλογα, strength. (4) μετατον, stature— but not so as to be unwieldy. (5) δομας αγωνιστικης, athletic excellence—size, strength, speed; good running, wrestling, and boxing.

1 Cf. Isaeus ii. 45 f.: 'I have shown you that the laws give power to childless men to adopt sons. It is clear, moreover, that I paid attention to him while he lived and buried him when he died. My opponent wishes to turn me out of my father's estate, he is 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 holds, none to remember him and bestow upon him (ειρημος καθ' άρχην και εμοιασις ουχωρας), but to rob him of his honours. Providing for this, Meleander, being master of his property, adopted a son, that he might get the good he had previously been entitled to. But he, then, was persuaded by these men to rob me of the title of heroism, which is all that is left, and make me nameless, without his name. But, the matter has come to you and you have power to dispose of it, help us and help him who is now in the house of Hades and do not, if in the name of your own interest, allow him to be insulted by them.' (See further art. Anomoeon [Greek]).
LIFE AND DEATH

(g) ἔσος οίδώτε, i.e. to be regarded as a good man (μεριτός), or as 'the possessor of something which all men or most men or good men or wise men desire.');

(h) τιμή, or honour, i.e. honours paid for benefaction, and the respect in themselves or great in the circumstances (cf. Dem. adv. Lept. § 41). Such honours are sacrifices, memorial stones and verse, privileges, allotments in land, foremost seats on public occasions, tombs, statues, maintenance of the public charges, barbaric compliments—e.g., prostrations and giving place—local compliments.

(ι) τυμός, as being both honourable and valuable intrinsically, appeal equally to the φιλομουσίους and the φιλοποιούς.

(κ) εὐσχία, or good fortune. It is the gift of fate that especially excites envy.

(λ) ἀρετή, virtue. This is discussed in Ethic. ch. ix. Virtue is not merely desirable—as gifts of τούτων—but also τεντάσις. It is 'a faculty of preserving and preserving good things and a faculty of conferring benefits,' and its elements are justice, bravery, self-control, magnanimity (μεγάλωσις), goodness, wisdom, practical (φορέω), and speculative (σοφία).


The four cardinal virtues, according to Plato, are courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom (Rep. 427 E); but the soverign virtues, which involve all the others, are justice, which, as we have seen, Plato defines as τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ πράττει καὶ μὴ πολεμοῦμεν. In the famous passage of Pindar (Nem. iii. 74 ff.), 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 soverign and governing principle of all the rest: ἐλέος καὶ τίμας ἀπερετής οὐ κεραίφοις, ὕπατος δὲ οἰκείον τὸ παρακείμενον τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πράττει.

However this may be, justice may be, justly, may be, justice may be, justice the other all the virtues. And the moral conscience of man demands in the name of justice that the just man shall have his reward. So Heesom, Works and Days, 270 ff.

(μ) ἡ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅταν οὐκ ἢν αὐτοὶ μιαίναι αὖταν ἄνθρωποι! For it is an ill thing to be just, if the unjust shall have the greater justice. Hesiod then proceeds: 'It is not that Zeus will give this man the gift of being provest for a time, but justice is better in the end.' (Od. 217 f.). 'On that which is pleasant but contrary to justice a man never lend ends warrant' (Pind. 1. 71, vi. 94 ff.). 'Thus swift are the minds of men to accept a gilded galls in preference to justice, albeit they travel to a harsh reckoning' (Pind. Pyth. iv. 339 ff.). 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 those who wander to and to townsmen deal straight-judgments, and no whit depart from justice, their city flourishes, and their land is broad; And is their land is peace, the nurse of children, and Zeus does not never decree war for them. Neither does Panthe eunuchs, the man who deals straight-judgments, but with mingling they tend the works that are their care. For them earth breaths much livelihood, and where they are no fear, the oak's task is been; their fleecy sheep are heavy with wool; their wives bear children like unto their fathers; they favor with good things continually, whether it on ships, but bounteous earth with earthy fruit for them' (Works and Days, 289 ff.).

Even so the punishment of the wicked is in this world, whether in their own persons or in the persons of their descendants:

'But those who enmity, enmity, and forward works, for them doth Zeus of the future ages, the son of Cronus, declare justice. Yes, oftentimes a whole city reapeth the recompense of the evil men, who sin and worketh evil to the righteous. On them doth the son of Cronus bring from heaven a grievous visitation, even famine and plague together, and a people perish. Their wives bear not children; their houses decay by derailing of Olympian Zeus; or anon he destroyeth a city by a host of them, within a wall it in it under the city.' (Od. 225 ff.).

In Repub. 363 A ff., Plato discusses this view of justice and its rewards. Goods are classified into these sorts: (1) those desirable for their own sake; (2) those desirable for their own sake and for their consequences, and (3) those desirable for their consequences alone. Whereas Sozocrates would place justice in the second of the three classes, the many would place it in the third. Popular morality says that justice is desirable because it leads to reward in this life—a position which is open to the objection that 'seeming to be just' is preferable to 'being just.' Parents exhort their children to be just for the sake of office and other advancement, and because, according to Hesiod (loc. cit.) and Homer (Od. xix. 109 ff.), the gods prosper the just in this life. Then follows a striking parallelism.

'Still greater are the gifts of heaven which Musaeus and his son (Zonourus) offer to the just: they take them down into this world below, where they rest in a house, in a garden, at a feast, overabstaining, crowned with garlands; their idea seems to be that an immortality of drunkards is the highest reward of virtue. Some extend their rewards yet further; the poesy, as they say, of the faithful and just shall survive to the third and fourth generations, in the style in which they praise justice. But after the wicked there is another strain; they bring them in a sly craft, and make them carry water in a sieve; also while they are yet living they bring them to infamy, and inflict upon them the punishments which Glauce desiring the city, as the portion of the righteous, are reputed to be unjust; nothing else does their invention supply.'

According to Homer's eschatology, there remains for the dead only a shadowy existence in a dim land under, in dark places even the gods abhor. This life after death, if it can be called life, holds nothing like love or desire. (Hesiod, Works and Days, 270 ff.)

There seems to be no distinction of destiny between the good and the wicked, except, indeed, that perjury is said to be punished in the world below (H. ii. 379, xix. 360). We have, it is true, some traces of a brighter fancy.

The poet tells of an 'Elysian plain at the ends of the earth, where fair-haired Rhadamantus reigned; where life is most easy for men; neither snow nor great storm nor rain is there, but ever as the shrill West wind blows, Ocean sends forth breezes to refresh men' (Od. iv. 363); but Homer assigns this fate only to Medusas, (whom it was decreed that he should not die nor meet his fate in Ares, the pastured lands of horses,' because he 'had Helen to wife and was the son-in-law of Zeus.' They tell of certain islands of the Blest far in the Western Ocean where the heroes of the Thesean and Trojan Wars dwell under the kindly rule of Cronus—happy (Eikides) heroes, for whom the bounteous earth bears sweetest fruit, blooming throes a year (Hesiod, Works and Days, 160 ff.; cf. also Hes. Theog. 498; see also the 'Greek and Roman').

But such a lot was apparently reserved for the heroes of old, who, without suffering dissolution of soul and body, were by the favour of the gods transported to a terrestrial paradise.

The introduction to Greece of mystic and mystical worship, and the rise of the Orphic and Pythagorean teaching towards the end of the 6th cent., gave a new and heightened interest in the doctrine of the soul's survival after death. In the mysteries, of which those at Eleusis were the most celebrated, it would seem that a fairer prospect was offered to the initiated—a revelation of immortality in a larger life of perpetual felicity beyond the grave. Hence we find in Pindar, alongside of the language of orthodox Greek belief, glimpses of a larger and brighter hope, expressed in passages.
which are among the most striking in the range of Greek literature:

1. Wealth adored with deeds of process... is a conspicuous instance of the history of mankind, and he who has not felt that which is to come: that the helpless minds of the dead pay straightly here their penance, while the wise done done in the land of the living, must pass through the earth, augmented by the bonds of restraint. But equally evermore by night and day they seek to vilify the gods, excusing a life free from toil, existing near the earth with might of hand, neither the waters of the sea in that ghastly life, but with the honours of the gods they make that their own, and their duties ... live a life of happiness, while others the water feedeth, with wreaths and garlands, and most of them receive their hands from the true conqueror of Shadamanthias, whom the father Croesus hath as his ready assessor, Croesus, husband of Rhod, the wealthiest of all.

Pindar'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 harnessed is it finally redeemed. Such souls, according to another passage of Pindar (frag. 133), receive a final embodiment as kings and wise men and athletes, and after death become, not indeed gods, but heroes.

"From whom Persophos in the tenth year scoops the atonement of ancient woe, the soul of him whose heart seeks back to the upspringing paths of the age, who form them springing glorious wings and men and women and strong and mightiest in wisdom; and for the future they are called by men holy heroes."

Again, in frag. 137 Pindar says, in reference to the mysteries:

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

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

"By happy dispensation (ὁλόκληρος ἀνθρώπος) all travel to an end which was not from man. And the body, indeed, of all goes with mighty Death. But there remaineth alive a phantom of life; for that alone cometh from the gods. It slumbereth when the brain is 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 inscribed in terms of human bliss:

"For them shines the strength of the sun below while here it is night. And in measure of a world. Nor is it the hope of a blessed immortality that is subject to the observation in the world of the gods (frag. 139):

"By happy dispensation": Strange, indeed, would this have sounded to the Homeric hero, and hardly the stranger, it would seem, to the orthodox Greek of the 5th century. It is not easy to estimate how far the ideas to which Pindar here gives expression had affected the general body of his countrymen, but we should 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.

When death is spoken of as desirable, it is merely as κακοῦ καρασφών, a refuge from evil, a dream of triumph.

"World that some face might come, speedy, not over-painful, nor with lingering bed, bringing to us the everlasting, endless sleep" (R. A. H. Ash, 1442).

It does not seem probable that the conception of the nature of life after death exercised any determining influence on the course of the life of the individual. 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 age towards life and death presupposes the same general frame of

work as we have outlined in the case of Greece; the same conception of the gods which made up the context of human happiness; the same conception of death as the latter, and the same belief in the duty of paying solemn offerings (patermatia) to the dead. When we advance beyond orthodox opinion to the region of poetic fancy or philosophic speculation, we find that there are merely encountrary 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 be wiser 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 lour of bereavement in the world, or heighten a blessed reunion hereafter. When Cicero lost by death his beloved daughter Tullia, in the letter of condolence written to him by his friend Servius Sulpicius (ad Fam., iv. 5) the topic is brought in to draw 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 reddita, cum ab Agrippa Magna, caput regionum circumiacens perepsisse; postea ex urbibus Agrippa, ante nos Magna, spectaculum Romanum; caput, quae quadam temporibus Serventium furerum crassum, et trium saevo osculum faciat. Caput est nempe cogitare: "huius, non hominem imaginari, aut quod contra terrarum itinere est, quae inas, quaque tua brevior esse debet, cum sum loco tota epistulae cadaveris praebet lacens?" Vales tu, Servi, cohors!"

"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 which is accepted in the question of suicide. The general feeling both in Greece and in Rome seems to have been one of pity for the suicide rather than condemnation. Thus, e.g., Pindar, who three times refers to the increase in suicide in his age, is appalled by the Thesban points clearly to a different attitude on the part of the Greeks in general. Naturally the Orphic-Phytagorean school, insisting on the reality of a true existence conditioned for recompense or reward by the account of the present life, condemned suicide. In the Phaedo, 61 Cff., Plato says that the good man will desire to be dead in order to free his soul from the ebbing influence of the body, which hinders him in the pursuit of truth: 'only, perhaps, he will not do violence to himself, for this, they say, is not lawful' (έα γενεσται); and he proceeds to refer to a 'secret doctrine' (τὸ ἔρημα θεοφόρον), this man is here 'in a sort of prison' (ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ), from which he has no right to free himself or run away' (cf. Cicero, Cat. Maj. 20; Plato, Phaedr. 250 C, Crat. 400 C, Gorgias, 496 A)."
stances suicide is a duty. Sacrilege, he tells us, is an inherited malady. When a man is tempted to commit such an offence, he should "give himself up to his passions, go as a supplant to the temple of the gods who avert evils, go to the society of those who are called good amongst you; hear them tell, and yourself try to repeat after them, that every man should honor the noble and the just. Fly from the company of the wicked—but and then you would season your disease is lightened by these remedies, well and good; but if not, then acknowledge death to be sober than life, and depart hence."

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, i. 31, holds that in the same circumstances suicide is for one man a duty, for another a crime. A man must decide in consonance with his character. Thus Cato committed suicide, as did Archilochus and many a Greek.

This question, like the question of the life after death, seems to have been in general considered open. It is always to be remembered that religious formulaire and religious practices lag behind the true and genuine beliefs of those who practise them, and ritual is an unsafe index of the inner meaning of the worshipper. Thus we hear much of oracles in Greek history, and undoubtedly they exercised an enormous influence. Yet even so early as Homer we find it considered an open question whether one should obey an oracle or not:

"If it were some other and a child of earth that had made me this, we should say that he was an oracle from sorcery; then would we declare it false and rather turn our backs upon it." (Hymn. xxv. 825.)

In Horace’s mouth is the famous declaration that ‘One men is best—to fight for one’s country’ (H. i. 235). So in Rome Cesar, while holding the office of Pontifex Maximus, delivered himself in the Senate of the doctrine that after death there was no place either for trouble or for joy:

'In luce autque minoris horrenda summa requies, sem prudens, eam sem non aequa mortales invenire, ultra necus cuneque studio locum esse' (Sall. Catil. ii. 80).

So widely divided, indeed, was outward practice from inward belief that Cicero ‘wondered how, when one soothsayer met another, he could help laughing’ (De Div. ii. 32). But the better minds, persuaded as they were that death meant either extinction or a true after-life in which the good should fare better than the wicked, prepared themselves for the great change much in the spirit of the Platonic Socrates, by setting their house in order. Thus Cicero:

"Hanc res sacra sunt fore. Quamquam tempus est non de perpetuo illa iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare" (ad Att. ii. 1).

See, further, art. HANNESEN (Greek and Roman).


A. W. MAIR.

LIFE AND DEATH (Hebrew).—There are two words which in the English OT are very often translated ‘life’: nepheh and koyym. Nepheh denotes the inner occult cause of life’s activities. A nepheh 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. Haoyym represents life abstractly, as a state or condition—vitality, mental and moral activity.

1. Nepheh.—OT psychology has always been a crux for Biblical scholars, because they have too often looked for it (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 conception. Nepheh, conceived to be another nepheh—the blood-soul, resident in the blood; and, when the blood was shed, the nepheh was released. The shedding of blood received much sanctity, much connexion with sacrifice, and the Hebrew priests were endowed with the efficacy of sacrifice to the blood-soul. This is most accurately expressed in Lv 17. The nepheh of the flesh is the life of the blood. . . . The blood is found in all Semitic languages, in much the same senses 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 engaged in religious speculation, have survived in occasional metaphors or modes of speech. There were three ways in which the phenomena of life were regarded by early man, as we may infer at a glance, by external observation, noting the manifestations of life in other men and in animals; (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 nevehim, ‘breath’; when violently, it was called it rihim, ‘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 nevehim and his rihim.

(1) The objective soul.—Life 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 the primitive man: as the cessation of breathing, and as being caused by the shedding of blood.

(c) The universal and inevitable accompaniment of death is cessation of breathing, and this, as 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 vapour 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, Nepheh 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 him—and thus the cause of life—was a living spirit or soul, dwelling in man’s chest, the breath-soul, which Semites called the nepheh, i.e. a semi-physical, semi-psychical thing, 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 ‘breath out the nepheh’ (Jer 15, Job 11). When Rachel was dying and gave a name to her infant son, ‘her nepheh was departing’ (Gen 35). When Elijah prayed for the recovery of the Shammah’s son, he stretched himself on the child and the child’s nepheh came into him again (1 K 17). 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 heartbeat was conceived to be another nepheh—the blood-soul, resident in the blood; and, when the blood was shed, the nepheh was released. The shedding of blood received much sanctity, much connexion with sacrifice, and the Hebrew priests assigned the efficacy of sacrifice to the blood-soul.

This is most accurately expressed in Lv 17.11, ‘The nepheh of the flesh is the life of the blood. . . . The blood
mankind by reason of the nephesh, more laxly in Dt 12:11, 'The blood is the nephesh,' is elucidated in Lv 17:4, where we read, 'The nephesh of all flesh is its blood, by reason of its nephesh' (so Kk, Kjv), 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, we ate that which the nephesh 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.' (Lv 19:26): cf. Dt 12:16.

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 interrelated or unified one with another. The word nephesh is not used in the OT of the cause of the vitality residing in each of these organs, but it would be quite analogous to the ideas of one ancient people 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 corporeal death for some considerable time. What is to us poetry and metaphor was in the hour past often accepted as solid fact, as, for instance, when we read of Jacob in Gn 44:23, 'His life (nephesh) is bound up with the lad's nephesh' and of Jonathan in I S 18:4, 'His nephesh was knit to the nephesh of David.' In the statement that the soul of Shechem clave to Dinah (Gn 34) 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 Jacob to 'putting one soul in one's hand' (Job 18:14, Jer 12, 15:19, Ps 119:14, 148:13).

The consequences of the temporary departure of a soul were believed to be gladness, mental distraction, sickness, or death (Ezek 14:4). There may be an allusion to this in the words of Saul in 2 S 1, if, with Grotius, we may alter the difficult, if not impossible, words יִכְבְּרֵשׁ יִכְבְּרֵשׁ into יִכְבּוּר יִכְבּוּר. Saul has been wounded and is bleeding to death, and his words would then be: 'Gladness 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 1:13); 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 'snitten' when a wound inflicted causes bloodshed, (Gn 37:25, Dt 19:11); or this nephesh may be 'slain' in unintentional homicide (Nu 31:29, 33:29), or in murder (2 S 4:9); while in Dt 27:25 a curse is pronounced on one who should 'snatch away a nephesh of innocent 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 19:26).

(3) The subjective-objective method. Man believed himself to be the object of attack or of benign influences from other spirits, or from the one great Spirit, God. When the influence was gentle, he conceived of it as 'breath' (nachamah); and when it was violent he spoke of it as to a 'livespirit' (nachash), partly, no doubt, because it caused him to part with excitement. The stronger emotions of man were traced to the rifle, or spirit of man, while the gentler emotions and the inspirations from the Divine were due to the action of the Divine nachamah or the human nachamah. See SPIRIT.

2. Haṣṣim. — Ḥaṣṣim is a plural form, for which no singular is extant (the root is ḥṣr ḥṣr, 'to live'). It is an intensive plural, denoting diversity in unity. As the plural form Elhālm seems to express the conception of one God with many manifestations, so Ḥaṣṣim 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. — Ḥaṣṣim 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' (De 1, 1 S 2, Jer 50, Ps 90:10); and of 'the days of one's one life' (Gn 29:29, Es 4:9); and of 'the days of the years of one's life' (Gn 23:47); (b) in relation to its antithesis, physical death (Jes 25, Jer 21, Ps 89:4); and (c) in relation to the events

1 H. W. Robinson, Christian Doctrine of Man, p. 221.

2 OT and NT Theology, Eng tr., Edinburgh, 1888, p. 182.
which occur in one's lifetime, or are the outcome of one's energies or labours (Lv 18:19);

decides of valor (Jg 16:26), singing God's praises
(Ps 104:32), sensual enjoyments (Ec 3:14);
'They were lovely and beautiful in their lives (2 S 11:2);
'My soul is weary of my life' (Job 17:14);
'Preserve me, O Lord, from the fear of the enemy' (Ps 42:1).

The remarkable thing as to the Hebrew usage of הָיְבִנָן is the clear conviction that 'life' is
something more than a continuance of physical and
mental functions; it is the dignity of man—that man was not 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 'salvation': (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. In both of his relations 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 passing through the
purpose of the highest benediction—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.

(3) 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; it is the enjoyment 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 12, 2 S 16). It is associated with largesses of the gold of Pharaoh (Ps 72:15), with riches and honour (Pr 22:24), with prosperity and large possessions (Dt 57 [Heb. wā'āl]). In Ec 2:6 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 honoured with an invitation to the court, that the light of the king's countenance is life (Pr 16:4).

(4) 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 10:27); 'Wisdom and discretion are life to the soul' (3:35); 'Keep her [wisdom]; for she is thy life' (4:9); 'The words of wisdom are life to those who find them' (4:20); 'Whose findeth wisdom findeth life' (8:35). There are three things which 'tend to life': righteousness (11:28), the labour of the righteous (10:26), and the fear of the Lord (15:31). In the same pregnant regard of (a) man's life we read of 'the way of life.' 'Torah is light; the reproofs of instruction are the way of life' (6:6); 'He that heeded instruction is in the way of life' (10:9). Similarly, the same speaks of a fountain of life: 'The Torah of the wise is a fountain of life' (13:3); so is the 'fear of the Lord' (14:2) and 'understanding' disciplined by correction (16:2). In Lv 18 in the Code of Holiness there is the 'life' and developed, quoted in

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Dt 6:4: 'Man doth not live by bread only, but by

lv 6:6: every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the

Lord doth man live.' Revealed truth is the sus-

tenance of character—if that moral life which is

acceptable to God. Similarly, Hezekiah in his

Psalm, speaking of the promises of God, says: 'By

these things men live, and wholly therein is the

life of my spirit' (Ps 33:18), and in 595 the Lord calls

cam through His prophet, saying: 'Incline your

ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall

live.' A clear recognition of the


(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' (Ps 42:7); 'I love thee, O Lord, my strength' (18:1); 'The Lord is my

strength and my shield' (28); 'My prayer shall be

unto the God of my life' (42:8); 'In God's favour is life' (30); the only life fully worthy of

the name is that wrought in the consciousness by

His favour. Deuteronomy promises repeatedly a

long and prosperous life on earth as the token of

God's approbation, but the mystics soar above and

beyond this present apprehension of life; they

hope in his death,' says one of the sages (Pr 14:32).

Rejoiced that God was their 'portion' (Ps 119:51),

'Vested in the land of the living' (Ps 142:5), that

God was their 'guest-friend' (Ps 51), 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 besides thee'; and from

this the inference is drawn: 'I am continually with thee. Thou shalt guide me with thy coun-

sel and afterward receive me to glory.' (73:28). 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); 'I shall behold thy face

in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I

awake, with thy likeness' (17).

In Psalm 119, the author gives the assurance that Sheol cannot be the end of such a life, but only blessedness with God. But it is always expressed as a personal conviction, and 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

religions conditions. The Kingdom of God is to

be with men. The Lord's servant David shall be

the benign prince and ruler (37:8c-34:5). Jahweh

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 judg-

ments (36:25-27). Ezekiel contemplates a new age—

a Kingdom of God on earth. But, before that is

established, he sees a period of terrible 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 (18:3). Those

who 'do that which is lawful and right,' being

endowed with the new heart and the new spirit,

'shall surely live' (18:2). The Kingdom of God

with its great moral and religious privileges

before the prophet, to the rule of evil with the

punishment of the moral life. This appears more strikingly in

1 AT Theologic, p. 400.
and to enter on the new Kingdom, in which God’s presence will be both more real and evident (485); to live without sin in the crisis and to be excluded from the Kingdom.


J. T. MARSHALL.

**LIFE AND DEATH (Indian).**—The earliest Aryans to enter India worshipped a vast number of petty spirits, but they learned, rather later, to reverence 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, in all the institutions of the Aryan family were built; 1 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 profound; the father was the 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 races of N. India under their political and intellectual domination, the great doctrine of *karma* and rebirth took shape. With Farquhar we may conjecture that "among the many animistic tribes the invaders met on the broad plains of the North, there must have been tribes in whose opinion the souls of men continued to exist after death. A belief of this kind was that the souls of men may become incarnate in animals. There were probably totemistic class who believed that at death a man became, like his totem, a tiger, an ox, a frog, or a snake. 2 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 resemblances which were observed among kindred.

"But, even if the idea that human souls might undergo animal bodies for a certain time and that these bodies not be the same as those of the original soul, is but one element in the complex doctrine. That gave the belief its power over the people, and also an object for the soul of the body; it was the combination of this fact with the important idea that the body and soul were separate that made the doctrine powerful and eternal. That the soul and body were united in the body, the doctrine first appears in the earliest Upanisads. Thus, while transmigration in a sense has been believed in many lands, the Hindu doctrine of *karma* (q.v.) is, as far as we can yet say, unique. 3 In内地, the moral idea 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 Brahmanas.**—In the Rigveda the conceptions of death are not entirely consistent, but the principal belief relating to the *ajne bhrigue*, 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 the body to the **2. Upanisads.**—In the pre-Buddhist Upanisads the soul is supposed to exist inside each human body and to be the one consistent 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. One passage says that it consists of consciousness, mind, breath; eye and ears; earth, water, fire, and other; heat and no heat; desire and no desire; anger and no anger; law and no law—in a word, of all things. 4 Thus the soul was conceived as material, although it also possessed selected mental qualities. It could quit the body in dream sleep or under certain diseases were supposed to take place in the body; it could quit the living body in sleep, and was said to be present in the body of the dead, as is depicted in the Rigveda. 3 In the Rigveda, I, iv. 8, the souls of the departed are said to go to the sun and to Upas, the dawn.
to be due to its having escaped from the body, so that the soul has to be employed to bring it back.

In some passages the soul is supposed to 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 variations. *1 We know that a seed, when planted in the earth, sprouts and grows as the soul passes through the seed. One of these is the theory that certain human souls, on going to the moon, become the food of the gods as a consequence of their good deeds. The next time they descend, after having been devoured, they pass from the gods to the ether, from the ether into the air, from that into the rain, thence 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, excided 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 Upāniṣads are almost unanimous that the soul will not return from rebirth either by sacrifice or by penance.

1. It must be by a sort of telescopic or analistic insight, by the process of which, the absolute knowledge and certainty, that one's own soul is identical with the Great Soul, the only permanent reality, the ultimate basis and cause of all phenomena.

2. The Brahma Upanisash, 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 is soon from forth the moon and returns to earth in new births. It is the door of heaven. Him who rejects it sends on beyond, and whose rejects it not, him it rains down upon this world; and here he is born as a worm, a grasshopper, a black ant, a bear, an serpent, tiger, or a man or some other creature, according to his deeds or his knowledge.

3. Jainism. The philosophy of Jainism, probably the oldest existing 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 homogeneous, since it consists of substance (dravya), which is either jiva, 'alive', or jīva, which may be translated 'organic.' There are five kinds of substance not alive, viz. matter, space, the two ethers, and (figuratively) time; but living beings are compound of one kind of substance, jiva, soul and 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 an individual universal soul, but a mass of mutually exclusive, individual souls, and every soul having attained its highest state (mokṣa) is called parinirvāna, 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 derived from the Sanskrit roots of 'point' and 'with', and the standpoint of its own existence, 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, a man, an insect, or what not, yet remain, in appearance, the identical Brahminal soul, all the time; and thus, while the body is merely a vast multitude of cells which come and go, the soul is a homogeneous substance whose qualities (gat, 'purpose') go with it, and the body is what it always is.


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 be a direct expression of the legend that with Buddha was the horse, as his wife, his companions, and even the Mahabodhi tree and the four treasure-vases. These are the seven that were born simultaneously, but to make up seven, each of the four vases as one. Another legend declares that, with the Buddha, were born 500 Sakyas, 500 maidens, 500 servants, 500 horses, 500 elephants, and as many treasures came to light. A very similar conception has survived in modern India.

Thus is the legend of Gūga, his mother is destined never to bear a son, but Bhāgīvrāma rubs some of the sacred sandalwood (sāla) on his body and gives it to her. She divides it among a Brahman woman, another of the lowest caste, a grey mare, and herself; and all four females, hilti to barren, become fruitful. In another cult-legend a Brahman gives a Bāja 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 of a jar of barleycorn to a barren woman whereby she conceives. For the Buddhist doctrines see art. DRAW AND DECAL Of the PEACOCK (Buddhist).

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 Bhaṣavatā was founded in India. According to the Nalandaśāstra, 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 (lit.); then, released from him, they enter the Aṃshāra (soul) and coming mind, they enter the Pradyumna (mind) form. Leaving this, they enter that of Sankarāṇa, i.e., the form of the individual soul (jiva), and afterwards, freed from the three guṇas, they enter the Āmnāya (world), and finally with Nārāyaṇa; and the Bhākṣika system or Ekāntika Dharma (monothemism) was attached to the Vaśivāda creeds. Its earliest exposition in the Bhaṣavatā-Gita teaches that they who know the inwardness and the deads of Bhaṣavatā are released from the body and born again. The discipline prescribed, however, for the attainment of the Brahman condition is religious, not merely moral, and this differentiates the Brahmans from the Kṣatriyas and Bhārāṇayakas Upaniṣads. Mention is made of two paths, and those who die while the sun is in his northern course (Uttarāyana) do not return, and those who die while it is in his southern course go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns. Again, the whole

creation (Sahāra) 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 leaves away the indriyas (senses), of which manas (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 tūma (hemp) at the latter it raises all beings. By becoming fire it aids digestion. There are two souls in the world, one changeable, the other not, and besides these there is another, the highest or Paramātman, who, as the unchangeable, supports all three, without entering into them.

Hence 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 elder 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 Hinduism. Even the regressive religions will appear in forms more or less mutilated. So numerous are these beliefs that only a few of them can be given.

The basic idea of life in all India is that it is indestructible. This leads to the readiness to take life which to the European appears callous and brutal indifference to it. Thus in 1841 S. C. Macpherson was deputed to Ganjam in Madras to suppress female infanticides 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 proper justification for female infanticides 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 for example 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 term. Thus in the Punjaub, 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 pure ascetics (śāhī), and saints, of dutiful widows who have committed sañ̄hī, and so on. But the propitiation of the malevolent dead is much more necessary, and therefore prevalent. For example, in the Kumaun division of the United Provinces the lowest class, the Doms, and even the lower classes of Brāhmans, the Khas Brāhmans and Rajputs—

in fact, the bulk of the population—believe in the presence of 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 slave or his children is ascribed to the ghost.

There is reason to believe that the emotion caused by the dread of the effects of karmas is much stronger in the hills than in the plains. In particular dying in debt is dreaded as the worst sin, it is believed that the soul of the debtor will go to his creditor. If a man's son die it is believed that he was his father's creditor in a former life, and he therefore ex-1

The certainty of the operation of karmas is not without considerable effect on practical morality. It is automatic, so that specific condemnation 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 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 may know that the present is his wrong-doing in a previous existence. The nature of the next incarnation can also be divined, when a man has died, by placing ashes from a potter's kiln in a shallow vessel and sooning them. Next morning they will be found marked with human foot-prints, claws, wavy lines, and so on, according to 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 bathe together in the Ganges with their clothes tied together. The important differences in the teachings of theoretical Hinduism and popular religion in regard to heaven and hell is that the former declares that there are transitory stages of existence in the chain of transmigration, while in the latter there is generally an idea that the soul, when sufficiently purified, goes to dwell forever in heaven, which is regarded as a place where the soul will enjoy material comforts. In popular Hinduism 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 of all the beliefs, who has lost a child will bathe above its grave, pouring 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 Divālī, 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 with as much pain as possible. And during the śrāddhas, the ancestral worship, when the sun is in Virgo (Kanyā), occurs the Kāśīgatā larpas, or 'fighting in Kāśīgat,' also termed sañ̄hī pōsa ("sharing with others"). In which women of good Hindu caste, even Ktirias and Brāhmans, of the Central Punjab take part. On the first day of the śrāddhas, the goddess Lakṣmī'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 bathing-place, relying on the way

2 H. A. Rose, Geography of Punjab Tribes and Castes, Lahore, 1921, li. 463.
4 Ib. p. 76.
 5 No one would think a female soul worth stealing, although a girl's soul is expected to return in a boy.
women who are known to have sons. This leads to tussles in which garments are often rent by parental arms. Not infrequently the belief is entertained that by cursing the sons of others the female attracts the male souls to herself through the intervention of the goddess, whose image 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 cursed to become widows, in order to prolong one's own wedlock. On the Ammaeur the women place between large canoes 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 (anghâ, gûya, jûk, jîh, uðhân) and abhorred death (mâhûtka, mûрейyût); 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. xlv. 2). Not only is life first created by Ahura Mazda (Ys. xlv. 8), but the soul (the corporeal soul) asks him how the 'first' [i.e. the earthly] life 'is' to be (Ys. xxviii. 11; cf. xxxxi. 10), but he is 'the seed of the seeds of the dead' (Ys. xxxi. 8), and from him come the joys of life (Ys. xxxix. 10; cf. xxxiv. 14). The Amesha Spentas (g.v.) give aid to the life of man (Ys. xxx. 7), so that Zarathushtra fittingly presents the 'life of his own body' as a 'companion' (gut) to Ahura Mazda and Ashtâ (Ys. xxxii. 14). On the other hand, the demon Wrath (Aûshuma) injures 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 hereafter. For this reason Zarathushtra asks from Vohu Manah and Ashtâ the 'words of life' (uzûva anghûst), while the 'right ways of weal' (ercesî vzavnâmâ pâho) are to be learned from the religious teacher in the present life (Ys. xlv. 8, xxxii. 4). Life is twofold: 'he who is for the corporeal' (lit. 'essorian') and 'the spiritual' (amhrâs ahuô manavatâçic, Ys. xii. 6; urrevâhgu ... ahûgya ... ahôça anghûst yô avestiav yâsa axi manavân, Ys. viii. 28), so that pravet is made to Ahura Mazda to 'live on life and corporeality for both lives' (pâyavan avestanavac ... ubôýa anghov, Ys. xii. 3). The 'best life' (vahista abû, Ys. ix. 10, and often) is actually a life without the 'heavens life' (avôca abû, e.g. Vend. iii. 30) for 'hell', and this concept still survives in the ordinary Persian term for 'heaven', bûlê. The 'best of the best life' is the 'righteousness' of Aâshî (Yv. xlv. 6); and in the time of the final Sásâlyant, Aståvâr-ereta, men will live forever, for there shall be no more death (Ys. xix. 89), even as was the case in the happy days of Yima's reign (Ys. ix. 6; Ys. xix. 36; Vend. ii. 5).

In the Gâthas death is seldom mentioned. The whole stress of Zarathushtra is on life, to be devoted to the war against the powers of evil and to the eternal joys of heaven. Even the wicked do not die; they are damned to the everlasting torments of hell (Ys. xlv. 2, xlv. 11). In the Younger Avestas, on the contrary, death is an important feature. We need not detail the corruption wrought by the 'corpus demon' (Nâsâ; cf. Gr. rhein, 'corse'), which forms the main theme of Vend. y-xii. (see also ART. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Paris]), and we need only mention that a standing epithet of Haoma (g.v.), in diôsêla ('from whom destruction [especially death] remains afar') (Ys. ix. 2, 19, x. 21, xi. 3, 10, xxxi. 14 (on the latter passage see Monllott, 711, 353)), Death is one of the worst of evils (Ys. ii. 7-12; cf. ix. 10), 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. iv. 16), 'life' and 'the man of piety preserved' (armânagayost, 32 ff.), for it is inevitable (ib. 53 ff.).

According to the Pahlavi Dinê-i Mainog-i Khrât (vii. 20), which is not strictly orthodox, being markedly fatalistic in tone (cf. art. FATE [Iranian]), the seven planets 'rule' in creation, and deliver them up to death and every evil. According to the Bundâdistin (l. 7; cf. xxx. 20 ff.), the creatures of Ahiram will perish at 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 Gôkar (the Guorêna of Ys. i. 1, Vend. xx. 4, etc.), or white Hûm, which is 'the counteractor of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living' (Selec.-tions of Zfit-Sparman, vii. 5), and from which, at the avôcira, the five chief componet of the food which will give undying life to all (Bundâdistin, xxx. 25; cf. ix. 6, xvii. 1, and see F. Windischmann, Zur. Studien, Berlin, 1863, pp. 169, 253, F. Spiegeler, Erdn. Alterthümleunkunde, Leipzig, 1871-78, i. 464 ff.).

LITÉRATURE.—The principal references are given by C. Barthélemy, Altrian. Wörterbueh, Strasburg, 1894, xiv. 'Anglais.' Guyas, 'Haut,' 'Prêts,' 'Udâne,' 'Mahrke,' 'Mâhrke,' 'Mûreyyût,' 'Pâhrutâmâkți,' 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,' abû, is associated with ikû, 'breath'; and i-no-chi, the expression for life and vitality, is believed to mean ikû-no-uchi, 'during breathing,' or ikû-nô-miickey, 'the life through inspiration.' Similarly, the word for 'to die,' shûsa, means to mean shi-inu, 'the wind goes' (a derivation of the word from sugi-inu, 'to pass away,' is disputable). These very ancient words are still in use, though the people think little of their etymology.

The mythology opens with the primary power of production. Three divinities are said to have sprung from the first of the primeval triad, the Eternal-Ruling (Ame-no-minaka-nushi), and the
other two are the High-Producing (Taka-mimusubij) and the Divine- (or Mysterious-) Producing (Kami-mimutsu-no-mune-ki) kami, all the last two are identified with the Divinity-Male (Kami-ro-gi) and the Divinity-Female (Kami-ro-mi), the terminations gi and mi representing 'male' and 'female' respectively. It is very possible that the terms of divinity, male and female, have been borrowed from the Chinese ideas of the primal entity and the two principles, positive and negative, flowing out of it; but the Japanese kami, like the Divinity-Female are constantly invoked 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 disappeared 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 were 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. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [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 becomes ill from bearing the gods as a result of her own sin, and 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 country beneath the earth,' which is thought to be in a subterranean region. The male deity visits her there and, against her will, looks on her body by torchlight. Enraged at his imprudence, she is accompanied by her attendants of the darkness, pursues him, in order to catch him and to make him a member of the realm where death and darkness rule. 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 genuine of death, threatens the male that she will take the lives of one thousand men every day, while he expresses his counter-determination that he will give those to the Shoki (the Shoki dies. Thus we see how the pair of generative powers were divided and metamorphosed into the powers of life and death. A similar antithesis is attributed to the Heaven-Shining (Ann-tensu), 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 indeinite in their person.

The stories told of the deities, of their generation and death, and of life and death in general, show neither definite sequence nor unity of conception. The stories have undergone much change and are also possibly mingled with foreign elements. Still it is certain that the primitive beliefs contained the ideas of spontaneous generation and generative reproduction, on the one side, and the belief in immediate death and the concept of eternity, on the other. This idea of death as the violent cessation of life survived the belief in spontaneous generation, and still remains in the observances of purity, which are understood also as avoiding the contagion of pollution or to prevent evil influences of all kinds.

Life is conceived as a breath, but vitality endures longer and acts beyond bodily initiation. The source of vitality, is considered to be a thing precious and mysterious like a jewel or ball. It is called tama or tama-thi, 'subtle aerial ball.' But it is not always a unity or a homogeneous whole, for double manifestations of the two principle entities, are spoken of. They are either nigi-tama and arata-tama or suki-mitama and kushi-mitama. The nigi, 'mild,' 'quiet,' 'refined,' is contrasted with the arata, 'vivid,' 'brilliant,' and the suki, 'indifferently, suki means 'happy,' 'galloping,' while kushi means 'wonderful,' 'hidden,' or 'hideous.' The latter set is believed to be the two aspects of the arata-tama, the active side of the soul, but in fact the relation between these two sets is not clearly defined. The existence of these double-souls in every man is also obscure. We know only that in some cases one of them appears, even to the astonishment of the possessor. Whether or not the double souls were borrowed from the Chinese conception of souls, aerial and terrestrial, or of the two principles, positive and negative, is uncertain.

The soul is sometimes called the saka-no-mitama, the spirit of vegetable production, or as Ikikuni-dana, the living-land-soul. In post-Buddhist ages the souls of trees, rocks, springs, etc. are more in vogue. They appear in human form, but they are derived from the souls from trees, from rocks, etc. Being specially named the saci, or 'essence.' The double souls were almost forgotten, having been overshadowed by Buddhist ideas, and they were revived by the Shintoists of the 16th cent., but with little influence upon popular belief. Buddhism teaches that there is only one soul to one living being.

As to future conditions, there is a kind of heavenly world, Takama-no-hara ('Plain of High Heaven'), where celestial deities reign. Yomotsukuni, mentioned above, is the opposite pole. Besides these, there are two worlds beyond this, Hi-no-waka-miya ('Solar Young Palace') and Toko-yo ('Eternal World'). The former is mentioned only as the abode of the Male-Who-Invites, and it is sometimes explained as meaning the shime marking the place of burial. The latter meant any place beyond the sea. Moreover, we are not told whether a deity, when he hides himself, or a human being, when he dies, is destined to be born in one hundred men a day. Thus we see how the pair of generative powers were divided and metamorphosed into the powers of life and death. A similar antithesis is attributed to the Heaven-Shining (Ann-tensu), 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 indeinite in their person.

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ing to the three conditions of existence (bhūmis) which are divided into twenty-five. Beyond these courses and conditions there are the lands of eternal bliss, prepared by various Buddhas to receive believers. Every one may be born in one of these, according to the merits he has acquired.

The Tathāgata heaven of Maitreya and the Sukhavati of Anātītado were the most popular Buddha-lands (kaṭarī) in the Buddhism brought to the East. There the soul, no longer subject to causation and suffering, may enjoy full communion with the saints, and may come back to the earthly worlds in order to save relatives and friends. We can imagine how wonderful and attractive these teachings must have appeared to the people, simple and credulous as they were. Thus, an inscription dated A.D. 622 expresses a belief in kaṭārapa and a devout wish to be taken to the Land of Purity by the grace of Buddha. It is questionable how much impression these ideas left upon the mind of the people at large a hundred years after their introduction; but the change and widening of thought are undeniable.

A progressive Buddhist influence, first among the higher classes and then among the lower, gradually supplanted the old national ideas as well as the Confucianist conceptions of life and death. The romances, stories, and lyrical poems of the 10th and 11th centuries were imbued with ideas of kaṭarī, transmigration, and birth in Buddha-lands. These ideas and beliefs became and remain to-day the most important factors of popular beliefs, in spite of hostile endeavours made by the Confucianists to depose them, ever since the 17th century. They can be detected in many songs sung by street musicians, and the words alluding to them are used in conversation, diffusely.

Nevertheless, the native ideas have never died out, but have remained rather as a kind of matrix into which the adopted conceptions have been laid. The national beliefs, so to speak, look upon the sun as the source of all vitality. But here the sun is not exactly the goddess of light (Ama-terasu) of the mythology. It is sexless and without any other attributes than that of the life-giver. It is invoked as the Great Divinity (Oho-mikami) or the August Heavenly Way (O-tentō-sana), and is worshipped every morning by some, or on New Year’s morning and at sunset on the equinoxes by the majority. In the morning, people breathe deep, breathing facing the sun and making an offering to inhale thereby the vital essence (yōka) emanating from it. At the same time, prayers, either Shintoist or Buddhist, are uttered. The power opposing life is darkness, which, however, means not merely absence of light, but an evil power or pollution (kōgaru or yinkō), the cause of illness and death.

This belief in the sun as the life-giver is certainly a survival of that in the Preaching Divinity, who follows the Heaven-Shining goddess as her nourisher. The ideas and practices have been influenced by the Buddhist cult of Vairocana (the Great Illuminator) and also by the Confucian dualism of the yin and yang, but we can see here a tendency to continue primitive beliefs.

These ideas have been systematized in recent times into a cult by some Shinto reformers. One section of the Buddhists favours this cult, while the other disavows it, though without opposing it. To the former belong the Shingon sect, the most Hindustan form of Buddhism, which has tried to amalgamate the yin and yang, and to the latter category belong the Jodo and the Shin sects, the Buddhist Fists and Puritas, and the Zen sect, the school of meditation and introspection.

On an average, the prevailing conceptions of the modern Japanese are based on the Buddhist Shinto. Kōgaru and fate are still believed in by many, but transmigration is not strictly adhered to 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, ascribed to either or devils indiscriminately. Among the educated classes and educational circles accustomed, so common to the Japanese mind and to Confucianists in this connexion, is a recognized principle. Young Buddhists trained in reconstructing their faith in Buddhism, are not strict in the doctrines of kōgaru and transmigration.


**M. ANESAKI.**

**Life and Death (Jewish).**—Optimism is the keynote of post-Biblical Judaism. Everything that God does is for the best (Berehkheth, 606), and this life is essentially good, to be contemplated with joy and gratitude. For every breath that a man draws, say the Rabbis, let him praise God (Mishnah, *Bab. to Gen* 2:2). 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 all opportunity of obeying the Torah (the Moral Commandments) (Shabbath, 30b). '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 of the Angel of Death at Sinai: 'If Israel accept not the Commandments, it is better that the earth revert to chaos (Shabbath, 88a). 'The world,' says the Rabbis elsewhere, 'stands upon these pillars: the Torah, wisdom, and piety' (Aboda, i. 2); or, according to another maxim, 'upon Justice, Truth, and Peace' (ib. i. 18). 'The Torah is the medicine of life (Yoma, 72b); in other words, life is made safe 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 Lc 23:4). The supreme hope of the Jews 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:

*But Thy fear, O Lord God, is upon all Thy works, so that all mankind may bow before Thee, and become one band united to do Thy will with a perfect heart; for we know, O Lord, that common is Thine, and that Thine is in Thy right hand. And so give glory, O Lord, to Thy people, to those that fear Thee, and to the opening of the mouth to those that trust in Thee. For then the righteous shall see and be glad, and iniquity shall shut its mouth, and all wickedness shall be wholly consumed like smoke, for the proud rule 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, the Lord, the God of Israel, reigneth, and this dominion resteth upon all!' (cf. Sir 30:15).

*But, though the true life in the life of service, it must be glad service, for the view of life taught by Judaism is serious, but cheerful' (Lazarus, § 283). The Shekinah (the Divine Presence), says the Talmud, does not come in response either to grief or to levity, but to glad performances of duty (Shabbath, 236). This is the essence of Jewish doctrine on the subject: neither asceticism nor hedonism, but joy springing from and tempered by the religious idea, is the characteristic Jewish temper.

There should be no unattached laughter in this world' (Jer. 31a). The history of Israel, with all its tragedy, is sufficient to forbid such mirth; and the piouf Jew denies himself most of his memory in desolate 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 contemptible. On the other hand, the ascetic idea is alien to the true Jew. The rabbi, a man of the world, is no ascetic at all, his ethics is no asceticism at all, and its indulgence under right conditions, is commendable. Even the impulses that make for physical pleasure are the Divine handiwork, and to gratify them is a duty; without them life would be a sorry thing. If it were not for desire, the world could not stand; a man would not take a wife, nor build a house, nor plant a vineyard (Midr. Philihim, ed. S. Baier, Wilna, 1891, to Ps. 104). But indulgence of these lower instincts 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, but a religious duty.

Thus the Biblical law, following the general rule laid down in Lev. 20, prescribes a number of prayers to be recited by the Jew on indulging in various pleasures more or less sensual in character—on parts not to be eaten of various kinds of food, on throwing the scent of a flower, or looking upon the sea, on beholding a rainbow, on taking possession of a new house, and on wearing new clothes for the first time. By such means physical gratification, when sanctioned, is also sanctioned. The tendency to self-indulgence not only is not restrained, but natural desire is tempered, not extinguished or suppressed. 'Material comfort and natural desires are regarded as integral parts of an ethnically sound life' (Lamarrus, § 245). It is a Jewish boast that the willingness to gratify personal, not animal, passions is the source of joy. The Rabbinist counts such synonyms (Aboth v. Rabbi Naathan [ed. S. Schachter, Vienna, 1887, 523]). The Feast of Tabernacles is the signal of the 'season of our gladness' (see Authorized Prayer Book, ed. S. Singer, p. 235); it would seem that of all the festivals the proper purpose of gladness, though as the religions of joy was to be indicated by observing a special celebration in its honor' (On the Jewish Wine as a Meat [常委会 and Life, p. 136]). Joy is in itself a service; but it must be transmitted into service by being purified, that is, not to be indulged by piety and self-restraint. At meals, the rabbinic teach, words of Torah must be spoken; otherwise it is as if the assembled company ate of the sacrifices of Abel and Cain (Gen. 4, 3; 1 Cor. 15, 3). A man should eat only when he is hungry, and drink only when he is thirsty, and always in moderation (Hullin, 66a, 2). The Talmud inveighs against luxury and luxury and luxury (Pessachim, 114a). In fine, Judaism confounds the golden mean between unbridled self-gratification and extreme self-denial. Indulgence and renunciation must be allies, not antagonists; something of both must go to the making of the daily bread, and each must find its justification in the higher utility. 'Here,' says Moses Luzzatto (18th cent.), 'is the true rule on this subject:—The worldly pleasures, which a man need not have it is his duty to shun; but the one, which, for one reason or another, he does need he cannot renounce, they still require a strict rule. But its application to the various circumstances of life must be left to the intelligence and the willpower' (Maimonides, ed. Zerubavel, p. 13). For the elder teacher, Jehuda Halevi, the duty of exclusion is a duty of self-preservation. 'Our law, as a whole, is divided between fear, love, and joy, by equal parts' (Maimonides, ed. Zerubavel, p. 13). We cannot, a man must do nothing to bring thee nearer to God than joy on the Sabbath, even if it is the latter is the outcome of a devout heart' (Ktivah at Kavana, tr. H. Hirschfeld, London, 1865, p. 133).

It is due partly to the difficulty of defining the line media of moderation, and partly to the sorrowful experiences of the Jewish races, that occasionally temperance has overstepped the safe line, and lost itself in austerity. The Talmud tells of a Rabbi (Za'ar) who fasted a hundred days (Baba meqi'ta, 58c), and of another (Mar Ben Benban) who fasted practically all the year round (Peb. 65a). There have been Jewish sects, like the Essenes and the Karesa (Jewish, which have been manifested in modern times, many of the ascetic practices in Judaism, as in other religions, mysticism has had contempt for the world and its joys as its corollary. The disciples of Hillel and Shammuel even went so far as to discuss the questions which never life is worth living (Erubin, 136). This uncertainty is often visible. The devotee who gives himself to fasting is called, now a saint, and now a sinner (Zeb. 22, 5, 29); a man must die for the Torah, and yet he must not (Baba meqi'ta, 60b; Gittin, 80a), to sleep on the earth is commanded in one place (Baraita of R. Meir), and discouraged in another (Ber. 62a). But these contradictions are either explained away, or the essential 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 (Tan. of the Eliezer), as if the sin-offering brought by the Nazirite (Nu 6) by continuing that his very abstinence from strong drink was a sin (Tan. A. 111). According to our view,' says Johanan ben Hasid (op. cit. p. 198), 'a servant of God is not one who denies himself from the world, or hates life, which is one of God's bounties. On the contrary, he loves the world and a long life. And God affords him the opportunity of deserving the world to come.'

According to a striking Talmudic utterance, in the next world men will be called to account for the lawful pleasures which they have indulged in this life (Jer. Kiddushin, ch. 4). And the real Jew speaks in these maxims. Judaism fixes the thoughts of its adherents upon the future world, but not to the exclusion of this world. 'It has revealed heaven to men, but earth as well' (M. Gudermann, Das Judenthum, Vienna, 1902; p. 56). It has no sympathy with self-mortification 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 the very wounds I will heal myself,' according to God's command. (Midr. Rabb. to Lev 16, the reference is to Jer 30, 7), and 'whose God afflicts his name' (Midr. Philihim to Ps 94); 'then thou desirest life, hast found it and 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 has been no merit in suffering, but only in the right bearing of it; and in its teachings and the ideas of the self-mortifying Hindu there is an impasseable gulf. Suicide is a crime, and its perpetrator is not to be mourned (Midr. Job, to Gen 3, 5, Mainonides, H. R. B. 3009, xi. 4); but the slow suicide that comes of self-mortification or of the neglect 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) — live by them,' says the Rabbinist gloss, 'not die by them' (Yoma, 855).

Scattered among the meanderings of the contents of the Talmud are the materials for an entire treatise on modern Judaism. One part of the fact is itself a proof of the importance attached to the physical life by the community, and the earthly life is exalted into a religious duty. Hillel (1st cent. B.C.), on his way to the bath-house, exclaims: 'We are about to perform a sacred rite; it is a religious duty, he explains (Avoda Zara, 20a). The duty of preserving life, it further declares, overrides the religious law (Mena, 55a). It is not only allowable, but a duty, to extingui

A discomforting first on the Sabbath day, and to ask permission of the religious authorities to be in enemy and to be guilty of murder. The heads of the community are to be foremost in the human task (Sh. 545). For the dead, even though he be 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 (Shah, 309). In a well-known passage in 1 Mac (395), the Jewish patriots are described as resolving to defend themselves on the Sabbath instead of self-sacrificing their lives, as their brethren had done hitherto. Self-preservation is a duty. To slay a fellow-creature at the command of another is a crime (Ps. 306); but to slay him in self-defence is justifiable. If we are called upon to choose between saving our own life and that of another, we must save our own lives (Baba meqi'ta, 60b). Self-sacrifice is forbidden (Baba meqi'ta, 60b), as is the counting of grain on the Sabbath, as a sacrilege. The Sabbath must not be broken on the ground, or remaining in a desolated house (Yeb. 20, Ber. 62a). In certain circumstances, usually forbidden to Jews, may be given to the patient (Yoma, 538).

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. 62a). Those who suffer martyrdom for the faith are justly landed by the Talmud (Gittin, 57b). But, with these reservations, the duty of preserving life is paramount. Nothing must be done to abridge
LIFE AND DEATH (Jewish)

had made, and beheld it was very good— it is death that is meant, says a Rabbi (Midr. Rab. to Job 1). The death of the righteous is the act of one who gently draws a hair from the surface of milk (Ber. 8a): this is called 'death by a kiss' (Baba bathra, 17a). The death of the wicked, on the other hand, is like the painful disentangling of a thorn from wool (Ber. 7a). Death is the liberator (Shab. 30a); it is like the entering into port of a well-loaded vessel (Midr. Rab. to Ec 7); hence it is that the Wise Man declares that 'the way of death is better than the way of life' (ib.). It is fulfillment as compared with mere promise. Far from being the primal curse, death is a blessing. The day that Adam died was made a holiday (Tana d'rae Etignah, 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. Tehillim to Ps 116:19).

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 filled with despair. Even Abraham, who, as already indicated, prays for death, is represented (in the apocryphal Testament of Abraham) as being averred to it. He refuses to surrender his life, and the archangel Michael claims it; and to win his compliance the angel, at the Divine bidding, puts off his fierce aspect, and appears to the patriarch decked in light. In like manner the Angel of Death, finding David absorbed in religious study and, therefore, invincible, has to be carried away by a draught before he can perform his mission (Shab. 30a).

The Angel of Death is a familiar figure in the Rabbinical literature, and, as in the later Biblical writings (e.g., 1 Ch 21:1), it is styled the 'Angel of Death.' His name, which often occurs in Rabbinical Literature, is Sammael, i.e., 'the drug of God,' a reference to his gall on his sword. Liberal opinion, however, denied the existence of an Angel of Death, just as it scouted the idea of a personal Devil. 'Satan, the Angel of Death, and Evil Desire are one and the same' (Baba bathra, 16). In other words, it is ignoble impulse alone that tempts and destroys. Death, however, is the friend of mankind (Shabbath 11a), and the righteous. Benevolence disarms him (Derekh erez zuta, ch. 8); and he instructs the learned in religious lore (Ber. 51a). He respects the wishes of the just as to when and where he delivers his summons (Mo'ed lebon, 28a).

A Talmudic legend tells how a famous sage, Joshua ben Levi, appointed to die, and persuaded beforehand to see his place in paradise. Since the knife of the death angel, wherewith a heavenly voice rings out the command, 'Give back the knife; the children of men have need of it' (Kebobah, 77b). Long follow has made good 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 it (Peshita Rabbath [ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1889], 161b [the Scripture proof cited is Ps 25]). As to the origin of death, the same texts are expressed. The familiar idea that death was brought into the world by Adam's sin has its place in Rabbinical literature (see Shab. 55b; Baraitha, 16b; Tana d'rae Etignah, 16). But we find it much earlier in Sir 25:1. Closely connected with this idea is the legend, possibly of Persian origin, that the Serpent, when tempting Eve, infected her heart, and, through her, all mankind with his death-dealing
LIFE AND DEATH (Teutonic).—Our knowledge of the conception 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 Norsemen, particularly of the cult of the chief gods, which embodies beliefs common to the general Teutonic stock, and reveals traces of earlier ideas; and (3) the great mass of popular tradition, for instance, 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 subjects 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 symbolistic 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, trance, etc., would spring animistic beliefs. A further stage would appear in the identification of the principle of life with these intangible or tangible manifestations, such as breath, warmth, colour, pulsation, or blood, with whose inactivity the body life is obviously connected; hence the belief in a material form of the soul, leading to the idea of the 'external soul.' Of the later forms of belief Teutonic folklore and myths 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 are associated with life and death. The strength of the belief in running water is shown by the widespread Teutonic worship of streams and springs (cf. Grimm, Teut. Mythol., p. 101), and the practice of bathing testifies to the power of water to give life and health (cf. Frazer, G.B., pt. vii., Bolder the Beautiful, ii. 29). The personification of the living element in water is generally feminine.

The belief in fire, as might be supposed by the general Teutonic myth of Wieland, originally doubles a fire demon, and by the Norse personification of fire as Logi, later confused with, and superseeded 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 Midsommer (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 two, which is observed in the Midsommer 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 mistletoe is 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 always had an important connexion with the principle of life under two chief aspects: first, breath, the symbol of life (cf. Voluspa, 19); secondly, wind or whirlwind. Wind made known the presence of mysterious beings, and in Ostinn, as god of the wind, the slain, and the ‘Wild Host,’ is the culmination of the connexion of wind with the continuity of the life in the soul.

The primitive conception of the earth as Mother of all appears widely in Teutonic belief (cf. art. EARTH, EARTH-gods, § 61.). Early personifications of her occur (Nerthus, Erce), and her life-giving and restoring power appears in charms in which seeds, turfs, or handfuls of earth figure; many of these, whether in Old English or in modern survivals, are Christianized, but their origin is unmistakable. The earth’s living power is transferred even to inanimate objects resting on or discovering superincumbent, and metals; we find a life-stone that heals wounds (Liudolf Saga, 58 f.). Stones and metals, like plants, fire, and water, were credited with volition, as in the story of Baldur, and the early idea of the conscious power of weapons (cf. the sword that fights of itself) [Skírnismál, 81 f.] long retained in poetry and folk-tales.

The close connexion of trees with the principle of life is proved by the well-studied Teutonic worship of trees, and by the idea of the World-Tree, with its popular parallels in the identification of trees with the guardian-spirits of peoples, tribes, families, or individuals (see HAMMERBRYD Teutonic). The use of plants and fruits to convey life is frequent even in modern superstition, and an early instance occurs in the Voluspa Saga (ch. i.), where the queen becomes pregnant after eating one of Freya’s apples. The tales of the Yule and Midsommer logs were touched and kept for the same purpose (cf. BRANCHES AND TWIGS, § 5).

Certain animals, particularly the boar, had a special connexion with the life-giving idea, and others had an intimate connexion with individual human beings, and from this arose the power of transfusion or of shape-

1 W. Mannhardt, Baukunst der Germanen, Berlin, 1872, p. 242 f.
changing. Another form of this sympathetic conception appears in the ‘external soul’; but totemistic ideas, the logical conclusion of depositing the external soul in animals, seem never to have developed among the Teutons (K. Helm, Allgern. Ethnographieg., s. 123). In hero-worship an infant hero is sometimes suckled by an animal, as were Wölfschild and Sigurör Sven. The serpent, in other cults so important a symbol of life, because of the renewal of its skin, has little or nothing to do with life-conceptions 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 monothetic 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 define. Among the Germans generally it is common to the latter, but the Nertis evidence, the Nertis-Freyr combination, and the Swedish worship of Freyr as a fertility deity all point to the former. All the chief gods have aspects of life, and general permissiveness and traces of phallic worship are not lacking (ib. i. 214-235). The origin of world-life has already been treated (see COESEMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY [Teutonic]); the revival of world-life and hero-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 the ceremonial of marriage, 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 attached to blood-kinship, hero-kingship, and rebirth. Blood-kingship was the closest of ties, and the mingling of blood was the symbolic ceremonial for sworn brotherhood (cf. ART: BROTHERHOOD [Artificial], 1, 7). The power of heredity consisted in the transmission of racial qualities, especially courage and hardihood, as in the case of Sinjól (Volsunga Saga, 9). The idea of re-birth, which still persists, was deeply rooted in Norse belief, and accounts for the conduct of individuals of the upper classes when their ancestors were supposed to have died; 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. Hiromann, Nord. Mythol., p. 35 ff.). Similarly, theaumanna, or geniuses in female form, could transfer itself from the dead to a beloved kinsman (Volsunga 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 mediæval Walpurgnusnatt reveals proof of such activities; we have no evidence of them in any case.

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 acquires a malevolent 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 human death. — 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 monster which is facilitated in every way. In Norse mythology the death 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 cups and vessels, not armour and weapons—a sign that at first feasting, not fighting, was to be the chief concern of the hero. Activity after death could be exercised still on earth, but it was then frequently malignant, and could be prevented only by burning the corpse (Landsd. Saga, 17, 54). Spirits could return in animal or in human form (Erlöggis Saga, 51, 53), and hauntings show the power of ghosts to affect the living; fear was probably as great an incentive to ancestor-worship as reverence. Activity after death was conceived as a close parallel to mortal life, as is proved by the nature of the implements provided, and such activity was often localized in sepulchral houses (ib. 11). The Vallensbæck belief is the development of the conception of Öðinan as god of the slain; in a less warlike age a more peaceful prefiguration
arises, the Rosengarten of the later German poets; Saxo Grammaticus's account (Gesta Danorum, i. 31) of Hading's voyage to the under world represents an intermediate stage (see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Teutonic]). The power of death was inexcusable and inevitable, even the gods being doomed to perish at the world-death. Death was personified in many forms: as a messenger, or as a woman. The Norse Helga was certainly at first a Teutonic Prosperine, however shadowy; subsequently, her personality was not distinguished from her abode. Popular and grotesque personification prevailed later, and gave rise to the idea of weakening death's power by insulating or beasting a tangible representation (Grimm, p. 767).

In spite of the undoubted fatalism of Teutonic peoples (see art. DOOM, DOOM MYTH [Teutonic]), the belief, born of instinct and desire, prevailed that magic enabled man to exercise a twofold power over death: first, in retarding or lasting off death; secondly, in controlling and summoning spirits (Erbyggja Saga, 55). Preventive magic against death might include the wide range of charms to preserve health, prevent barrenness, keep away sickness, or extract 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 others, and also to have the premonition of it in oneself-to be fay. The summoning of spirits (helvina), performed by means of the vaingaldr, became in Norse mythology an important branch of magic art (see MAGIC [Teutonic]).

29. 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 moral aspect of world-life and world-death is proved by the fact that the end of the world comes 'automatically,' 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 slaughter of kin was abhorred as violating the blood-ties (Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum, ii. 1; Beowulf,2486 ff.); but even this was probably due more to tribal than to moral instinct. Custom rather than morality governed the sacrifice or the retention of life, as in the case of the Gothic widows (Prosopis, de Bello Goth. ii. 14). Chivalrous sparing of life was little known, for Saxo Grammaticus's assertion to the contrary can hardly be substantiated from earlier literature (Gesta Danorum, v. 160). The fatalism so deeply ingrained in the Teutons coloured their whole outlook, but it was untinged 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 one's kin or human, and was more honourable than an ignoble death (cf. Saxo Grammaticus, tr. O. Elton, London, 1894, p. xxxvi). The practice of human sacrifice points to little respect for human life in the abstract (see art. HUMAN SACRIFICE [Teutonic]); the fact that such sacrifices were prophylactic or propitiatory was held sufficient justification, if indeed any were necessary, since it 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 and the interest of 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.

LIFE-TOKEN.—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 wall, 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 concluded his version (cf. R. F. Burton, Supplemental Nights, London, 1866–88, iv. 491 ff.), Prince Balsam, on departing in search of the talking bird, 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 group of pears, which will run loose upon the string while he is alive, but after his death will be found fixed and adhering together.

The incident is, in fact, common in folk-tales all over the world where the hero goes on a perilous adventure, and his friends require early information, that they may in case of need sally forth to rescue or avenge him. It is necessary here to draw attention only to one wide-spread cycle—that of the modern variants of the ancient Greek story of Persies. In these tales Persies is often represented by three sons, born in consequence of their mother's having partaken of a magical fish. Some portion of the oifal 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 fish's blood is preserved, by its direction, in a bottle; this is given to each of the children, to boil or become turbid in case of misfortune. In a story from Pers 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 between the life-token and the person whose condition it exhibits. This connexion supplies the interpretation. The life-token is derived from the doctrine of sympathetic magic, according to which any portion of a living being, though severed, remains in mystic 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 or to the benefit 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 the life-token is recorded in the United States. Early in the last century a boy in Groutford County, New Hampshire, was so badly scalped that a piece of his skin, fully an inch in diameter, sloughed off, and was preserved in a phial ordered by his mother. When he grew up, he left home and was never heard of after; but his mother used time from time to examine the fragment of skin, persuaded that so long as it remained, her son was alive and well, and that it would not begin to decay until his death. For thirty years, until her death about the
Turning now to artificial objects—an illustration may be given from a somewhat unexpected quarter.

Father George Eich, reporting in the Lenten Anzeigen in der Annalen der Missionsgesellschaft in der Farbe (1866) a recent visit to Easter Island, relates that the native converts persistently ignored after certain Roman Catholic doctrine, a fish which had previously visited them. They said that he had caused the great stone cross in the cemetery of the Protestant sect to fall down and told them: "When you see this cross fall, you will say, Father Albert has just died; let us pray for him." Father Eich went to see the cross, and found its birth to be a natural occurrence, and that of Father Albert’s death in Spain, 25th Feb. 1894 (cf.-xl. 1900, 430, quoting the Annalen 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 household.

In Turin, when it is desired to know whether absent children or the owner all that is necessary is to stick a loaf of bread with ears of corn before putting it into the oven. Each of the ears is designated by the name of one of the absent persons concerning whom inquiry is made; and, if any of them are scorched in the process, the baking of the bread, the person symbolised is in a healthy state. In Siena, Sitten and Gebirgste de Kirchen, Vienna, 1878, ii. 251; Zolli women, when their husbands are on a journey, put a small sleeping-mat on the wall of their hut. So long as it casts a shadow on the wall, the husband is safe; when it ceases to do so, he is believed to have died (M. Dickie, In the Tyrol, 1878).

In Bavaria, a special kind of life-token is known as the "Baumkunst," (p. 50, citing Rocher). Numerous remains of this practice and belief are found in tradition all over Europe.

The caul with which some children are born also becomes an index of their health and prosperity. For this reason the custom of saving the caul at birth is certain to be encouraged in every family. (For instance, the Letters of Russia to lose its importance is for the child (H. Robert, Hist. Studien aus dem p. 522). In England and Scotland its condition, whether soft and flabby or hard, dry, and stiff, indicates coming misfortune or success.)

In London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other cities, London, 1866, p. 120; J. Galley, Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Glasgow, 1888, p. 286.

But, as in the stories, the life-token is not always determined by the person of whose fate is indicated by it. When a child has been passed through a young ash-tree split for the purpose, in order to cure infantile hernia, the tree is bound round and plagia, in the bargain 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 connection between the fate of the child and the fate of the tree become by the operation, that if the child be afterwards killed, the tree 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 also. It results from the close connection established between the human being and the person 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, it is recorded in the ground to indicate the fortune of the absent one; it will flourish if he succeeds; otherwise it will wither and die (J. Manwaring). At Rome every Emperor solemnly planted on the Capitol a laurel, which was said to wither when he died. In modern times, the custom was borrowed from whom a tree was recorded also planted on the occasion, in the shrubbery set by Livia, a laurel, similarly believed to wither when he was about to fall at the time of his death, when the Plebeian and patrician trees grew before the temple of Quirinus, one called the Patrician tree, the other the Plebeian. So the Roman magistrates maintained its power as the superior authority of the State, the Patrician tree flourished. But it began to fail at the time of the fall of the Roman Empire, when the Plebeian tree died out, sickly and shrivelled, gained the superiority (Tyr. II. 129). A peculiarity still exists in certain occasions to plant a sort of palm, which is regarded, in the fullest sense of the word, as a life-token. If it is green and thriving, it indicates that it fades or dies, the person's health is declining. Meanwhile, mention has been made of the reverses (Wilsum, Fenn, M. Gal.).

The only exception to the superstition of the property of the tree is a matter of the wills; one or the other of the spouses will soon die (Mannhardt, p. 48).
are often vague, and, where they are so, to affix terms to them which convey to us something definite to be darkened

In Nigeria a great tree frequently stands in a village, and is hung with medicine and votive offerings. It is described by the missionaries as a sacred tree. Those who attempt to cut it down are generally killed. A god (C. Partridge, Gnms River Nations, London, 1865, pp. 94, 95) is said to be in it, and the natives who attempt to cut it down are said to have cut down the tree 'and the priest' died at the same time because the tree had died.' (Q. Thomas, On-speaking People, London, 1913, p. 29.) The Mentolos of Northern Nigeria believe that the spirits of the river's inhabitants, male or female, are embodied in a certain species of poisonous insects, while those of the dead are embodied in certain species of poisonous pests.

Further, if my life be united to any external object, whether physically (so to speak), as in the case of an ailing child passed through a split sapling, or by the arbitrary appointment of myself or another, it is obvious 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 Melager the hero's life came to an end with the burning and extinction of the fateful branch. 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 in some way connected. The protection of the hair, nails, food, or clothing, portions of the blood or saliva, and earth from the footprints of the victim are all imprecatory with his life, are still a portion of himself, the pyrotechnics to the human being, 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 the person represented. These are all well-known magical rites. Parallel with them is the treatment of such objects for the purpose of benefiting the person to whom they belong.

The navalising of an infant, taken by a mother to church at her churching, and laid down behind the altar or in some other suitable place, is deemed in Mecklenburg and Thueringia to be effectual both surrounding the child with the influence of ancient holy influences that he will grow up God-fearing and peace (Witschel, ii. 287; Bartels, ii. 45). For some such reason Athenian women who became pregnant for the first time hung up their girldes in the temple of Artemis. Probably for a similar purpose fragments of clothing and other things are hung by votaries on sacred trees, and pins are deposited in sacred wells. To the same order of thought is the custom of going round wounds by means of the instrument inflicting them. This custom, formerly accepted by physicians and Philosophers, is now lost in Europe to the panegyric. It originated in the belief that the Laungs or Songkh of Vancouver Island are very careful to keep concealed any wounds they have in the region of the heart, so as not to bring it near the fire; for he would become very ill if the weapon, while still covered with his blood, was drawn into the lungs (W. Ross, Rep. Brit. Amer., London, 1909, 377). It is said that the Melanesians keep the arrow, when extracted, in a damp place or in cool leaves, believing that the inflammatory properties of the arrow remain slight and will soon subside. But, if the enemy who has shot another can get back his arrow, he puts it into the fire, with intent to irritate the wound and cause fatal results (H. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, Oxford, 1861, p. 315). Similar practices are very widespread among the European nations, and not least in our own island.

By a very natural extension of the idea of the life-token the cognate idea of the faith-token has been evolved. It is not enough for one of a pair of lovers to know that the other is living; there must be constant assurance of the other's fidelity. The token of fidelity is, therefore, a common incident both in tales and in actual life, 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 by the condition of a life-token arbitrarily appointed; it may be a live chicken or some other living being. There is but a step between this and the drawing of auguries from events and objects not appointed at all. The step is often taken both in tales and in life.

In an Icelandic tale three drops of blood appearing on the knife while eating are a token to one brother of another's peril or death. A woman leaves her hat hanging in a tree to be a friend at home. There is but a step between this and the drawing of auguries from events and objects not appointed at all. The step is often taken both in tales and in life.

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LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

Primitive (J. A. MacCallum), p. 47.
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 assumed to be substances — e.g., 'a hard darkness,' as in an Australian myth — or the sun, often regarded as the cause of light, is thought of as a fire or fiery substance, larger or smaller. Among the primitive peoples the dualism of light and darkness or of beings representing these — so frequently found at higher stages of civilization — can hardly be said to exist.

1. Primordial 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 activity with the light. A pre-existing state of darkness, out of which light and life have proceeded, is thus usually presupposed. Many Australian tribes believe that long ago darkness or semi-darkness prevailed, until the sun was made or released. An enu's egg was thrown up to the sky, and either itself gave a great light as a bird, or a wood-pile belonged 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 roves 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 obscene rites performed by men who complained of having no heat or light; or there is darkness until the magpie propels up the sky and so sets free the sun. The last-mentioned myth, that heaven and earth are close together, and that, until they are separated, their offspring are in perpetual and universal night, prevails over Oceania. The children, or gods, or a serpent, or trees force them apart and let in light and air.\(^1\)

Maori mythology relates that the Atua a te po, gods of Hades or darkness, existed before heaven was lifted up, and were more ancient than the Atua o te ra, gods of light, because darkness precedes light: Their chief was Hine unui te po, great mother night, or Hades. Light and life are represented by Tama mir te ra, the great son of day. A creation epic describes the cosmo-genic periods, the first of which is that of thought, the second that of night or darkness:

- The word became fruitful;
- It dwelt with the feline shimmering;
- It brought forth night;
- The great night, the long night,
- The lowest night, the lowest night;
- The thick night, to be felt;
- The night to be touched, the night unseen;
- The night following on;
- The night ending in death.\(^2\)

Then follows the third period, that of light, and the fourth, in which sun, moon, and stars are created, 'thrown up as the eyes of Heaven, then the heaven became light.'\(^3\) This idea, that chaos and darkness — the state of Po, Hades, or night — precede all gods and all things is wide-spread in Polynesia. Even a human-god like Taaoro, creator of sun, moon, etc., springs from it; or he springs out of an egg and so brings light to the world.\(^4\)

The Caros say that earth was at first a huge watery plain, and darkness lay over all. Tatar-Rabga created earth through a lesser spirit and, at the latter's request, placed sun and moon in the sky to give light.\(^5\)

The myth of Heaven and Earth asa divine pair is common in W. Africa, but its most significant expression is found among the Yorubas, who say that Obatala and Ootuma, 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.\(^6\)

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. Then came a flood which destroyed all but two old women, one of whom desired both light and death. Death came, 1. Taylor, p. 109.

and with it 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 pursued him to the sky with a brand. He became a sun and she a moon, ever pursuing the sun, except in winter, when she remains in her house and there is darkness. The stars are sparks from the brand.

A Finnish cosmogonic 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.

4 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 sun, from the white the moon, and from the darkness in the deep gray clouds.

Scandinavian mythology contains an elaborate myth of beginnings. There was first a void world of mist, ginnunga-gap. On its southern extremity was the land of Fólkanger, on its northern, nifljógg: from the one proceeded light and warmth, from the other darkness and cold. According to Grimn, ginnunga-gap is the equivalent of the Gr. ýds, meaning both 'above,' 'over,' darkness.48 According to the Edda, Day was 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, Tentons, and Celts was on the principle that night preceded the day, the moon, which "governs the night," being the measure of time. Tacitus says of the Tentons 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 times in such an order that day follows night.48 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 1:3-5). Some other examples of such myths may be cited. In Bashan 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 Barongs think that the reflection of light on the sea after the sun's rising is a kind of source of 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 fire which makes to appear, ever pursuing the moon, except in winter, when she remains in her house and there is darkness. The stars are sparks from the brand.

An E. African myth tells 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. According to another, Apothao, father of mankind, appeared from heaven on earth together with the sun, moon, and wind, which fled to the sky when he was angry, and have remained there ever since. The heaven-land has people as bright as fire, and men will go there when they die.

3. Succession of light and darkness, day and night.—In some instances light, not darkness, is primordial; or after creation, while day exists, night is still unknown. Numerous myths relate how darkness is produced and the regular alternation of day and night follows. The Wumbalo, an Australian aboriginal, says that at one time the sun never moved. Nurelli, tired of eternal day, bade it go down by the west.48 In Banks Island, Qat, after making all things, did not know how to make night, and it was always day.48 He heard that there was night at Vava, and went there to get it from I Qong, Night. Returning with it, he bade his brothers prepare for night. The sun now moved westwards; he let go the night, and it was dark. After a time he cut it with a knife, and daylight again shone out. In Lepers Island this is told of Tagaro.48 The Melanesia says that at first there were two sons which rose and set alternately. A slave, tired of getting up, shot one of them. There was now always darkness. The other sun refused to come forth, but at last did so as a result of certain ceremonies.48 The savage Malays of Malaca have a myth of three sons, 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.48 A native Brazilian myth tells that at first there was no night. Night, a coal 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 to bring a fennus fruit from him. In spite of all warnings, they brought it all red fruit. The daughter now separated day from night.48 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 sort of slumber on his back. Night is the result of a part of the moon becoming black through this trick.48 A Finnish myth says that in the beginning there was nothing but water and light—an unusual version of the cosmogonic idea.48 In some instances night is formed as the result of a dualism. The Yeisidz say that God made the world beautiful. Then Malik-Tas 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.48 In a Wallachian Märchen God sends a bee to inquire of the devil, the master of night,
whether there should be one sun or more. The bee rests on the devil's head and hears his cogitations. Nightly, if the 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. In many of the stories created that sun and moon are not always regarded as causing light and darkness, or rather day and night. These exist apart from them, though the two are associated together. A clear connexion between them, however, is seen in many Polynesian 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, while the sun goes at night. The people of both implore the demi-god for the sun's release. 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 Uto myth. 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. Again, he is captured by some persons who wish to amuse themselves, but it becomes so hot that the captors run away. The second group of myths is obviously suggested in answer to such a question as was raised by the V. He will find the fire. When he arrives at a hut where light like a tall of fire is burning, it is hidden by a man shovelling snow, which causes obscurity. He steals the light and is pursued. He breaks off pieces, each of which produces light, which is then followed by night. They are of unequal lengths because sometimes he travels a longer time without throwing out light, sometimes a shorter time. This myth also produces the phenomena of the Arctic dark winter, and the phenomena of days and nights of varying lengths.


Day and night, or their rulers or representatives, sun and moon, are often personified as male and female, or as husband and wife, as in the Eskimo myths already cited (§ 1). This is found in American Indian mythology; and in Australian belief, e.g. among the Arunta, sun and moon are male, and among the Papuans female, the moon male. It is also found among the Andaman Islanders (the sun is the wife of the moon), the Indians of Guatemala, in Central Celebes, in Cumbay, among the Yuruma, in Tahiti, among the Plateas, among the Ainus, and among the peasants of Oberpfalz. In another American myth day and night are two wives who produce light and darkness by sitting alternately at the door of their tent.

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

In a Tongan myth Vatea 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. Vatea 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; light and darkness 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. In many of the stories created that sun and moon are not always regarded as causing light and darkness, or rather day and night. These exist apart from them, though the two are associated together. A clear connexion between them, 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, while the sun goes at night. The people of both implore the demi-god for the sun's release. 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 Uto myth. 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. Again, he is captured by some persons who wish to amuse themselves, but it becomes so hot that the captors run away. The second group of myths is obviously suggested in answer to such a question as was raised by the V. He will find the fire. When he arrives at a hut where light like a tall of fire is burning, it is hidden by a man shovelling snow, which causes obscurity. He steals the light and is pursued. He breaks off pieces, each of which produces light, which is then followed by night. They are of unequal lengths because sometimes he travels a longer time without throwing out light, sometimes a shorter time. This myth also produces the phenomena of the Arctic dark winter, and the phenomena of days and nights of varying lengths.

Additional text:

5. Light and darkness, day and night, sun, moon, and stars are often personified 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 (EKE i. 262). Many African tribes have a high god, often the sky personified, and many of them worship the heavenly bodies as sources of light. Loba, the high god of the Bakwiri, has a name signifying originally Heaven or Sun, and so in many other instances. Shango of the Yoruba is the sun, dwelling in a flaming house of brass; one of his trains is Biri, the darkness. The Kavirondo worship the moon and the sun, the latter regarded as beneficial, occasionally beneficial, but usually malignant. Among the ancient Egyptians and Celts sun and moon were also divinities to whom a cult was paid. Among the Polynesians Ka-Ne is the sunlight and Taggalo is the lord of light, his brother being Rongo, god of dark and night. The Andaman Islanders connect Pulunga, their high god, with the sky, where he set the sun and moon, who give light by his command and have their meals near his house. Among the Hottentots Tsumi-Coam, the red dawn, is opposed to the dark sky personified as Gaam. With the

[Text continues with references and additional content]
regions of light and darkness.—as in the higher religions the benedictive or lofter gods are connected with light or dwell in the sky. for ti 66, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, so it is in savage belief. the australian high gods, bunjil, mangum-nagaur, and baisame, dwell in the sky. the belus, the eternally living light, and the nuraui of the murray river tribes is an embodiment of light. the higher polynesian gods, tangaroa, tangaloa, ti, etc., dwell in the light heavens, seven or ten in number. the khendra reverence bura punn, god of light, or bella poona, the sun-god, whose dwellings are the sun and the place where it rises. palu, the andaman high god, lives in the sky. this is true also of many australian tribes, the zulus hold that the creator lives in heaven, and naami mpangu of the fiort dwells behind the firmament. similarly one of the names of the supreme being of the indians of guiana signifies the "austral" or "skyland." 67 many of the tentonic gods, some of them of gods of light, dwell in the sky, where vallalla was situated. from the sky the gods descend to earth, along the sky they trace their journeys, and through the sky they survey unseen the doings of men. 68

so also elysium, the abode of the blest, whether it is above or on, 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 dead, where no distinction had ever been made between good and bad spirits—the bab. arallu, the heb. shir, the greek hades (see the series of art. on "blest, abode of the"). the subterranean puellko or tataros of the caroline islanders is cold and dark. 69 in polynesia, as pe 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 which other departed spirits go. 70 in samoa, the widest of all, there is a place of good and darkness. the japanese ymir, or hades, means "darkness," and it is preceded over by susa no-wo, a personification of the earth, and made god, ruling also the darkness of night. 71 the scandanavian niflhel is a place of darkness surrounded by fogs and gloom (see blest, abode of the tentonic). 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 character of evil. such a character is attached with the light or even with the moon, the ruler of the sky. the sakai believe that the lord of hell, a cavern in the interior of the earth, is a friend of darkness and cannot bear the light. 72 in polynesia roomo, brother of tangaroa, is god of darkness and night; hine-nui-te-po, the great mother night, into which all must pass, is a personification of night and light. some australian divinities to whom evil powers are ascribed are connected with darkness and light. 73 the japanese susa no-wo, 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 people them with. 74

1 b. thomson, the fitjians, london, 1869, p. 113.
2 a. j. leavis, 1868, 113, 126; 1869, 110; b. brough smith, abr. of pacific islands, melbourne, 1875, l. 625.
3 gill, p. 4, 13; elia, l. 114, 325; waitz-gerland, vi. 2461, l. 295.
4 h. callaway, rel. system of the australians, natal, 1870, p. 494.
5 f. j. thomson, among the indians of guiana, london, 1883, p. 295.
6 gill, p. 4, 628.
7 w. w. christian, caroline islands, london, 1899, p. 76.
8 gill, p. 4, 326; waitz-gerland, vi. 2461, l. 295.
9 turner, samoa, p. 292.
10 aston, p. 53, 117 f.
11 skwent-hagensen, 1884, p. 4, 119; 127; 131.
12 turner, samoa, p. 292.
13 gill, p. 4, 119; 127; 131.
14 elia, l. 322 f.
15 waitz-gerland, vi. 2461, l. 295.
16 see esp. iv. 629.

in s.e. guinea evil spirits called werewa inhabit dark places and wander about at night; and in new britain, a spirit causing disease, earthquakes, etc., lives in dark places. 75 the tasmanians thought that lower spirits concealed themselves in dark cavities by day and came forth at night to do harm. 76 the australians also peopled the darkness with a variety of horrible beings ready to pounce upon men. innumerable other examples from savages are cited. similarly, among the celts and tentons a variety of demonic and supernatural beings were associated with light and darkness, and in folk-supernatural generally fairies, witches, demons, werewolves, vampires, and ghosts are most powerful in the house of darkness, especially in the evening and in the dead of night they have power. 77 see art. demons and spirits, fairy, lechtherot, vampr, among savages, as 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. 78 for similar reasons an eclipse of the sun or the moon is universally feared. generally a spirit is supposed to be destroying these bodies, and, since they are so often regarded as the sources of light, it is feared that their destruction would mean a return to the primal or archaic darkness. every precaution is therefore taken to scare off the destroying monster or to bring to an end whatever other mysterious cause is attributed to an eclipse, 79 in connexion with the belief that evil spirits have power in the darkness must be noted the widespread idea that their power ceases at dawn, or that, if they are surprised by daylight, they are destroyed. this applies to all evil beings, demons, witheyes, fairies, etc. see art. fairy.

7. dualism of light and darkness.—the contrary nature of light and darkness, the qualities instinctively associated with each—life with light, 8 death and terror with darkness—might easily suggest to primitive minds a species of natural dualism. the day seems to be swallowed up by night, again to appear and drive it away; at an eclipse sun or moon is wholly or partially concealed by darkness, and a figure as a beast or demon, but again emerges victorious. hence in some instances on the lower levels of culture light, or day, and darkness, or night, may be personified and regarded as such.

that this was in fact conceived of from such a dualistic system as the parsi, 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 parsi was felt, 8 also perhaps in such a dualism as exists in the religion of the barbians (p. 237). 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 mythography and elsewhere (p. 237). it is also probable that modern inquirers into savage myths have too readily 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 demon, which is necessarily meant a contest between light and darkness.

1 brown, melancholies and polynesians, pp. 235, 237.
2 a. ling roth, abr. of tasmania, london, 1889, p. 83.
3 waitz-gerland, p. 90; brough smith, l. 457; spencer-gilbert, p. 496.
4 w. scott, vue de st. john, verse 24.
5 turner, slaveness, p. 341.
6 lachli, arw. iii. 97-102; also art. primitive and patriarchal.
7 c. p. gline, magic et rel. d'amerique, paris, 1812, p. 119.
8 see fahrbach, pp. 27 f., 48.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Chinese)

ness. While it is possible that certain American myths adumbrate such a contest, it is likely that, on arbitrary philological grounds, such an interpretation has been falsely applied to them. The aspect of such a mythic strife may be seen in the beings associated with light and darkness rather than in these themselves personified. Thus the demoniac beings who have dominion in the dark-nest, or semi-powerless and are not feared by day, or those connected with gloom and darkness are most commonly regarded as opposite in nature or opposed to divinities or spirits of light, e.g., as 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 Maui is the sun (though, as has been seen, Maui captures the sun), then the story of how he intended to pass through the body of Hine-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. Japanese mythology preserves a story of the retirement of the sun-goddess to the rock cave of heaven, leaving the world to darkness, because of the misconduct of her brother Susa-no-o, the storm-god and later ruler of Yoni (the lord of Hades). The god dances in front of the cave, and she comes out to see him 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 Tenonese 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.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Chinese).—The Chinese outlook on life and attitude towards religion give more prominence to light than to darkness.

The two principles which pervade all nature and to which everything is assigned—the yin and yang principles, 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 nether 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, Yen-10), the ruler of Hades, with his entourage of officials and demons, be considered as such. The light of the sun is wasting in the Chinese neither.


1 J. A. Macculloch.

The gothic world; it is a land of shades and of the shadow of death, for a twilight gloom prevails. The idea of hell is Taoism was derived from it, but the concept was developed on different lines. Utter darkness reigns in eight hells out of the millions of various abodes of punishment 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 worship of the sun, and in various aspects of religious iconography. The Chinese, the source of all brightness, and the masculine principle in nature is embodied in it, while the moon is considered to be the essence of the female principle. The philosopher Chu Hsi said: "In the beginning heaven and earth were just the light and the dark air... The emble of the air... became heaven and the sun, moon, and stars... Light and darkness have no beginning."

The "visible darkness" that engulfs the sun and moon at an eclipse is supposed popularly to be the effect of a monster swallowing them. Mandarins under the old regime offered worship as an official duty during an eclipse, soldiers fired muskets, and priests clanged cymbals and chanted pious propitiatory prayers to the sun and moon. While all this was going on, the populace fired crackers and clasped pots and pans to frighten the monster away.

There is an altar to the sun to the east of the Tatar City of Peking. That to the moon is outside the west wall. In that ancient Chinese classic, the Yi King, or Book of Changes, one of the trigrams is an emblem of light or brightness, and the trigram of light or brightness is the symbol of, or attributes applied to, goodness and virtue. The rising of the bright object in the sky is suggestive of advancing, and Hsü Ping-wan of the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1329-1367) thus applies it: "Of bright things there is none so bright as the sun, and after its pattern he the superior man makes himself bright."

These instances show that the Chinese early seized on the striking symbolism of light and darkness to represent a mental or moral condition as well as a physical one; and this expressive language has continued in use. It appears now and again to the Tso Tso Ching:

"We should attempt our brightness, and bring ourselves in agreement with the obscurity of others."

There is the god of lightening, who is worshipped by both Buddhists and Taoists, who, according to the popular mythology, was appointed to accompany the god of thunder on his expeditions to prevent his making a mistake, for on one occasion, finding the white rind of a melon flung away, in the darkness of a smoke-brimmed Chinese kitchen, he mistook it for rice and killed with his chisel and hammer the supposed water of good food. To prevent the recurrence of such an event the god of lightening 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 lightening'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 god. V. K. L. End, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, 1888, p. 103.

2 T. McCaugh, Consonant Consonant, p. 52, quoted in S. Wells Williams, Middle Kingdom, revised ed., London, 1888, ii. 141.


4 See Mrs. A. Little, Guide to Peking, Tientsin, 1904, p. 52 ; cf. E. S. 386.


6 J. McCaugh, Consonant Consonant, p. 52.


8 S. Wells Williams, Middle Kingdom, revised ed., London, 1888, p. 39; see Tse Tso Ching, ch. 26.
being, but a lamp, of which the snuffings of the wick were turned into a man by the recital of a charm. He is the form and soul of fire. Both Buddhists and Taoists claim him.

The Buddhists deify light by personification in the Buddha. The Chinese represent her with eight arms. 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 Queen of the Sun. The Taoists also claim her as one of their deities, and fix her residence in a star in the constellation of Sagittarius. The Buddha, after Buddha, commencing with Sakya-muni, Buddha, has light as one of his attributes, or some manifestation of light appears in the course of his life in connexion 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 hairs between his eyebrows by which he can illuminate the universes. 'Light' and 'Brightness' often appear in the names given to different Buddhas, as well as occasionally 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', Buddha of Fixed Light, 'Light and Bright,' 'The Bright Effulgence of Sun and Moon,' 'The Clear and Bright Efficacy of Sun and Moon.' The 99th Buddha of the present kula is Buddha of Wonderful Light. Some twenty billions of Buddhas have the title of 'Cloud Sovereign Illuminating King.' Five hundred arakas will reappear as Buddhas with the name of Wide-spreading Brightness. Some of the demons in which Buddhist believes shed a glare of light. A realm mentioned in Buddhist is 'The Realm of Great Light.' One of the sixteen (or eighteen in Northern Buddhism) celestial worlds is that of 'Light and Sound,' and another is that of 'Unlimited Light.' Buddhist has five 'Luminous Treatises.' A fictitious degree of samadhi is also called 'Pure Light and Bright Light.'

In Northern Buddhism the 'Buddha of Boundless Light,' diffusing great light, Amita (Amitibha), originated in the ideal of boundless light, and was thought of as first as impersonal. He is the most prominent Buddha among the Buddhas among the Chinese people. In his heaven, the wonderful and glorious Paradise of the West, two Buddhas radiate light over three thousand great worlds. Amita Buddha himself, in the words of the Chinese poem singing his praises, has a 'halo of light that encircles his head.'

The sun of morn is less glorious than he. As to those who enter that heaven, 'the material body of men while on earth is exchanged for another eternal and bright, that is seen from afar to be glowing with light.'

This new mystical school makes use of the symbolism 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 from 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. A god, who has sometimes to expiate some sin from which his godlike nature has not saved him, or to cure or to exorcise some infirmity still inherent in his moral nature.

We find a brilliant light in connexion with the preparations for the birth of the Taoist Genecous Sovereign, the Supreme Ruler, and in his later incarnations a golden light or a glimmering light descends. Somewhat similar experiences occurred when the Taoist Aged Sire united with light, and became dust and was born on earth. 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 'Light' in many 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 footnotes.

J. DYER BALL.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Christian).—The symbolical use of the words 'light' and 'darkness' is very common in early Christian literature, and in the main was derived from the O.T., as will be seen by the reference 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 1014, Lk 12 (cf. Jn 19, and Eph 5:1, Col 4:2). More to our purpose are the numerous passages where 'light' denotes knowledge, wisdom, and 'darkness' denotes ignorance and sin—ignorance in all its phases being included in the latter simile: absence of knowledge, spiritual blindness, error, and wickedness; for blindness, if wilful, becomes sin. The opposition between light and darkness is expressed in Jn 5:16; 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 1:5, Lk 1:31); the idea is taken from Is 61, 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 (1 Jn 1:5, 2 Jn 8, 1 Th 5:11, 2 Th 5, Lk 9:5). In Jn 8:12 'the light of life is the light which both springs from life and issues in life' (B. F. Westcott, Gospel according to St. John, London, 1908, in loc.). The metaphor is very common in the Johannine writings, but it is frequently found elsewhere. In Mt 6:2, 'the body of this life,' in Rom 8:12 'the body full of darkness' (oxyrites) denotes evil; so Lk 11:13 (cf. Pr 14:10).


5. Rh. Ball, p. 176.
In Acts 28:4 the preaching of the gospel is to turn the people from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God. St. Paul uses the metaphor freely. The 'works of darkness' are the evil works of unbelievers (2 Cor 11.14), the ungodly, etc. (Eph 4:30). The metaphor of being taken out of darkness into God's marvelous light (2 Pet 2) is most natural and beautiful. The passage in Eph 2:11-21 is a beautiful description of the change wrought by God in the hearts of the Gentiles. The new birth is spoken of as ‘coming out of darkness into the light’ (Jn 18:33, 19:39).

2. The symbol of light and darkness is not so common in Patristic writings as in the NT, but a few examples may be given from the first four or five centuries. At the close of the Apostolic period the symbol of Barnabas (Acts 13:30) describes the religious state of light and darkness, i.e., of good and evil (cf. Did 30:3); over the former are stationed the light-giving (γαρδόνυμος) angels of God, over the latter the angels of Satan. In the Jewish Scriptures of the Old Testament, God is called ‘God of light’ (in His Word and Wisdom) to enlighten the saints. In the last-mentioned work (Eng. tr., J. Cooper and A. J. Macleod, Edinburgh, 1906) the symbolism is very common, both in the apocalyptic and prophetic (where it probably comes from an original apocalyptic, perhaps of the 2nd cent.; see JTAS xiv. [1913] 601-604) and in the Church Order proper. Christians are children of light (1 Pet. 1:12, 18, 27). In the liturgy of this work (I. 23) God is called ‘Father of lights’ (Ja 1:5), ‘King of the treasuries of light’, ‘Illuminator of the perfect’, ‘Giver of light eternal’. Elsewhere in the book He is called ‘Gift’ or ‘Maker of light’ (L. 28, 43), ‘Light of the lights... Whose veil is the light’ (1:7). Our Lord is ‘Begetter of light... Guard of light eternal’, who has shed light on the darkness within us’ (L. 28, 37). The illumination of the heart is frequently referred to (L. 15, 21, 23, 31, 32, 38, 57, 57). Somewhat more sparingly the simile is used in the Apostolic Constitutions. Christians are ‘children of light’ (L. 2, 22, 46, 54), as in the parallel passages of the Older Didascalia (see these, arranged on opposite pages, in F. X. Funk, Didasc. et Const. Apostolorum, Paderborn, 1903). The Father is ‘light inaccessible’ (Acts post. vol. xi, xii, xiv, from 1 Ti 6:9). Jesus is the true light (v. 16), and the bishop must be a student, and enlighten himself with the light of knowledge (v. 5; cf. v. 37). These phrases (except v. 16) are not in the older Didascalia. In Sarapion’s Sacramentary God is called the ‘Fount of light’, and is prayed to give us the (or a) Spirit of light (§ 1; JTAS x. [1896] 105, in Funk [op. cit. ii. 175], numbered § 13). Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. vol. i [in A. R. 1881]) calls angels and men ‘light’ in an inferior sense, though in the highest sense God alone is light.

3. In the Clementine Recognitions, now thought to be of the 4th century, the author, denouncing that God has a Son, says that there is a power of infinite and ineffable light (i.e., God), of which power even the Demiurge, Moses, and Jesus are ignorant (ii. 49).
3. Light as describing the relation of the Father and the Son.—We may now investigate the use of the phrase 'Light of the Father' ('φως τοῦ Θεοῦ') 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 He 1:3 our Lord is the effulgence ('διαφωτισμὸν') of the Father’s glory and the brightness of his image in man’s substance; the reference seems to be to Wis 2:7, where Wisdom is 'an effulgence from everlasting light . . . and an image of [God’s] goodness.' (For various Patristic comments on He 1:3 see Westcott’s note, Epistle to the Hebrews, London, 1880, p. 11.)

An early approximation to the phrase ‘Light of Light’ is found in Orig (De Prin. 1, 1), who says that God is light, illuminating man, and interprets ‘thy light’ in Ps 20:5 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 (Dial, 11, 128); and Tatian (c. Grec. 6) re-echoes his words. So also Tertullian (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 Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as light of light is kindled. After the great Athenasius there is a danger in the metaphysics of fire. He says (de Decretit. v. 23) that the Son is not as fire kindled from the heat of the sun, which is commonly put out again, but is ‘effulgence’ (διαφωτισμόν), signifying that He is from the essence, not from the metaphor of fire, of the Father, and is one with Him (see A. Robertson’s note on the passage in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, iv. [1892] 168). Arius in his letter to Alexander had quoted Tertullian as saying that the Son was from the Father as a light from a light (βαφήν ἀπὸ βαφῆς), or a lamp divided into two (quoted by Epiphanius, Her. ix. 7). In the small treatise Isocr. c. African. [c. 107], Athenasius says that Christ, the Light, can never be separated from the Father. In Orat. c. Arian. iv. 2 the writer speaks of the Word as ‘Light from Fire,’ and in iv. 10 compares the vision of the Father and the Son to fire and the effulgence from it, ‘which are two in being and in appearance, but one in that its effulgence is from it invisibly’; but it is uncertain if this fourth Oration is by Athenasius. In the 4th cent. (A.D. 381), Ambrose says that ‘the Father is Light, and the Son is Light, and the Holy Ghost is Light, and the Holy Ghost is both Light and Fire,’ referring to Is 60:19 (de Spir. Sanct., ed. E. Delecluse [1800] i). The well-known hymn of Pope Gregory (‘Hail, gladdening Light!’ sung at the Lamp-lighting, calls the Son the ‘gladdening Light of the holy glory of the immortal, heavenly Father;’ it is older than Basil, who apparently quotes it (de Spir. Sanct., xvii. [783], A.D. 374).

The phrase ‘Light of Light’ is found in the creed of Nicea and in the enlarged creed (called the creed of Constantinople) which came into general use. It was derived by the former 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; this creed had ‘God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life’ (Socrates, HE i. 8). On the other hand, the phrase ‘Light of Light’ is not in the creed of Gregory Thaumaturges (c. A.D. 250) and of the Nicene Creed (p. 372, A.D. 325), ‘God of God’ (it is given in Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib. xx. [1882] 5). In Cyril of Jerusalem (Cot. iv. 7) the Son is called ‘begotten Life of Life, begotten Light of Light, begotten God of God’ (p. 373), and adds ‘Truth of Truth, and Wisdom of Wisdom, and King of King, and God of God, and Power of Power’ (cf. xi. 18). The phrase ‘Light of Light’ occurs in K. St. Pachomius’ creed (4th cent.; JThSt ix. [1998] 290), but not in the creeds of the various Church Orders, though those of the Apost. Const. (vii. 41) and of the Egyptian (Coptic) and Syrian Church Orders are close to the Eastern type (those of the Testament of our Lord, the Canons of Hippolytus, and the Verona Fragments are the Western or Roman creed). It is instructive to note the different views of the Council of Antioch in Eerncins, A.D. 341. The second creed has ‘God of God, Whole of Whole, Sole of Sole, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the living Word, the living Wisdom, the true Light.’ The third creed has merely ‘perfect God of perfect God.’ The fourth creed, drawn up by a continuation of the Synod, 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 Athanasius, de Synodis, 23, 24, 25, and the second and fourth in Sozomenus, HS ii. 10, 18; see them also in Böckel, Conciles, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876, ii. 72-80). With reference to the phrase in question Basil, when dealing with the relation of the Son to the Father, and speaking of the phrase ‘like in substance’ (ἐναρμονία σωμάτων), says that he will accept the phrase if the word ἀναμορφισθήσεται (‘without any difference’) be added, as equivalent to the Homousion: ‘Being of this mind the Fathers at Nicea spoke of the Only-begotten as “Light of Light.” Very God of Very God. And they consistently added the Homousion. It is impossible for any one to entertain the idea of a nonsubstantial union of the Son to the Father, or of the Holy Ghost to God, but if the phrase “Light of Light” is used (without any difference), it is impossible for any one to entertain the idea of a nonsubstantial union of the Son to the Father, or of the Holy Ghost to God. ’

Passing to later times, we note the curious fact that the phrase does not occur in the present Nicene Creed (F. E. Brightman, Lit. East. and West., Oxford, 1886, p. 270), though it is in that of the 'Apost. Const. in II. 17-18, which is given by W. A. Wigram, The Assyrian Church. London, 1910, p. 291.

Reviewing the evidence, we conclude that the appearance of the phrase in a creed cannot be affirmed before the 3rd cent., though perhaps (in view of Eusebius’s word ‘bishop’ in the plural as above) it was so used early in that century; Cæcarius was perhaps its first home. But before this there is earlier evidence (in the 2nd cent.) of the use of the symbolism of ‘Light of Light,’ though not of the phrase itself. Even after Nicea it was not by any means universally adopted into creeds. It will be remembered that the Nicene Creed was a test of orthodoxy, and was not at first used liturgically: it was not, apparently, for some time used at baptisms, and was not introduced into the Eucharistic service till the end of the 5th cent. It is not surprising therefore that, in none of the great authority of the Council of Nicea, the phrase in question did not at once spread very rapidly.

4. Baptism and light.—In the early Church the symbol of light was closely connected with the sacrament of initiation. Baptism was, especially by the Greeks, called ‘illumination,’ ψαλεύσας or ψαλεύσας, as in Justin (Apol. i. 61), in Gregory of Nazianzus (Apost. Const. xi. 1; cf. ii. 56), once in the Apost. Const. (ii. 32, 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. 4-5), and in the Older Didascalus (Verona Latin Fragments, ed. Hanler, p. 87; ‘post illuminationem quod dictum Graeco foliatur,’ with reference to He 6 [not in the corresponding passage of Apost. Const.]). Similarly, in Cyril of Jerusalem (Cot. iv. 7), the baptized are called ‘illumined’ (φωσκομένοι), and the baptized were called ‘the illuminated’ (οἱ λαμπήσαντες)—as sensually’s record, “Clement of Alexandria (Paed. i. 6), who quotes Eph 5 of baptism, and wrongly derives φῶς,
in 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. Sanday, in DCD ii. 204). It may be partly true, though it does not explain all the circumstances of the case. For we find lights also used as a decoration at festivals, as when Paulinus of Nola (c. d. 407; + 431) describes the innumerable festal lights burning night and day as a sign of rejoicing (Pom. xiv. [de S. Felicis Natalit., carm. iii.] line 99 ff.). 'Etherea,' or 'Silvia' (whose Perigrinatio has usually been dated at the very end of the 4th cent., though many scholars think it is somewhat later), describes the same thing as happening daily at Jerusalem (part of this work is given in App. 5 of L. Duchene, Christian Worship, Eng. ed., London, 1912; see pp. 489, 488). This was also a heathen custom (Juv. xvi. 2). Again, we find lights carried processionally in front of a person, as in the Ordo Romanus Primus (c. d. 779), where seven candles are carried before the pope before masses (ed. E. G. C. F. Atchley, Ordo Rom. Prim. § 7.1, 21). In the Ordo in the MS of St. Amand (Duchesne, p. 457) two candles are lighted when the pope says mass, and are placed behind the throne in candlesticks, right and left. A 5th cent. ivory at Trèves exhibits candles carried in procession (W. C. Bishop, in the Proper Book Dictionary, p. 435). In these cases the custom comes straight from the heathen—in the case of the processionals from the custom of carrying lights before the emperor—and we cannot trace them to the usage in the catacombs.

Three other symbolic usages in connexion with lights may be noticed. (a) Gospel lights, i.e. lights used at the reading of the liturgical Gospel at the Euchist, are mentioned by Jerome (c. Evg. 7.; A.D. 378), and are said by him to have been universal in the East, 'not so as to put darkness to flight, but by way of showing our joy' (he also attests the use of lighted tapers in honour of martyrs). Later on these lights at the Gospel are often mentioned,—e.g. in the Ordo Rom. Prim. § 11. (b) The Paschal candle was blessed on Easter Even ('benedictio cerei'), and is alluded to, perhaps by Augustine (de Civ. Des. xv. 22; A.D. 413-430): in laude cerei.' Certainly by Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. xiv. 2) and Gregory the Great: 'the prayers ... said over the wax taper, and the exposition of the troparia given by priests about the time of the Paschal solemnity' (Ep. 39). The candle was carried before the competentes to the font (cf. § 4, above), and denoted the rising of the Sun of righteousness. The Liber Pontificalis says that Pope Joaninus (A.D. 417) extended the custom of blessing the Paschal candle to the parish churches of Rome. (c) The office of Tenebrae is found from the 7th or 8th cent. onwards—an extremely symbolic service on the night which takes in Good Friday. After each of the three nocturns one-third of the lights were extinguished, except that seven remained, which were gradually put out during matins, the last when the Gospel was read (DCD ii. 994).

We may ask what is the meaning of this symbolism of lights when transferred to Christianity, and used in its services. Putting aside the lights are, the symbolic use of lights in other Christian services. In the Testament of Oved it is directed that all parts of the church 'be lighted, both for a type, and also for reading.' The derived Arabic Didascalia expands this phrase thus: 'Let them be lighted with many lights as a sign of heavenly things, especially to the reading of the pericope of the sacred books' (§ 35; FMMk, op. cit. ii. 125). It has been suggested that lights had necessarily been in use in the catacombs and in the assemblies before dawn.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Greek and Roman)

In the fields of the Hebrides 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 kills 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 divinities, those of the upper world (bei oikoums, di' superis) and those of the underworld. The former are the authors of life and increase and prosperity, the latter of death and waning and misery to mortal creatures.

1. Greek mystery varying waves of tendency, changing the behaviour of believers towards these two classes, may be discerned in the history of the Greeks. There was a time when the chief sacred centres had mysterious connexion with the realms of darkness, when the fear of obscurity had more power over the religious consciousness than the delight in heavenly radiance. The spots at which there were reputed entrances to the domain of Hades and darkness were numerous in early Greek days. In many instances, subterranean phenomena, earthquakes, sulphurous or mephitic emanations, disappearing rivers, or medicinal waters had much to do with the rise and 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 some position of strata. At Temenura, a promontory of Laconia, there was a cleft through which Herakles and Orpheus had both passed when they visited the infernal shades. In the Frégis (380), Aristophanes plays a scene at the mouth of Charon, the ferryman of the Styx, ridiculing these popular ideas. Most of the ancient oracles were connected with sites where there was communication with the nether darkness. This is illustrated by the story of the visit of Anaxa to the Cumaean Sibyl, 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 asummed 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 'necromancer' 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 were pressed into the possession of divinities who were mostly of the light. This was strikingly the case with Delphi, where, as the later Greeks said, the worship of the chthonian deity Earth (Ga or Gaia) passed into that of Apollo, god of light. As civilization and culture strengthed, the reverence paid to the gods beneath was apt to be left to the uninstructed, and to pass into the backwater of superstition, so that many of the figures were partially transformed into figures of the light. 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 aided by ephemerism, causing the chthonian deities to be profane and the chthonic powers titled. So the avenging spirits of gloom, the Furies, were venerated as 'Eumenides', 'benevolent ones' (cf. artt. EUMENIDES, ERYNIES: EFHYES).

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 enwrapped 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, e.g. Eirene, the_peaceful goddess, is prominent in Homer, but, as she is also too obviously the dawn, she is present but little in later ritual. Ovid remarked that her temples were the rarest in the world (Metem. viii. 384). The being who is wreathed in poetry and art does not generally lose that particular contact with nature which gave him his origin. Zeus remained the actual source of events in the sky. Thus there was no 'it rains' or 'it snows,' the Greek said 'he rains,' or 'he snows,' and sometimes mentioned the name of Zeus. Horace speaks of the hunter camping at night 'under the chilling Jove's wing' (Carm. ii. 29). Apollo was always with the sun, with the sunight, with Artemis with the moon, and so with many others. 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 development of mythology produced a mixture of attributes, and the intermixture 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 intercommunication. Hermes, in the morning of brightness, becomes a conductor of souls to regions below. Moreover, light was sometimes really baneful 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 glances of the moon and the divinities who guide them were usually beneficent, but sometimes had the contrary activity. The waxing moon is of good intent, the waning moon brings sickness and death. Hekate, a moon-goddess, kindly and supernal in the earlier age of Greece, became like to the lower, sickly, sickness. 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 Hellas as among Babylonians and Egyptians. As a motive it belongs rather to the late Hellenic age, and the age of Greek-Roman civilization, and even then, as we shall see, it affected the outer fringes of Greek civilization of the figures of the light.
from heaven, the lightning. The deities who rule the regular light also send lightning, especially Zeus, one of whose chief emblems is the thunderbolt, and also Athene and Apha. Zeus is sometimes regarded as a god of divine anger, as when Semele died by his stroke, sometimes an indication that the god had raised his will and given a prearranged signal for the future. To interpret the sign is, of course, a matter of legend. But the meaning 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 again stir the original divinity and venerable, being a symbol of the eternal. The apparent everlastingness 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 found in the legend of Prometheus, in 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 stories of heavenly relations with the earthly fire. Hephastus, the great metalworker, uses the fierce subterranean flames which find vent in the crests of Etna and the Lipari Isles. In Homer and the poets generally he is the maker of all the weapons, emblems, and equipment of the Olympians, of the sceptre of Zeus, of the arrows of Apollo and Artemis. Hestia, goddess of the family hearth, has an especial connexion with earthly fire. She is the only one of the greater divine beings whose name has a transparent significance in life, equivalent to the hearth of the house, always regarded as in some sense an abode of fire. 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 its dwelling; in a republic a community it was in the town-hall (παρεκκλησία) (see further, art. HEARTH, HEARTH-COST (Greek)).

The instrument of Hestia remained one of the clearest and simplest in the range of Greek religion. Where the name of a divinity retains an obvious meaning, he does not lose his distinctive character by being combined with others; but in the case of fire, divinity in whose ritual fire was conspicuous was Dionysos or Bacchus. The pine-tree and the torches that it provides 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 itself 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-bringer and the light-bearer, fire and light, are associated with the idea of the child being born. 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 to be dealt with by a different rule, and the greatest among them was Artemis.

The mysteries of the darkness beyond the grave, in which departed souls were hidden, gave rise to millenarian 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 religious thought that developed more ideas from Homer’s age to the time of the latest Greek philosophic speculation than that. The notion of a possible deliverance from the bonds of death prompted a series of theories and speculations about such things as that of the restoration of Aesop to Admetus, the theme of the fine tragedy of Euripides, the recovery of Eurydice by Orpheus, or of Persephone 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 of 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 the heavenly bodies on human life as was systematized by the Chaldaean astrologers. This lore came from Eastern lands, especially Babylon, and was only in loose contact with religion; it was developed only after the fact, and then more in the sphere of Roman than in that of Greek civilization. The same is true of the real religious veneration of sun, moon, and stars. But mystic ideas concerning these bodies entered into the earliest Greek thought—that of the Orphics and Pythagorean schools. The express attribution, however, of divinity to the heavenly bodies appears comparatively late in the history of Greek philosophy. Plato, in his Timaeus (p. 399), describes the fixed stars as divine existences brought into being by the ‘Worker’ (Demiurge) 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 this 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 Cleanthes, who is said to have laid the guiding principle (παντοκρατορία) of the universe. 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 Romans, were inspired by the above and developed beliefs like those that have been cited. Philo, the great Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, was in this respect fully in accord with the Greeks. An idea that was widely spread in the Hellenistic schools, and especially favoured by the Stoics, was that the contemplation of the heavenly bodies in their purity and in the regularity of their operations had an ethical value for the regulation of human conduct. 2. Roman.—Among the Roman notions concerning the regions of light and darkness were clothed in some distinctive form. The dream of evil that might befall if the inhabitants of the nether world,
the departed spirits of mortals, did not receive their departure from the living; they were much more marked than in Hel lenic communities. In the historic time, till Christianity prevailed, the bodies of the dead were cremated, but some of the attendant ceremonies pointed to a rejection of the idea of a disembodied spirit. 

The dead were laid in a tomb, dug into the ground. As the custom was to place the corpse in a coffin, this was usually buried under the floor of the room. The coffin was then placed in the tomb, which was afterward sealed. The tomb was usually a square or rectangular structure, and was constructed of stone or brick. The roof was often supported by pillars, and the sides were often ornamented with sculptured figures. The tomb was usually decorated with inscriptions, and sometimes with paintings. The tomb was usually surrounded by a wall or fence, and was often visited by the family of the deceased. The tomb was usually visited by the family of the deceased. The tomb was usually visited by the family of the deceased. The tomb was usually visited by the family of the deceased.
another divinity, Vesta, was venerated were remarkably characteristic of the Roman people. Her affinity 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 structure of the Roman family resisted the assaults of time more stoutly than that of the Greek. A great part of Roman religion is the parallelism in many respects of the religious ceremonial of the family and that of the State. And the private and public worship of Vesta resemble each other not a little. Every Roman 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 mistress and to the children, 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 other public temple or altar was devoted to her. Temple existed before the end of the Republican period. The temple of Vesta was of the antique round shape derived from that of the earliest Roman house. Close by were the groves of Vesta, where the vestals, of whose abode important remains have come to light in recent days. The temple never contained an image, for Vesta was the one ancient divinity in Rome who never succumbed to the anthropomorphising impulses of her worshippers. The only symbol of the goddess was the eternal fire, whose extinction imported calamity 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 house an appanage of the emperor, and made over the official house to the Vestals. He then set aside with proper ceremony a portion of his palace on the Palatine to replace it and establish there a second State temple of the goddess (see, further, art. HEARTH, HEARTY-GODS[Roman]).

We turn now to the later age of Rome. The conscious worship of the sun marked distinctly 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 Italy. A desire to venerate the sun was manifested, however, earlier, when he appeared with his attributes on the Roman coinage. Augustus placed in Rome two Egyptian obelisks be the Caryatides of Cesar, and they were supposed to be devoted to the sun. Vespasian transformed into a representation of the sun a great colossal figure erected by Nero in his own honor. Several influences contributed to increase Roman reverence for the sun, the latter, 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 Western solar divinities were Roman. Also, as 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 religion of the sun with them. The notable drift of sentiment towards monism aided the movement, for the one god was often, and not unnaturally, identified with the sun. It was not, however, till after Caracalla, by his universal gift of Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of the cities of the empire, had cut away the ground for fencing off the civic gods of Rome from those of other communities that public and formal recognition was given to these Oriental beliefs. A remarkable 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 amongRomandivinities, and, placing his own god in the vacant seat, brought to Rome the round black stone which was the symbol (rivos) of the god. In his array of titles the emperor made his office as 'priest of the unconquerable sun Elagabalus' (Sacerdos invicti solis Elagabalus) take precedence of the ancient designation of Pontifex Maximus. This was done in spite of the fact that the ruler of Emesa was sometimes correlated with Jupiter, probably because the eagle was an emblem of both. A temple was built contiguous to the Palatine residence of the emperor, and it was removed the fire of Vesta, 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 revolving 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 Celestis' 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. 29) 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 relate him with any particular Oriental divinity. The only indication connected with the East is the epithet 'unconquerable' (invictus). Aurelian specially associated the god with certain Eastern practice by denouncing the College of priests as 'Pontifices.' The sun was selected by
in Greece, but the rules there were never so rigid.

LITERATURE.—All information in matters connected with this article can be found in a few publications, in which the results of research are put together (see, e.g., W. von Leibnitz, "Hinduismus, view of its life and death, freedom and bondage, good and evil, virtue and sin. The great representative of light, life, freedom, and goodness was to the sun, as 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 personification of Aditi, which other scholars explain as eternity (cf. Hillebrand, Ved. Myth. iii. 106 ff.).

Uṣas is not only a goddess of the dawn of every day; in many songs that glorify her reappearance at the turn of the year she is addressed, and Uṣas means the first dawn of the New Year (cf. A. Ludwig, Der Bṛhad, Prague, 1876-88, iv. p. xi. vi. 178; Hillebrand, Ved. Myth. ii. 25 ff.). Uṣas is partly the Ostara of the Rigveda poems (F. Kirke, Zeitschrift für indische Sprache, ii. 1901) 439. She brings tuck the sun, the fire, the sacrifice which has been discontinued during the decaying period of the year; sometimes she is also called sīrṣa or īśātikā, and under the name suārābi she became the mother of the two heavenly dogs, ādrameya.

The Indians divide the year into two periods, the Utarāyāna, when the sun proceeds towards the north, and the Daksināyana, when he goes towards the south, the light half of the year being sacred to the gods, the dark half to the dead. Sometimes (e.g., Sānkhya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 3. 1) it is said that spring, summer, and 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 regain the light and sets free the streams bound by the feters 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 Arya tribes advanced towards the north, and more settled under a milder climate, the less that idea harmonized with the surroundings and the actual climate: the notion of tāmas was transferred to the really dark time after the sun had sunk ("Senatus consulta vespertina," Phil. iii. 24). Something of the same usage can be seen

A. HILLEBRANDT.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Iranian).—The antithesis between light and darkness among the Iranians was closer to the antithesis between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. This feature attracted the attention of Phtharch, who says (de Is. et Osir. xlvii.), that Ahura Mazda was purest light and Angra Mainyu the most profound darkness. This view recurs not only in the late 'Semitic and Egyptian section, p. 65, note 3.'

In the Gathas we find the striking statement that Ahura, 'well working, created both light (suxa) and darkness (suxa)' (Ya. xlv. 5). This at once recalls 'I, the Lord, form the light, and create darkness' (Is. 45:7), and it is thus, in a sense, the equivalent of Ya. xlv. 5. But it is also true that the 'protest of Zarathushtra against Magian dualism' (Ya. xlii. 1) is, as Moulton maintains, that it is the protest of Zarathushtra against Magian dualism—light is as is but natural, associated with Ahura Mazda and his supporters, while darkness is connected with Angra Mainyu and his rabble. It was Ahura Mazda who in the beginning filled the blessed realms (revena) with light (Ya. xxxi. 7), and in the realms of light (revena) beatitude will be beheld by him whose thought is right (Ya. xxxi. 1), while the light of the sun is one of the things that glorify Ahura Mazda (Ya. xlii. 11). Apart from the passages already noted, darkness (temauf) is mentioned in Ya. xxxiii. 20, where it refers to the blackness of hell (on the blackness of hell see Moulton, p. 172 f.; F. Spiegel, Brdt. Alterthumskunde, Leipzig, 1871—78, ii. 121).

In the Younger Avesta the dualism between light and darkness appears in full vigour, so that Spiegel is amply justified (ii. 20 ff.) in dividing his discussion of the Iranian theology and demonology into 'the light side' and 'the dark side' respectively. A phrase which constantly recurs in beginning the laudation of all good deities is 'for his magnificence and his glory' (ahra raoyanevakhra); for an admirable discussion of the latter see E. Wilhelm, 'Hvaren,' in Jubilee Vol. of the Sir Jamsheedji Jeejeebhoy Zarathushtri Madras, Bombay, 1914. Light was created by Ahura Mazda (Ya. vi. 1, xxxvii. 11), and of his prerogatives (Ya. xii. 1), hence prayer is made to behold 'the creative light of the creative Creator' (Ya. xlii. 6), and the light of the sun praises him (Ya. lix. 6). Together with Ahura Mazda created 'the shining light and sunny abode' (Ye. iii. 11), so that the abodes of Asha are light (Ye. xix. 7). In these abodes the souls of the righteous dead dwell (Ye. xvi. 7; cf. xlviii. 11; Arminia, i. 18; Vend. xix. 30), for paradise (coshita ahus; see just. LIFE AND DEATH (Iranian)) is light (Ye. xili. 6, xlviii. 11), and, as such, receives worship (Yaz. viii. 22; xlii. 27). Indeed, 'light' (ravasi) is a synonym for 'heaven' (Ye. xix. 9), another synonym being 'the shining house of praise' (ravasi garvsana) (Ye. xi, 124, xiv. 44), for which worship is paid (Sih rava, ii. 30). Still another synonym is 'the light without beginning' (suxa svayasda) (Ye. lixvii. 6; Ye. xiii. 15; Vend. xili. 14, xiii. 35; Parsis'hka, xxxiiii.), which is likewise an object of veneration (Gah, iii. 6, Sih rava, ii. 30; cf. Spiegel, ii. 17 f.). Accordingly, in the Patti Invitatory Texts, London, 1906, p. 145, tr. J. Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1892—93, ii. 178), the righteous man hopes to attain to 'the place of light' (ronja), not to 'the place of darkness' (dravasda).

The good creation is given the epithet of 'bright'—Asha (Ye. v. 4), the Amuesa Spentas and their paths (Ye. xliii. 82, xiv. 15, 17), Anhi (Ye. xivi. 1, 6), Apam Napat (Ye. xliii. 33, ii. 30), the 'glory' (Ye. xlii. 357), and especially Yima, whose conventional epithet osnate ('shining') is so completely blended with his name that in modern Persian he is known only as Jamshid.

The sun, moon, and stars are said to be given light (Vend. xivi. 9, 19, 13), and the light of the moon is lauded (Nyapih., ii. 7), while so great are the blessings of the light of the sun that, 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 tarrying place and no abiding place in this corporeal existence (Ye. vii. 3). The sun is the abode of the Just Judges, (cf. in general Nyapih., i.—iii.; Ye. vi.—viii.), and, indeed, the fairest of the forms of Ahura Mazda are the earthly and the heavenly light, i.e., the air and the sun (Ye. xxxiiii. 6, livii. 9), so that it is in the form which Ahura Mazda built for Mithra there is neither night nor darkness (Ye. x. 50).

Darkness is a special attribute of hell (Vend. iii. 35; Atenemdrivas, xxvii.), for which 'lightness without beginning' is a synonym (Ye. xxviii. 33; cf. Spiegel, ii. 18 f.). The demons are 'spawn of darkness' (or, perhaps, 'possess the seed of darkness,' tenuastra (Ye. vi. 4; Nyapih., i. 14; Vend. vii. 80)), and seek refuge in darkness (Ye. livii. 18), or hide in the earth (zamor-gaa) (Ye. vii. 15; Ye. xvi. 81; Westergraft Frag. iv. 3) or cavern (Vend. iii. 7, 10)—a phrase which may possibly point to survivals of an old characteristic (cf. Moulton, pp. 57, 128ff., 152, 589). Properly enough, therefore, divine aid is sought to resist 'darkness, woe, and suffering' (Ye. lixlvii. 17; cf. Nyapih., i. 14).

Turning to the Pahlavi texts, we are told that the 'region of light is the place of Ahuramazd, which they call' "endless light" (Bundahish, i. 2), and that the place of the Amuesa Spenta in that least existence of light (Datiistana-Diast., lxxiv. 2), while Arta-ii-Vira, when in the presence of Ahura Mazda, perceived only brilliant light (Arta-ii-Vira Namaq, cl.), 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 (Dinkar, V. ii. 2, vii. ii. 60-68).

According to the same texts, hell is full of darkness (Daštistān-Dinik, xxvii. 2, 6, xxxii. 2, 4, xxxvii. 28, 45), so intense that it 'is fit to grasp with the fingers' (Daštistān-Dinik, xxvi. 47; cf. Dināš-i-Mainyu, Xrof. vii. 31). This 'endlessly dark' is the abode of Angra Mainyu (Bundahish, i. 3), and when, in his fruitless endeavour to destroy the light of Ahura Mazda, he darkened the world at mid-day as dark as midnight, returning, after his defeat, to the darkness, where 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' (Daštistān-Dinik, xxxvii. 85). In contrast, although sun, moon, and stars will continue to exist after the renewal of the world, they will no longer be necessary, 'for the world is a dispenser of all light, and all creatures, too, are brilliant' (ib. xxxvii. 136). The power of the demons during the time of darkness has already been noted.

Therefore, 'when in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark' (Sāyēst-ā-Sāyēst, i. 5; two-thirds if one also eats with unwashed hands); and the eighteenth section of the lost Sezkar Naṣq of the Avesta dealt, among other topics, with 'the husky who spills anything after sunrise, or who swallows a meal of food to the north, at night, without a recital of the Amunāvar' (Dinkar, i. xix. 2). To the same category of concepts belongs a short Parsi poem contained in the second volume of the collection of Rīvāyāt of Daštāb Hormuzdāy (ed. M. R. Unwalla, 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. Modr). According to this 'Rīvāyat on the Lighting of a Lamp,' the lamp-light drives away all demons, and it adds:

'From that light of the Fire the world is bright, since it is bright within the very heart of all beings; yet it was not always the light of the Fire, there would not be a single man in the world. This little poem is immediately followed, it may be remarked, by an air of nine machines, recounting the miraculous cure of a dying child by the lighting of a lamp in the roof of the house. The problem of the relation of light and darkness is therefore more vital than the extant Iranian texts would lead one 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 (l. 279) that 'all problems of the Magians turn upon two main points: why the light mingled with darkness, and why the light was cleansed itself from darkness; they post the mingling as the beginning, and the cleansing as the aim.'

The Gayōmarist sect maintained, according to al-Shahrastānī, that light had no beginning, but that 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 with light the properties of creation and eternity. Their rather lame solution was that Ahura Mazda thought to himself: 'I had an opponent, how would he be formed?' From this thought, which did not harmonize with the goodness of light, Angra Mainyu was produced. The mingling of light and darkness was due to the fact that the light gave men, before they were emplotted to a state of dependence to the realms of Angra 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 in triumph.

The Zarvansic 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 thousand years, entertained the thought: 'Perchance this world is nothing.' From this evil doubt Angra Mainyu was born, and from Zarvan's wisdom sprung Ahura Mazda. The view of Avesta and Pahlavi texts. Both light and darkness had emerged 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. Z. xlv. 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 be victorious over darkness.

Thus in Zoroastrianism the problem of the relation between light and darkness becomes part of the greater question of the origin of the world; 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. p. 239 f.), as well as in Manichaeanism (A. J. H. Ward, Manichaeism & Religion, Leipzig, 1889. p. 50 ff.) and Manicheism (K. Kössler, Fgg. xii. (1903) 205 ff.). See art. MAZANDAN.

Lammars. In addition to the references given in the art., other citations from the Avesta may be gathered from C. Bartholomæ, Alterth. Wörterb., Sinnaburg, 1904, xvi., "Book.", "Sanzian., " Ramah., " and " Temen., " etc. (coll. 1687, 1692, 648-650). No special treatise on the subject has yet been written.

LOUIS H. GRAY.
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 preponderant role of religion in Babylonia and Egypt 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 the astrological tendencies always present, and the ease with which those ancient peoples tolerated anomalies 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 coordinate relation, in reality they are contrasted terms, to be compared with 'day' and 'night,' 'life' and 'death,' 'good' and 'evil.' In all these cases the coordinate relation holds good in the sense that light and darkness, etc., can be regarded as complementary terms, conveying the idea of the 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 Is 45) may also be brought into this coordinate relact, however, the relation between light and darkness continues to be regarded in Semitic thought as advective, slighting veiling a dualism which perhaps has been inherited from pre-historic times, and which is not resolved (Jahweism excluded), even theoretically, into a monism until the limit of our period has been passed. 2 We have throughout to reckon with that 'Oriental resignation' which marked all the peoples of the Ancient East, 3 the theory that prevailed might at best be termed 'optimistic dualism.' 4 With special reference to light and darkness there was a context 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. 5 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 of an invasion of each upon the other, a dualism in the realm of the unseen. This is concisely summed up by saying that the solar cult was osirianized and the Osiris myth was celestialized. 6 A subtle theory of a similar kind has been formulated for Babylonia, 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. 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 argument 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

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1 M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia, in E.J., 1911, p. 60.
6 Brushett, p. 193 ff.
7 Redford, The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East, London, 1911, i. 36.
certainly did not hold undisputed sway, either at the beginning or afterwards, and the fight between Light and Darkness, typified by Marduk (or Bel) and the Dragon, was continued down the ages. How this should be is perhaps best explained on the theory of Radun, who contends that the Light is a form of light considered not as an illuminative power, but as a life-giving principle, which appears in the warmth of the spring. His light with Tiamat is a fight 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 Tammuz-Adonis and (Ishtar) cycles my myths, and is also to be placed in opposition to Nabu, the god of the darkness, a fellow god with 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, Nibir, Enlil, and Ea fulfilled a similar role in the myths of creation, 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, the god of the deep (Akkad, in West Semitic), 'the thunderer.' 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 the 'god of light.' With him may be classed Girru (Gillu) = Nukku, the god of fire, whose symbol, a lighted lamp, is as old as the 14th cent. B.C.

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 darkness of the moon by eclipse or storm, and even for the disappearance of the orbs of night at the end of the month.

From city to city darkness work they,
A hurricane, which nightly hunts in the heavens, are they,
Their power to bring darkness in heaven, are they.
Gusts 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. Within his own domain, which is the upper world, Ra (Anun-Ra), the sun, figures as a life-giving power, a set-off to the equally great 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 life and death. We must include in this even the apparent exception of the 'Aton' cult of the XVIIIth dynasty (in the reign of Ikhnaton). In the 'Sola' universalism of that period, which finds expression in a series of magnificent hymns, while the whole activity and benefit of the sun are rehearsed, its life-giving power is still in the forefront. In Egypt the part of Marduk is taken by Hnwn, the elder enshrined, etc. An equivalent to Ishtar is found in Hathor, who by scholars is called 'the goddess of light.' Specific gods of darkness appear in Set (or Set-Appu), and in one member of the Hermetic group, named Nibir (or Ishtar, Keqet). (For the gods of the underworld see below, § 77.) In Egypt the demons of darkness were, like those of Babylonia, an awful power for evil to the living, and consequently 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 Hab. 2.14f.; Ps 60:5). Is 10.19f.; 51:9-16; 30.20, Ezk 12.18, Hos 6.3). But, while light is readily employed as a symbol of Jahweh, 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 conceived 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 20:22, Dt 4:27, 1 K 8:2, Ps 18:13, 97, Am 5:8, Zeph 1:12).

It is surprising that, though the Hebrews were surrounded by races more or less influenced by those 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. Sayce finds in Mummu (tablet I. 4) 'the flood,' or chaos, the equivalent of the 'darkness' which in Gn 1:2 is said to have been 'upon the face of the deep.' In both the Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts of what was in the beginning, darkness is reckoned as primeval, i.e. before the cosmos. It is an element not to be reckoned as good. While this may be asserted of darkness as diffused through space, it does not hold true of darkness as a division of time, when darkness means no more than night (Gn 14:23). According to Hebrew cosmology, one function of the heavenly orbs was to divide the light from the darkness; and God saw that it was good (Gn 1:5; cf. Ps 104:22). In the Babylonian account there is no mention of the creation of light, perhaps to be explained by the fact that Marduk is himself the god of light, and consequently its creator—a view which might well have been entertained in spite of the contradiction, as we see it, that the 'son of the sun' is also made the creator of the sun and all the other orbs of light. In the Hebrew account light is given as the first act in the creation of the world, wrought by the word of God. This, Cheyne thinks, formed no part of the traditional Hebrew cosmogony, but is due to the priestly writer's reflective turn of mind. Be that as it may, this light, which is diffused through space, wherever darkness is not present, is evidently of the heavenly orbs was to divide from the 'lights'—sun, moon, and stars—in which light is, as it were, localized (Ga 1:1). In Egypt there is no detailed account of creation. Sayce 14 and

1 Sayce, p. 168.
3 Sayce, p. 101.
4 Sayce, p. 184.
5 Sayce, p. 184.
6 Sayce, p. 184.
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16 Sayce, p. 184.
17 Sayce, p. 184.
18 Sayce, p. 184.
19 Sayce, p. 184.
20 Sayce, p. 184.
21 Sayce, p. 184.
22 Sayce, p. 184.
23 Sayce, p. 184.
24 Sayce, p. 184.
25 Sayce, p. 184.
26 Sayce, p. 184.
27 Sayce, p. 184.
LITHT AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian)

Jeremiah's remark on sectional parallels to the Babylonian main version. Different conceptions of the origin of light appear. 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, waiting to be revealed.

The story of a second creation would seem to be found in the narrative of Bereaam, according to whom the animals appeared not to be able to bear the light of the first creation, and a second was rendered necessary of such a kind that they could bear the light. 1

Demeter-Isis's exalted conception (45), whereby the creation of light and darkness is referred to the same divine source, is the logical outcome of monotheism. [p. 69] It has an anthropomorphic parallel in the words ascribed to Ra: 2 "When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness." 3 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 4). 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 water, as it was at the beginning. Over this Osiris (lord of darkness) is to rule. 4


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 background of thought, and in a way hindered development. We may suppose that light and darkness, especially light, would in time have been accepted as in the course of nature, and hence ceased to attract attention. But there came interruptions of the usual order, e.g., in the eclipse of moon or of sun—and en such occasions the mythology was speculatively recalled. The cults also were of such a kind that they kept the mythology alive. The great hymns to Shamash, Sin, Ishtar, etc.; 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 Tart. The multiform representations on cylinders 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, 5 give a vivid conception of the ideas constantly at work in the minds of the Semites and their neighbours. In addition to anthropomorphic representations of the sun, its disk, their symbols, especially the sun's disk, winged or unwinged, abounded both in Egypt and in Babylonia. More telling still were 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 their witness. Very impressive was the thought current so long in Egypt; that the sun died every evening, and every morning was re-created. In the interval he moved with difficulty through the realm of darkness, and, as a passive body, had to be lighted through the underworld by other creatures of light. 6 In Babylonia the phases of the moon seem to have attracted attention even more than the daily course of the sun. As king of the night, Sin (Nunnar), 'the bright one,' may have had an even older sovereignty than Shamash, who was reckoned to be his son. This sequence has been explained in various ways, and would seem that the rejoicing which attended the moon's appearance every month, and the lamentation which accompanied its disappearance, point to the position of this body in the presence and ascendance of light, by night no less than by day, the ancient Babylonians found safety and happiness, whereas in darkness there lurked danger and woe. In this connection it is curious to note that Saturn was regarded as a second sun, to whom (apart from the moon) the illumination of the night was due. 7

In spite of these efforts to extend the sovereignty of light, there remained a sufficiently terrifying residuum of darkness. To overcome this, resort was had to other agencies, viz. magical rites and a due fulfilment of the duties owing to the dead. Darkness both of earth and of the underground being the abode of demons and the spirits of the deceased, contrariwise they could not have their dwelling in the light. Insancho as much natural light was not always available, artificial means had to be adopted to overcome the disabilities attaching to darkness. The energy of fire was here of great significance. It is noteworthy that a certain part of the temple where purification was termed 'the house of light' (Assyr. ili nits). The light is associated with Girra or Nusku, the fire-god, which may be taken to mean that the purification was by fire. 8 The subject of artificial lights is closely related to this branch of our subject. The people of antiquity being obsessed by the terror of darkness, it was natural that they should have safeguarded themselves, so far as they could, by having lights in their dwellings and out-of-doors. From the number of lamps found during excavation, notably in Palestine, many of them belonging to the Semitic period, it has been inferred that these were in general use. Out-of-doors torches served the purpose. The torches of the Annunaki (gods of a lower order) are mentioned in the Babylonian Flood Story (col. ii. 44). A graphic description of the festival 'illumination' of New Year's Eve and days following, given by Breasted, 9 affords an excellent idea of the part played by artificial lights in the ritual of Egypt. One of the duties of the priests and ministrants in the temple was to attend to the fires and lamps (cf. II. 1 K. 79).

1 of Light of the Ant. East, i. 188 f., and, in more detail, Die Panbabylonisten, etc.
4 Collected in ERE, iv. 229 f.; see also in the Religion of Ant. Egypt, p. 318.
7 Jastrow, plates 6 and 7 (p. 10).
8 Breasted, Hist. 107, 174, 201, 204. According to the Babylonian conception of the sun, it seems to have entered on a better fate at nightfall, feasting and resting in the abode of the god (Ring, Bab. Religion and Mythology, p. 30.)
9 Jastrow, p. 63.
day (Ampr. , arru, Heb. dr, "light"); to the morning, or East (Ampr. yit Simari, Heb. miruth, "the rising of the sun"); to the evening, or West (Ampr. tfeth Simari, Heb. morn akhrshemah, "the setting of the sun"); and by certain Babylonian month names (Am. Aflas, the second or 'bright' month; Addar, the dark or 'obscure' month). One series of directions in Hebrew gives north (wdf) as the 'obscure' or 'dark' place, and south (arad) as the 'bright' or 'illuminated' place.

7. Light and darkness in relation to the state after death. — The contrast between light and darkness in the idea of the ancients is most clearly revealed in their views about the state of the living and of the dead. *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 Unugi), which in its extended meaning is applied to the underworld, the abode of the shades (cf. Ps. 88:12). The departed soul itself is a 'creation of darkness' (Sumerian, gislab, Semitic, cdimum). 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 placing oil-lamps at the tomb. From Palestinian excavation it has been ascertained that lamps are exceedingly common in graves, where their intention is evidently symbolical. It is probable that the darkness of heaven, as represented by the tomb, is here alluded to, and one and the same interpretation will hardly suit every case. The readiest explanation would place them—at least in the earlier period—on a level with, and in the dark 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 to again be brought to light of day. To some extent, burial were given, their spirits would return to earth, but only to plague the living. In the under world (or preferably the other world) 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 so-return (cf. Gilgamesh Epic, ii. 460ff.):

To the house of darkness, brahha's dwelling-place,
To the house from which he who enters never returns.
To the road whose path turns not back,
To the house where he who enters is deprived of light,
Where duc is his sustenance, their food day.
He who goes not, to darkness do they sit.

Over this gloomy realm of the Babylonian dead the god Nergal presides, with his consort Ereshkigal, the 'dark' goddess. In Egypt the Osiris was lord of the under world and held his courts there. A world lying in darkness, which was relieved one hour in twenty-four, during the passage of the sun and his train through each section of the Tuat. 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 other world and the point of return therefrom are clear, there is doubt as to the location of the region of the dead. The Egyptians placed it beyond the circle of mountains guarding the earth, perhaps on the same plane with earth, perhaps at a lower level. In the same conception it seems to have lain beneath earth, even lower than the waters of the abyss (apadu), 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 Tammuz from the Underworld, and the sun-bark with its occupants who returned to the region of day. Light here plays the principal part, although the obstacle of darkness has to be surmounted before eternal light can be reached. One of the charms 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 mortal by many barriers, including twelve double-hours of travelling through thick darkness. The Babylonian heaven was the residence 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 Osiran doctrine, whereby the realm of the blessed could be attained only by redemption from the underworld through faith in Osiris or Amun-Re. This other world is a realm of light for the most part. The blessed this, whose name is equivalent to 'light,' is called, a vessel of the sun, including that of the sun-god. The Khns, or beatified spirits, feed upon the divine grain (i.e. the body of Osiris) in the land of the Light-god. Later, the lower regions of the deceased were sometimes placed in the Boat of Millions of Years, eventually became beings consisting of nothing but light (cf. Is. 60:1).

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 within our period, is that the shades may emerge from Sheol back to the light of the upper world (Is 26:16).

8. Literature. — This is sufficiently given in the footnotes.

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LIGHTNING. — See PRODIES AND PORTENTS.

LAGUORI. — Saint Alfonso Maria di Liguori was born 27 Sept. 1696 at Maranella, near Naples. He was the eldest son of a rather impoverished noble family, and, according to his biographers, was from earliest youth remarkable for his piety, 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. He had always led a most innocent life, and now, giving himself up to solitude and prayer, he had what he believed to be a...
supernatural intuition to consecrate the rest of his days to God in the ecclesiastical state. He wished to become an Oratorian, but his father, who had already been much distressed on two different occasions by his son's unwillingness to fall in with his wishes, in his day of growing home, but began to study for an ecclesiastical career, and in December 1736 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 at Naples to the care of the lazarettos, 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 Chapels,' for these poor outcasts, to ensure their perseverence in good. In 1739 Liguori was brought into relation with a certain Father Thomas Falco from the 'Piti Operarii,' who conceived a deep respect for him, and, when he himself was shortly afterwards made bishop of Castellamare, he was led to the conviction that Alfonso was an instrument divinely sent him to carry out as bishop a work that had been left unfinished. The founding a preaching Order to evangelize the goatherds and peasants of that part of Italy. The scheme eventually took shape in the little town of San Gennaro, and soon acquired a popular name in Naples, the 'Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer,' from which the members are most commonly called Redemptorists, was founded in 1762. Bishop Falco was at first supreme superior, and resided at a distance, while Alfonso resided with the community. Hence, on the bishop's death in 1743, Alfonso was formally elected to preside over his brethren. In 1749 the rule was authoritatively approved by Pope Benedict XIV, and the rule of an Order of nuns, which had been closely associated with the Redemptorist congregation from the beginning, was approved in the following year. But this measure of success was not achieved without numerous disappointments, and several of Liguori's first companions broke away from the Institute. A document drawn up in those very early days by the council of the Redemptorists 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 characteristics 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. In this they set before themselves 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 superintendence of schools, confiteries, and other devot gatherings.

They go about the dioceses in which they are established, giving missions, and, as a means of preserving the good results which they have been enabled by the grace of God to effect, they aim to impart lessons to the districts which have been evangelized, to bear confessions and confirm the people in their good resolutions by another series of instructions and sermons as well as by general advice and so forth. In the monastery as well as abroad they endeavour, with the help of God, to follow in the footsteps of the Most Holy Redeemer, Jesus Crucified, in order to instruct the people by example as well as by precept.

At the end of each month, there are twelve points of rule set forth in their constitutions. The headings of these are: Penance, Obedience to God, Concord and Charity among themselves, Poverty, Purity of Heart, Obedience, Meekness and Humility of Heart, Mortification, Recollection, Prayer, Abnegation, and Love of the Cross. Each of the associates passes one day every week (now one day every two) in retreat, thus treading along with God in the interests of his soul, in order to be able to employ himself afterwards with more ardour in securing the spiritual welfare of his neighbour.

In their houses they consecrate a large part of each day to silence, recollection, the choir, mortification, and meditation, which is practise three times a day. . . . Their houses are to contain but a small number of subjects. As for their subsistence, they endeavour not to be a burden on anybody: they live on the family fortunes which they have handed over to their superiors, and on such offerings as may be made spontaneously for the love of Jesus Christ, by the piety of the faithful! (Berire, Saint Alphonse de Liguori, Eng. tr., ch. 1. p. 196.)

Despite domestic anxieties and contradictions in the government of the new Institute, Liguori, down to about the year 1782, devoted himself indefatigably to the actual work of preaching, while leading at the same time a life of extreme abnegation and austerity. 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 theology 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 had succeeded in evading the proffered honour. The Redemptorists, in point of fact, take a special vow to accept no ecclesiastical dignities, but in 1782 influence was used with the Holy See to dispense the saint from his vow, and, sorely against his will, he was compelled by the pope to accept the bishopric of Sant' Agata dei Goti, a tiny see to the north of Naples, among a peopling population notorious for its barbarism and irreligion. Here he worked wonders for the reform of morals, but after an episcopate of more than thirteen years he pers pressed Pope Pius vi (1775-1782), in order that he might end his days among a community of his own Order. Broken with years, with apostolic labours, and with the incredible austeries 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 meantime 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 but all-powerful minister Bernard Tonnei, who was the virtual ruler of Naples, the effort of the Redemptorists as a religious Order had been withheld by the Government. This had always 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 Tonnei's death 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 administration, 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')—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, decided, despairing of the matter, 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 any such 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. 1579, the saint died at Noeara del Paganu. His death spread an enthusiastic of popular enthusiasm which it evoked and the marvellous events that followed, brought about a happy state of feeling. The Government of Charles III. in Oct. 1791, after the tragic fall of the Redemptorist rule, and in Aug. 1791, under papal sanction, the different houses of the Order were once more reconciled with each other. From this time forward, and especially after the subsidence of the disturbances caused by the 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 Hofbauer, 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 (1831), Kinmon, near Perth, in Scotland (1860), in Brazil, Dutch Guiana, the Congo, Australia, New Zealand, and many other distant countries. At present the Order numbers rather over 9000 members, half of whom are priests, the rest lay-brothers and students preparing for ordination. The strict ultra montane views distinctive of the followers of St. Alfonso do Ligouri have often brought them into disfavour with ecclesiastical officials. In the eyes of the Jesuits, they have several times been banished from different European countries. Still no serious attempt has been made to connect them with any kind of political intrigue. The Redemptorists have remained steadily faithful to their primary work of giving missions and retreats, especially among the poor and un instructed, and the severe rule of the Order suffered no relaxation.

Alfonso di Ligouri 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 Ligouri's writings may be found in Berthe, Eng. t., p. 369. Two volumes especially in this long catalogue have been subjected to much adverse criticism. Against the 'Le GLoria di Maria,' first published at Naples in 1750, 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. 103). The character and traditions of the people are very different from ours, and he was writing to protest against what he considered a veiled attack on that simple and childlike devotion to the Blessed Virgin which he regarded as the noblest and most important factor in the religion of his countrymen. It is, however, the Theologia Moralis that more than anything else has been made the object of fierce invective. Ligouri originally (i.e. in 1748) published his views on chastity in the form of a Manual for students, on a well-known text-book for students, the Medulla of the Jesuit Hermann Rusehuss. But the second edition in two volumes (Naples, 1753 and 1755) was a full treatise, and the author continued to revise and enlarge it as the successive issues were exhausted. The eighth edition, which was printed in 1779, was the last to receive his personal attention.

Now, like all his fellow-disciples, believed that for those whose duty it was to hear confessions and instruct their flock they that these and other moral questions should be thought out. Moreover, it must be said, in answer to such critics as those of R. Grassmann and those contained in art. CASSIUS (vol. iii. p. 240), that priests administer a code of law in the tribunal of conscience and, like lawyers, doctors, and magistrates, they have to acquaint themselves with technicalities which, in the case of certain offences, often involve unsavoury details quite unfit for public discussion.

One of the special grounds of reproach against Ligouri's moral system is his adoption or defence of probabilism (p. n.). This charge is easily justified and would be repudiated by all his own disciples. The principle which he enunciated, at least in his later years, was that of 'equiprobabilism' (q.v.). The difference between this and probabilism, 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 (tax dubia non obligat), a man is not held to obey as long as there is a sound probability against the law—as long as, e.g., there is a matter of extrinsic testimony, where doctors dis-agree, one unconscionable 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 or precept were notably less weighty than those who excused from it, such a precept could not be obeyed. Between these rival views comes that of Ligouri, who held that, when the reasons or authorities were
equalley balanced for and against the law, then a man without peril to his soul was free to use his library.

A doubtful law does not bind. But when two opposite opinions are equally probable, you have a strict duty to the existence of the law. Therefore the law, being thus only inconclusively pronounced, has no binding force. Therefore it is true that you can follow an equally probable opinion in either case in such a manner that you are not guilty.

A critical and definitive edition of the Theologia Moralis, equipped with adequate notes, has only recently been brought to completion; Theologia Moralis S. Alphonse Maria de Licinius 2nd. 

The editor in his preface gives a satisfactory explanation of the inaccuracy of so many of the saint's quotations as printed in the current editions.

LITURGIES—The fullest life of St. Alphonse Maria de Licinius is that by A. Berthe; 8 vols. 1895. Eng. tr. H. Castle, 2 vols. Dublin, 1895 (the translation has been subjected to careful revision and in many respects superior to the original). Other noteworthy biographies are those of A. Tannele, Vita et acta del venerabilis Alfonso Maria de Licinius, 2 vols. Naples, 1598-1599 (a valuable source written by a devoted disciple of the saint). See also C. Villenueve, Vie et institut de S. Alphonse Maria de Licinius, 4 vols. Tournai, 1659; P. Diliglione, Leben des heiligen Albertus und des Kirchenlehrers Alphonsus Maria de Licinius, 2 vols. Breslau, 1857; J. Mangiarotti, Vita del S. Alfonso Maria de Licinius, Rome, 1875. A good account of the Orator with full bibliography will be found in M. Hermann, Geschichte der Oratorianer und Kongregations der Katholische Kirche, Paderborn, 1905, iii. 318-338.

On the Problema 22 and the Praeconversio controversy see the anonymous Vindiciae Alphonsianae, Bruxelles, 1784, and Vindiciae Vatinianae, Bruges, 1785; J. de Caugny, Apologia de deque Alphonsianae, no. 163, 1801; and De praecurios Præcurebilo libri, no. 204: J. Arndt, Oratio de præcurnebi, Bruxelles, 1902; J. Westerm, De Maneggii Domini, Paris, 1905; A. Lehmkühl, Præcurnebio Vindicia, Freiburg, 1906. A severe indictment of the moral teaching of St. Alphonse di Licinius was also published in A. Hermann, Leben des heiligen Alphonsus Maria de Licinius, Stuttgart, 1855, which has been widely distributed as a controversial tract. In reply see, inter alia, J. H. Newman, History of my Religious Opinions, London, 1860, pp. 273 ff., and 346 ff. A. Keller, St. Alphonsi s. Licionis operum singularium, 1914, 1 v. Neuwied, 1915; P. Führer, Geschichte der Moralreligion, Munich, 1899, and the pamphlet of R. Grassman, Ansätze aus der Moraltheologie des heil. Alphons des Licionis, Stuttgart, 1905, which is an important element in the population of the north-west corner of the Madras Presidency.1

LINGAYATS.—The Lingayats are a religious community in India, numbering nearly three million at the census of 1901, of whom more than half are found in the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency. In the Bombay districts of Belgaum and Bijapur one-third of the population is Lingayat, and in the adjacent district of Dharwar they constitute nearly 50 per cent of the total. Beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency, Lingayats 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

I. Description.—The Lingayats, who are also known as Lingawatts, Lingangis, Siddhaktas, and Viralavams, derive their name from the Skr. word linga, the phallic emblem, with the suffix aya, and are 'the people who bear the linga' habitually. Their name literally describes them; for the true Lingayat wears on his head a box containing a stone phallos, which is the symbol of his faith, and the loss of which is 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 necklace. When working, the male wearer sometimes shifts it to his left arm.

The Lingayats 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 inaptly described as a peaceable race of Hindu puritans, though it may be questioned how far their rejection of many of the chief dogmas of Brahmanic Hinduism leaves them the right to be styled Hindus at all. Of the Brahmanic triad—Brahma, Visnu, and Siva—they acknowledge only the god Siva, whose emblem, the linga, they bear on their persons, and reverence the Vedas, but later commentaries on which the Brahmins rely. Originally they seem to have been the product of one of the numerous reformations in India that have been

1. The census of 1901 gives the following figures for Lingayats: Bombay Presidency, 86,437; Belgaum, 34,520; Mysore Presidency, 135,391; Madras Presidency, 126,092; total India, 3,276,368.

R. S. CONWAY.

LIGURIAN RELIGION.—So little is certainly known of the early history and geographical distribution of the Ligurians that any attempt to give a clear description of their religion is impossible. Some of the deities that were worshipped in Roman times in the Ligurian area strictly so called may be mentioned. The most noteworthy are the god named Tabron, and his female counterpart, the goddess Circe, of whose temple at Palmanova in Gallus Transpadana, from whom the modern town of Bornio takes its name, a god of hot springs, and who gave the name to the region known as the Caston Borniani on the coast to the east of (Alburnum, the modern Ventimiglia. Not less local was the worship of Mars Lenticulamans at Pala (ib. 7892), possibly an apple-riping deity, the dedication to whom was made on some festival of the Fastivus, as the most popular Latin inscription. Local, too, was the cult of the Matronae Vedisiatae, where the plural is interesting, also honoured at Cenuinum in the district of the Vedieti. The worship of Matrona with some less local cult was in some obscure form in N. Italy, always combined with Geni, as in an inscription from Trempezzina on Lake Como (ib. 9277), generally with a local epithet, as Derronis (ib. 5771, found at Zona Corbetta, north of Milan). They are often

joined with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and sometimes themselves called Inunes—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 polygenetic strain in the Ligurian conception of Olympia, a nearer parallel is the (presumably) generalising plural in such epithets as Feunda, or the 'Clouds' and 'Dawns' of the Tabula Agno-

nensis (see ITALY [ANCIENT]); or the Angitia of the Maritains—not to speak of the Fonc of Gracco-Roman falsa vita (ib. 5584, found at Corbetta, north of Milan). They are often
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-Brāhmanic 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 linga were proclaimed equal in the eyes of God. The traditional Lingayat teacher, Basava, proclaimed all castes proportionate as 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 Hinduism. Other important innovations were: the prohibition of child-marriage; the removal of all restriction on widows remarrying; the burial, instead of burning, of the dead; and the abolishment 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 the castes and the followers of the doctrines preached by contemporary Brāhmanic Hinduism.

The reader must not assume that this brief description of the fundamental doctrines of a religious movement which dates from the 12th cent. A.D. conveys an accurate picture of the prevalent Lingayatism of the present day. In connection with this attitude originally assumed towards caste distinctions, there has been a very noticeable departure from Basava's teaching. The origin of caste in India is as yet a subject requiring much elucidation. In its development no mean influence must be allotted to function, religion, and political boundaries. Nor can differences of race have 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. Peacock is hereby a manifestation of deep-rooted prejudices tending to raise and preserve barriers between the social intercourse of different sections of the human race, it would seem unnatural to expect that it would tend to the breakdown of an essentially casteless religion so soon as the enthusiasm of the founders had spent itself; and it 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 evolution 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 evolution of Lingayatism, the Lingayat movement is the most important ceremony of all, known as the astavrana, or the eightfold sacredness, 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 astavrana, and that the possession of these eight rites only does not entitle the possessor to be styled a member of the community. The contention seems scarcely in harmony with the popular usage of the term ‘Lingayat.’

The astavrana consists of eight rites known as:

1. Guru
2. Linga
3. Vihūlti
4. Rudrākṣa
5. Manta
6. Jāgum
7. Tirth
8. Śrī

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 āchāryas, or holy men, from whom the father claims descent. The guru binds the linga on the child, bestows it with vikāra (ashes), places a garland of rudrākṣa (seeds of the bastard cedar) round its neck, and teaches it the mystic mantra, or prayer, known as Śrīmān Śrīmāna—i.e. ‘Obsequies to the god Śiva.’

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. Occasionally the double characters of guru and jāgum 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 concise test of a Lingayat's religious status, and may be used uniflightly compared to the rites of baptism and confirmation which are outward and visible signs of admission to the Catholic Church. But not all Christians are confirmed, and in the same way not all members of the Lingayat community undergo the full ceremony of initiation. It would be absurd to refer to the term 'Lingayat' to all wearers of the linga, whether they are entitled to the full astavrana on birth or conversion, or to a few only of the eight sacraments. In so doing, the lower 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 rapacity 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 intellectual and political capacity have secured them a preponderant 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 light on the probable origin of the Lingayat religion, the movement in favour of this special form of Śiva-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 purānas, or sacred books, named, after them, the Basavapurāṇa (ed. Poona, 1903) and the Channabasavapurāṇa (ed. Mangalkar, 1831). But these works were not written until some centuries had elapsed since the death of the saints; and it seems certain that the substratum of fact which they contain had by that time been overlaid with traditions and miraculous occurrences as to render them of little historical value. The Basavapurāṇa describes Basava as the son of Brahman parents, Madiraja and Madalamba, residents of Bagarevi, usually held to be the town of that name in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Basava is the Kannarese name for 'bull,' an animal sacred to Siva, and thus 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 statistic, that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste. By his knowledge of the Siva scriptures he attracted the attention of his uncle Baladeva, then prime minister to the king of Kalyan, Bijjala. Baladeva gave Basava his daughter Madimaro in marriage. Basave's wife was a daughter of a Vaishnav. His son was Subhri, who died young.

Subsequently Bijjala, a Kalachurthy by race, who usurped the Chalukyan kingdom of Kalyana in the middle of the 12th cent., installed Basava as his prime minister, and gave him his younger sister Nilalochna to wife. The purāna further recounts the birth of Channabasava from Basava's unmarried sister Nagalamba, by the working 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 it soon grew and blossomed and was later swallowed and became pregnant. The issue of this unique conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephew both preached the new doctrines, and 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 designs of Kundal, Son of Subhro, who, finally, in 1100, had lost his life at Uli in North Kanara, a district in the Bombay Presidency. An annual pilgrimage of Lingayats to the shrine of the latter at Uli takes place to this day.

Two important inscriptions bearing on these traditions of the origin of the Lingayata-adorning consideration. The first was discovered at the village of Managoli, a few miles from Bagarevi, the traditional birthplace of Basava. This record (as also many others) shows that king Bijjala gained the kingdom of Kalyan in a.D. 1156. It also states that a certain Basava was the builder of the temple in which the inscription was first put, and that Madiraja was mahādēvabhusa, or head of the village, when the grants in aid of the temple were made. Basava is further described as the grandson of Revadasi and son of Chandrakanta, and as a man of great sanctity and virtue. The second inscription was found at Abhir in the Dhawar district of the Bombay Presidency, and belongs to the year 1190. It relates the fortunes of a certain Eknattda-Ramayya, an ardent worshipper of the god Siva. Ramayya came into conflict with the Jains, and defeated them, both in dispute and, the inscription says, by performing a miracle. We may venture to say, by arranging matters so that he seemed to perform it—which consisted in cutting off his own head and having it restored to him, safe and sound, by the grace of Siva, seven days later. All this came to the notice of King Bijjala, who summoned Ramayya into his presence. And Ramayya, making his cause good before the king, won a present with gifts of lands for the temple founded by him at Abhir in the new faith. The incidents related of Ramayya are placed shortly before a.D. 1202, so that he would have been contemporary of Basava. No mention, however, of the latter or of his nephew is found in this record.

If we accept the contemporary inscriptions as more entitled to credit than the traditions over, and with myth recorded at a later date, it seems clear that both Basava and Eknattda-Ramayya, were reformers who had much to do with the rise of the Lingayat doctrine, and that the event is to be placed in the 12th century. Lingayat scholars of the present day, indeed, claim a far earlier date for the origin of their faith. But their contention that its origin is contemporaneous with that of Brahmanic Hinduism has yet to be established by adequate evidence. The best opinion seems to be that of Flett, who considers that there is no doubt that the present Lingayat sect is more or less a development of the gild (mentioned in many inscriptions) of the 500 Swamis of Aihole, a village in the Bijapur district, the protectors of the Vira-Ranaj religion, who were always more or less strictly Saivites, but, with a free-mindedness which is not now common, gave him his younger sister Nilalochna to wife. The purāna further recounts the birth of Channabasava from Basava’s unmarried sister Nagalamba, by the working 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 month. He took the seed to his home, where it soon grew and blossomed and was later swallowed and became pregnant. The issue of this unique conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephew both preached the new doctrines, and 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 designs of Kundal, Son of Subhro, who, finally, in 1100, had lost his life at Uli in North Kanara, a district in the Bombay Presidency. An annual pilgrimage of Lingayats to the shrine of the latter at Uli takes place to this day.

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it. Mr. Karibasavasastri, Professor of Sanskrit and Kanarese in the State College of Mysore, contends that the Sāvia sect of Hindus has always been divided into two groups, one comprising the worshipers of the lingam, and the other who do not worship. The former he designates Vīraśaiva, and declares that the Vīraśaivas consist of Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaisyas, and Śudras, the fourfold castes of ancient India. Quoting from the 17th chapter of the Paramēṣvara āgama, he declares that the Vīraśaiva Brahmans are also known as Sudhā Vīraśaivas, Vīraśaiva kings as Marga Vīraśaivas, Vīraśaivas as Mircra Vīraśaivas, and the Śudras of the community as Anteve Vīraśaivas. In his opinion, the duties and penances imposed on the first of these classes are: (1) the aṣṭaṣvara (see p. 70), (2) penances and bodily emaciation, (3) the worship of Śiva without sacrifice, (4) the recital of the Vedas. He further asserts that the Hindu aṣṭaṣvara, or conditions of life of brahmacārī, grhaṇātha, and sanyāsa, i.e., student, householder, and ascetic, are binding on Vīraśaivas, and quotes, from various Sastraik works, texts in support of this view. He furnishes a mythical account of the origin of Līngayats at the time of creation. 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 Līngayat community have recently commenced to make. It is founded, in a sense, within the fold of orthodox Hinduism, with the mistaken notion of thereby improving their social standing. They endeavoured to divide themselves into Mānu's fourfold castes, the Kṣatriyas, Vaisyas, and Śudras, regardless of the fact that theris is in origin a non-caste religion, and that Mānu's scheme, which can only with great inaccuracy be applied to the more orthodox Hindu castes, is totally unrelated to the Līngayats. A sign of this movement towards Brāhmanic Hinduism among Līngayats is to be found in the organized attempt made by certain Līngayats at recent ceremonies to enter themselves as Vīraśaivas, and it seems probable that these claims to a great antiquity for their religion and for a caste scheme based on Mānu'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. Social organization.—The results of investigations undertaken in the Bombay Presidency in 1905, by the Hon. Dr. M. N. N. Patil, F. R. S., of the University of London, show that a group of the chief Līngayat castes is called the aṣṭaṣvara. It contains Preston, called the aṣṭaṣvara, the leading trade castes, or banjāra. It is probable that this group is the nearest approximation to the original converts who, it will be remembered, could intermarry and intermix without restriction. The seven subdivisions of this group may still dine together, but for purposes of marriage the subdivisions rank one above the other, and it is permissible for a bride from one subdivision to take a bride only from the divisions below his. The reverse process, namely, a bride marrying a youth of a lower division, is strictly forbidden. The system of this group may rise to the higher by performing certain rites and ceremonies. The marrying of a boy to a girl beneath him in social rank and of a girl to a boy above her is part of a system of incest and hypergamy, and is not as all uncommon in many Indian castes. It is a probable speculation that the early converts in course of time came to rank themselves with the more recent CONVERTS of the community, and the growth of this feeling would lead, in harmony with the ideas that prevail in all societies, to the early converts declining to weld themselves to the newcomers, though they would accept brida from the latter as socially inferior, if only slightly so. The Panchamalsis, as they may be called for lack of a better name, are all entitled to the aṣṭaṣvara rites, and rank socially above the remaining groups. In B. G. xxiii. 218 they are described as 'Pure Līngayats.'

(2) The next group is that of the 'non-Panchamalsis with aṣṭaṣvara rites. They are divided over 76 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 Panchamalsis, and were never permitted to interline or intermarry with the latter. In this group each subdivision is self-contained in regard to marriage; that is to say, a jātār, or weaver, must marry a jātār girl, or a bābā girl, or a carpenter, marry only a bābā girl, and so on, resembling in this respect the ordinary Hindu castes, which are usually endogamous. Members of one subdivision do not 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 proved a strong, for the original communal theories of equality which the Līngayats of early days adopted.

It is interesting to observe that considerable diversity of practice exists in connexion with the relations of the subdivisions of this group to the parent Hindu castes from which they separated to become Līngayats. In most cases it is found that, when a portion of an original Hindu caste has been converted to Līngayats, with intermarriage and the unconquered members are finally abandoned, and the caste is broken into two divisions, of which one is to be recognized by the members wearing the bābā, and the other by their wearing the sacred thread of the twice-born. But in some instances—e.g., the Jews of the Bijapur district—the Līngayat members continue to take brida from the non-Līngayat section, though they will not marry their daughters to them: it is usual to invest the bride with the hākakā at the marriage ceremony, thus formally receiving her into the Līngayat community. In other cases the Līngayat and non-Līngayat sections are divided and dine together at caste functions, intermarriage being forbidden. In this case, however, the former call it a jātār to perform their religious ceremonies, and the latter to perform their own. The more typical case seems to be that of a caste subdivision given in the following classification of the Report, 1903, ch. viii. p. 185. In the last century a Līngayat priest of Ujjaini converted a number of weavers in the village of Timnabudi, Bhārāpur district, Bombay, who 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 Kurināras.

This second group of subdivisions, therefore, differs essentially from the Panchamalsis, though the members also have the aṣṭaṣvara rites. It is described in B. G. under the name of 'Affiliated Līngayats.'

(3) The third group of subdivisions is the 'non-Panchamalsis without aṣṭaṣvara rites. It contains washermen, tailors, shoemakers, fishermen, etc., which would rank as unclean castes among Brāhmanic Hindus. It is the practice among Līngayats of the present day to deny that the members of this third group are entitled to the aṣṭaṣvara rites of the Līngayats at all. They maintain that, since the possession of the full aṣṭaṣvara rites is the mark of a Līngayat, these lower subdivisions, who at most can claim three or four of the eight sacraments, are only the off-shoots of the lower Līngayat castes. The contention is not unreasonable; yet it seems that these lower orders would be styled Līngayats by the other Hindus of the neighbourhood, and would describe themselves as such. A classification of the Līngayat community would not there-
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fore be complete unless they were included. On this point the evidence of J. A. Dubois is of interest.

He writes:

"A purush joins the sect he is considered in no way inferior to a Brahmin. Wherever the Nagaram is found, there, they say, is the throne of the deity, and the worship of Divinity is the sum total of what is known as the Hiru Manu, Customs, and Ceremonies," p. 117.

Lingayats of this description marry only within their subdivision. They are described as 'Half-Lingayats' in Bö.

Within the subdivisions just described smaller groups are found, known as exogamous sections, that is to say, groups of which the members are held to be so closely connected that, like blood-relations, they must marry outside their section. Little accurate information is available regarding the nature and origin of these sections; but it appears that in the higher ranks they are named after five Lingayat sages, Nandi, Bhupri, Ver, Vya, and Skanda, and in this respect closely resemble the ordinary Brähmanic gotras (q.v.). The Lingayats do not allow the children of brothers to intermarry, nor may sisters' children marry together. Marriage with the children of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt is similarly forbidden. A man may marry his sister's daughter; but, if the sister be a younger sister, such a marriage is looked on with disfavour. Marriage is forbidden between infant and adult, and the licence is neither recognized nor tolerated, but is punished, if need be, by excommunication. Polygamy is permitted, but is usual only when the first wife fails to bear a son. The disputes that arise on social or religious questions are settled by the panchayat, or committee of five elders, an appeal lying to the head of the math, or religious house. These mathas are scattered over the tract of country in which Lingayats predominate, but there are five of special sanctity and importance, namely, at Ujjiani, Shrídari, Kolhapur, Belchal, and Benares. From these, decisions on vexed questions of doctrine and ritual issue from time to time.

4. Beliefs and customs.—It has been seen that the Lingayats are believers in the god Śiva, the third person of the Hindu triad, signifying the creative and destructive forces in the universe. They derive the phallic, or linga, emblematic of reproduction, and the sacred bull, Nandi or Basava, found in all their temples, and in all probability the emblem of strength. The ceremonies connected with sacrifices, betrothal, marriage, and death have been accurately described by R. C. Carr in his monograph on the Lingayat community (Madras Government Press, 1900), and are given below.

One principal Lingayat ceremony known as the aṣṭavāna, or eightfold sacrament, has been already referred to in some detail (p. 70 above). The essentially Lingayat beliefs and ceremonies, such as the wearing of the linga, the worship of the jaṅga, and the administration of aṣṭavāna rites, are, however, as usual in India, constantly mingled with many commonplace Hindu beliefs and customs. It is a common practice in India for Hindus to worship at the altars of Musallāṁ pīrā, or saints, and in the same way Lingayats will combine the worship of the special objects prescribed by Basava with the worship of purely Hindu deities such as Hanumān, Ganesa, Yellamma, Maruti, and many others. The investigations hitherto conducted do not clearly show how far Lingayat and Hindu ritual are liable to be combined; but it can be confidently asserted that the lower orders of the community—those who still keep in touch with the unconverted section of the caste to which, professionally speaking, they belong, will be found to adhere in many instances to the beliefs and customs of their unconverted fellow castes, despite the teaching and influence of the jaṅga.

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, and third day in the ceremony of the offering of food, sam leaves, and a coconut, is customary for the safe suckling of the child. When the child receives the tirth, or water in which the jaṅga's feet have been washed (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 jaṅga. They bring a woman's cloth, a jacket, two coco-nuts, five pieces of turmeric, five lines, and betel-leaf and areca-nut. They also bring flowers for the simalka (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 knees, shoulders, 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 family then states 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 the local math, or religious house, 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 site under it by side with a married female relative, and goes through a performance which is called sarīgā. An emerger, or young man, is made round them with cotton thread passed ten times round four eartn pitchers placed at the four corners. Five married women come with water and wash off the oil and turn 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 jaṅga. The sarīgā 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 pūndel, and another sarīgā is tied to his forehead, and he returns to the house. In the god's room a pānīkēlād, 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 koḷād is a coconut, a date fruit, a betel-leaf, an areca-nut, and one pice tied in a handkerchief, one passed round the square, and round the centre koḷād another thread, one end of which is held by the family guru and the other by the bridegroom, who sits opposite him. The guru wears a ring
made of kusa grass on the big toe of his right foot. The bride sits on the left-hand side of the bridegroom, and the groom ties their right and left hands respectively with kusa grass. The joined hands of the bride and bridegroom are washed, and bītes (Epiglottis marcello) leaves and flowers are offered. The officiating priest then sanctifies the neck ornaments and the thread, ties the latter on the wrists of the joined hands, and gives the former 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, it 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 cummin seed and jādi, or unrefined 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 he throws rice on her head. The newly married couple offer fruits to five jāngams, and present them with rice. 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 bride and bridegroom ride in 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 fun. Then follows the wedding breakfast, fast, etc., which the near relatives are admitted to.

The married couple worship jāngams and the elders, and take off the consecration thread from their wrists and tie it at the doorway. The five following days are regarded as childless ancestors, and (c) men who have died a violent death.

Among Lingayats widow remarriage is common, and divorce is permissible. The ordinary law of Hindus is followed in regard to inheritance. Lingayats regard their jāngams, or priests, as incarnations of Śiva, and will bathe their linga in the water in which the jāngam has washed his feet; thus they render 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 luck (monograph on Lingayats by B. C. Carr). They do not observe the pollution periods of the Hindus, and their indifference to the ordinary Hindu purification ceremonies is notorious (Dubois, p. 168).

Members of other religious communities who wish to become Lingayats are called on to undergo a three days’ ceremony of purification. On the first day they allow their faces, hands, and feet to be shaved, and bathe in the products of the cow, which alone they may feed on and drink that day. The second day they bathe in water in which the feet of a jāngam have been washed, and which is therefore holy water. They eat sugar and drink milk. On the third day they take a bath described as paniṣhtā, i.e., they apply to the head and body a paste made up of plantains, cow’s milk, clarified butter, cards, and honey, and wash it off with water; they again drink the fīth, or water in which the feet of a jāngam have been washed, and are then invested with the linga, after which they are allowed to dine with Lingayats, and are considered members of the community. Women undergo the same ceremony, except the head-shaving.

5. General remarks.—It will be gathered from the foregoing account of the origin and present-day social organization and customs of the Lingayats that the community is virtually an original casteless section in process of reversion to a congested society holding a common religion. The community has been seen how, in the 12th cent., a movement was set on foot and spread abroad by two Brahmans, Ekanadga-Ramayya and Basava, devotees of Śiva, to abolish the ceremonies and restrictions that fettered the individual. The first result of this was the formation of orthodox Hindu society of the period, and to
establish a community on a basis of the equality of its members, irrespective of sex, by means of the
paritying worship of the one god Siva.

clear that the movement found special favour in
the eyes of the Jain traders of the period, who
would have ranked, as Vaishyas, below both Brahm-
man priest and Kṣatriya warrior under the Hindu
scheme of varna and jāti. The community encountered
the hostility of the Jains, who remained
unconverted, but clung tenaciously to its simple
faith in the worship of Siva, and in his emblem, the
linga. We must assume that the community thus
converted, of whose existence we possess historical evidence, tended by degrees to
assert for themselves social precedence as ayyas or
jaigamis, 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 thirth, so that
it plays a prominent part to this day in the Linga-
yat ceremonies. Once the original notion of uni-
versal equality of rank had yielded to the preva-
lence of a system incompatible with such equality, the
way was prepared for the introduction of further
social gradations, and the older members of the
community commenced to claim the non-converts on
the latter part of the line the priests had established against them. In such a
manner the essential doctrine of equality became
completely undermined, and in the end gave place to the system of jātis as the test of Linga-
yat 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 were desired, but in order to
secure a footing of equality on the common
ground of the worship of Siva and with the emblem of the
linga, but by investiture through certain rites
and ceremonies with the linga, retaining their dis-
tinctive social status as a functional caste, with
which other Lingayats would neither marry nor
dine. It must be admitted that in the case of the
majority of Lingayats the last class will take
place, but here all traces of the original equality cases; and the Linga-
yats of to-day present the curious and interesting spectacle of a religious sect broken in the course of centuries into social fragmentations, in which the older
sectates remain essentially sectarian, and the more
recent in origin possess the typical attributes of
ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christ-
fandly in some parts of India, the social barriers of
 caste have proved too strong for the communal
basis of the orthodox religion.

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R. E. Enthoven.

gLING CHOS.—The gling chos (gling-myst-
ology), or gling glu (gling-song), is the mythology
contained in Tibetan folk-lore, and is probably the
most ancient religion of that country. It is dis-
tinguished from the ancient mythology of India
such as Finland and Russia by the fact that it
has not to be pieced together from fragmentary
allusions. It has spread through the whole range of
Tibeto-Burman folk-lore, but can be gathered from com-

plete hymnals and catechisms, in which the gling
chos has been preserved for us almost untouched.

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 Tashilhnbemo (in Central Tibet) that
an endless variety of versions of the Kesar-saga
(not the Kesar-epic, which belongs to the sect of
Lamaism) are known to him, while the gling chos
is the case in Ladakh (Western Tibet), where each
village has one or more versions of its own. (2) In
the legends of Milaresa there are embodied
several gling glu. Milaresa seems to have been
extremely clever in building a bridge from the
linga chos to Lamaism. He was a native of
Eastern Tibet, Kham chen abying lgra (or the
Kanchanjunga) being his native country. But,
even if the gling chos can be proved to be, terri-
ctorially, 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 Bedja, the people who are the principal
preservers of it at the present day, and who are
not of Indo-Chinese, but possibly of Aryan and
Mundari, stock.

2. Cosmology of the gling chos.—In all the
sources mentioned below, in the Literature, three
large realms are spoken of:

1. stang lha, heaven (literally 'the upper
gods,' or 'the gods above')—A king named
syang lha called skyer rizong snyamp. He is
also called dbangpo rgya'byin, and dbum kyi
rgyalpo. The name of his wife, the queen of
heaven, is btsur dman rgyalmo Ani btsa'rgyang,
or dbum kyi rgyalmo. They have three sons,
Don yod, Don lida, and Don grub. The youngest
is the most prominent figure. 'Lightning flashes
from his sword out of the middle of black clouds.'
Don grub descends to the earth and becomes
Kesar of gling. According to one theory, thunder
seems to be caused by the walking of the gods,
and, according to another, it is the groaning of the
dragon-shaped drung, dwelling in the dark clouds,
when it is assailed by Kesar with his sword of
lightning. Three daughters of the king of heaven
are also mentioned.

The life of the gods is an idealized form of man's
life. They constitute a State, with king, ministers,
servants, and subjects. They abide in perfect
happiness, and live, free from illness, to a good
old age. They tend, apparently on the earth,
certain goats known as rgya. These they must
defend against the devil bDud. Kesar later on
discovers many of the lha ra in the latter's realm.
The king and the queen often change their shape.
The former becomes a white bird or a yak, and
the latter takes the shape of a woman, a dzo
(hybrid between a cow and a yak), a golden or
turquoise fly, or a dove.

2. Bar blo ma, the earth (literally, 'the firm
place in the middle')—Other names are mi yul.
land of men,' and gling, 'the continent.' The
principal deity of this earth is mother Skyabs
bdu (or Skyabs mdun). It is probable that he
is identical with btags, the god of the earth (H. A. Jäschke, Tibetan-English Dictionary,
London, 1881). She rides a horse called dtsha
rta dmar chung. Of her subjects, the human
race, we do not hear much in the texts.

1 Some of these gling glu will be found in B. Lauter's 'Zwei
Legenden des Milaresa,' in AKW II. (1911) 109-123, ngsi
ngag 'bras dan dbyin, etc.; 133-134, sngag phyag pa rgyalmo
gyer mi shab, etc.; 135, sngag phyag pa rgyalmo tshul khrims,
etc.

2 This is the actual pronunciation. In literature the name is
usually btags bstan phyag (Saktasatra or Indra).
gLING CHOS

18. eighteen agus (see below) take the part of human beings.

(6) YOG klu, the under world (literally, ‘the nêgas below’).—Like sTang lha, YOG klu is also a State. There is a king called Jogsopo (probably Joganpo is meant), with his servants and his subordinates, remarkable for the large number of their children. The klu, or nêgini (female nêgas), are famous for their beauty, and Kesar is warned not to fall in love with them. For this reason, when present at the Ladakh, women still desire to look like klu, and wear the perag or berag, a leather strap set with turquoise. This perag represents a snake growing out of the neck of a human body, which, according to Indian Buddhist art, is the characteristic mark of nêgas.

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 sTang lha is white—perhaps the colour of light; Bar bsran is red—perhaps on account of the reddish colour of the ground; and YOG klu is blue—this may be due to the deep blue colour of many Tibetan lakes. The klu generally live in the water.

According to the Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar-saga, the colour system is as follows: sTang lha is white; Bar bsran is red; and YOG klu is blue. A still more advanced stage is represented in the Mongolian version (which is without doubt based on that of Tibet). Here sTang lha is white; Bar bsran is yellow; and YOG klu is black. The change from red to yellow has probably something to do with Tsong-Kha-pa and his reformation of Lamaism.

4. The devil bDud.—Occasionally, to the three realms of the world a fourth is added, that of the devil bDud, and then all the three realms become 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. Not until the 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 de- testable character, while the klu did not. Other names of the devil bDud are bRag sgra (‘ogre’), and sDrung (‘sinner’).

Of a very similar nature is agu Za. He is probably a mountain- or cloud-giant. He devours 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 female agu among the group of seven, and there is always a traitor among the agus. They are described as having non-human heads on human bodies, thus belonging among the heroes to the Chinese representations of the zodiac. The list of the eighteen is as follows:

1. Pbaang ladan ru skyes, with a goat’s head.
2. Khraim ngi khoi thun, with a falcon’s head.

The word dargins, ‘red’, is also used for ‘brown’. Cf. the traditional interpretation of the word ‘Adam’.

4. Gna gyan (digion), with a white beard.
5. sKya rgo-pa, with a soup-spoon for a head.
6. sKha, lhanangpo, with a mop for a head.
7. sMi dpon gon-pa, with an arrow-blade for a head.
8. Aka yong go, with the sole of a boot for a head.
9. Aka dge ba lung ba, with a woman’s head.
10. Shesbyi bzhung, with a concave mirror for a head.
11. Sgna gnon-pa, with a colt’s head.
12. Sdu lung ba, with a hand for a head.
13. sRa lung srang, with a foot for a head.
14. sRong sga ldam-po, with a donkey’s head.
15. sKha bzhin ldam-pa, with a man’s head.
16. sDpal rgo-pa, with an old man’s head.
17. sPa yon ma shes, with a turquoise for a head.
18. sKha dgar-pa, with a white shell for a head.

The following is the list of the seven agus:
(1) sDpal, (2) sKyi, (3) Gonpo, lhanpa, (4) Thaba migi rab, (5) sRa yon ma shes, (6) sDpal dpon gon-pa, (7) sDpal moyi.

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 zodiac.

6. The Lokapalas.—There is some likelihood that the gLING CHOS has always had duties for each of the four cardinal points. It is quite possible that the Indian Amoghásiddha, Vajrasattva, Ratnasambhava, and Amitābha were deities of the four quarters before they became Dhyānabuddhas. In close correspondence with them we find in the gLING CHOS the following deities of the four quarters: Don yod grub pa, North; sRarje sem sda, East; Rinchen byung Idan, South; sNamzha mtha’ 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 Siddhārtha, was not necessarily introduced with Buddhism. Siddhārtha was a common name in India long before Buddha’s time, and may belong to a deity similar to Don grub and Don yod grub pa of Tibet. There are also four ‘kings’ of the four quarters, who correspond more closely to their Indian equivalents, and may therefore have been received from India; but even these have nothing to do with Buddhism. Like 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 YOG klu, its middle part in Bar bsran, and its top in sTang lha. It has sixteen branches, on each branch a bird with a nest and an egg. On the first branch there is the huge bird Khung 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-pleasant with a coral egg; and, on the sixth, the white falcon with iron egg.

8. Outline of the Kesar-saga.—

(1) Prolegomena to the saga: the creation of the earth. The forefather and his wife now some seed which grows into a huge tree, the fruits of which are gathered into a barn. There the trees become changed into worms, which eat one another until one huge worm is left. This worm becomes the child Don yeum ma, the child of seven miles. The child kills agus with nine heads, and builds the world (gLING CHOS) out of its body in seven days. Don yeum ma is married to eighteen girls, to whom the seven women give birth. The agus, eager to gain riches, start for the castle PaChal dgal dang. Agus dPalle arrives there first of all, receives the riches, and burns the prophecy about what will happen in the course of the Kesar story.

(2) Birth of Kesar.—Agu dPalle rescues the king of heaven in his fight with the devil, in the shape either of yaks or of birds. He is allowed to ask a boon, and asks that the three sons of the king of heaven may be sent to the earth as kings. All the sons are asked, and Don grub, who is the ablest in spite of his youth, decides to go. He dies in heaven, and is reborn on earth to Gog bhang Ihamo. (The name Kesar or Keynes is spelled in full in ege year, and is said to have been given to the province of this story; it means ‘the reborn one’.) The conception arises from Gog bhang Ihamo’s eating a bat, and the child is born
gling chos

through the ribs. It is of a most ugly shape, but at pleasure exchanges this for a beautiful shape, with sun and moon and all kinds of animals.

is a green on a pain where she is gathering roots, not knowing how to teasing. Abhirguanma is to be married to the trader among the agus, but Abhirguanma wins her through his skill in hunting by aMF

then he sees them in his ugly shape, and treat him with contempt, they see him to be a beautiful shape, but at once he throws it off and sends hail and rain. Her parents say that their daughter will be given to the man who brings the black lamb (a yak with a black coat like a cloud), and who will bring a wing of the bird Nyima kyungbye (the black bird like a sea). The agus try to get the man, but only success. Now he is accepted as son-in-law, and the wedding is celebrated. (Here Abhirguanma's victory over the giant of the north.—After religious preparations Abhirguanma decides to start. He first gives a feast to Abhirguanma, and allows her to accompany him, but the queen of heaven sends her back. In the castle of the same name as the agus, he makes the preparations. He has a magnificent time together until the devil returns. Before his arrival has Abhirguanma is digging in a mysterious way. Although the devil smells the presence of a human being, and although his book of names indicates it is a young man, but is sent back with ridicule. She has to submit and become the wife of the king of the agus. Still she is not satisfied with the king of the agus, as she is not satisfied with the king of the sea

ues abhirguanma takes her seat, and the king of the agus does not return, the king of the agus tries to kill the devil with a big spear, but the devil escapes. Abhirguanma slays the devil with her sword. So she becomes the wife of the king of the agus and the king of the sea.

King of the agus.

(1) The journey to China.—The Tibetan word for China—rma'gchi (black expanses).—Kesar practices acc

(2) The story of Kesar's boy.—Kesar's wife, the king of China, decided to go to Kesar's land to heal the king. He sends the trader agus, Kharl (thing, in his place. Then he stands himself. The journey is one of obstacles, with hills, lakes, and mountains, etc.

is one of obstacles. All are overcome, and on Kesar's approach the king of the agus becomes intelligent and says the words, gift. All is given to Kesar's daughter (Yi, to whom he has been engaged in marriage. Then he throws him into a pit with three dragons, which he does not mind much. He escapes in the shape of a yaks, and kills the king of the agus and the king of the sea.

the agus has been gone back to gling chos, and King Kesar is in the castle, and sent the agus. He is punished, and Kesar lives in happiness with his wife and two sons. The leprosy in China is stopped by another mysterious leprosy of the agus.

(3) The story of King Kesar in the gling chos—Kesar and Abhirguanma have a son, born in Kesar, named by Abhirguanma, but the king of China takes him. Then it is out of the agus, and the king of gling chos.

(4) The story of Kesar in the gling chos—Kesar and Abhirguanma have a son, born in Kesar, named by Abhirguanma, but the king of China takes him. Then it is out of the agus, and the king of gling chos.

9. Is the Kesar-saga a myth of the seasons?—This is the present writer's idea from the first. As he was, however, assailed by several critics on account of it, he did his best to abandon it. But, when editing the 'Lower Ladakht version of the Kesar-saga' for the Bibliotheca Indica, he has again, given back to his former position, and he cannot help believing that myths of the seasons (mixed up, perhaps, with other materials) are contained in the Kesar-saga. Only a few instances may be noted: sun and moon are attributes of Kesar's beautiful shape; rain and hail of his ugly shape; he wields the sword of lightning 'in the middle of black clouds'; there is a full description of spring given on the occasion of Kesar's return to gling chos (see above, § 8 (5)); the agus seem to point to an ancient zodiac; winter is apparently compared to leprosy; together with Kesar's departure (probably in winter) the male animals leave the female, to pass the winter in the male, as if they had with the hope of drink of new life; Kesar's enemies are powers of darkness; the giant of the north; the king of Her, also in the north; China is the black expanse.

10. Relationship to other mythologies.—As has become evident, there are great similarities between the gling chos and the mythologies of various Aryan nations. This, however, does not mean that much, for even the mythologies of North and South American tribes have much in common with European mythologies. But we must call attention to one particularly striking incident. The story of the Tibetan herb with the root in the shape of an agus, and the lama, with the root in the shape of a gling chos.

The similarities are the following: both heroes have the vulnerable spot on the shoulder; both wear invisibility capes; both are shot with magic arrows; with both of them the vulnerable spot is pointed out by a woman who belongs to the side of the hero. This is remarkable, because the corresponding Greek story for instance, is greatly at variance with both of them, although there is an ethnic relationship between the Greeks and the Teutons.

11. gling chos and Lamalams.—It is not at all impossible that the gling chos should have exercised an influence on Lamalams. The following are a few instances. (1) With regard to the colours, white, red, and blue, there is a certain correspondence between the realms of heaven, earth, and underworld on one side, and screws, (2) Jam dbyangs, and Phyag rdo on the other. But with regard to their characters it is difficult to see a closer agreement. The three mendok rten of three different colours, white, red, and blue, seems originally to represent the three realms of the gling chos, but are at the present time explained as having been erected in honour of the three Bodhisattvas. If this explanation is really true, it remains a strange fact that the mendok rten in the middle was always painted red, and not yellow; for yellow is the correct colour of Jam dbyangs. Thus the custom of erecting three mendok rten of three different colours seems to have its roots in the gling chos, and in the Kesar-saga we often hear of the existence of three lha tho of the same colours, the presence of these mendok rten of the Kesar-saga is also common. The story of Strong-tsetan Gan-po with his two wives, the green and the white sromlams, may have been influenced by the story of Kesar and Abhirguanma. Thus Abhirguanma is addressed as the bride of the gling chos. Oh, then milk-white fairy ' and Kesar's bride from China is called Yi. (d) the horse of the gling chos, the turquoise goddess. Kesar is
even called, in historical works, a suitor to the white stūriṃkha. (3) There can be hardly any doubt that the system of colours as we find it in the g Ling chos has influenced the pantheon of Lāmāism with its white, red, blue, green, yellow, and golden-faced deities. Such a system is found for all the objects, and is often surrounded by a white beard; in no. 1, ru skyes means ‘horn-producer,’ or goat. As for the group of seven agus, which has much in common with the hero of such folk-lores as, e.g., ‘Seimspennons durch die ganze Welt,’ in the instance of no. 5, the ability to see clearly is indicated; in the name of no. 5, the ability to hear clearly; in no. 6, to shoot well. There are certain names occurring in the g Ling chos which are not of Tibetan origin; thus in the word sgegs in the name sgenge dkarma yu ralcan, ‘white lions’ with the turquoise locks,’ the personification of the glacier has something to do with the Indian word Yumnam, the name of the smith Hemis, who teaches Kesar, the first part hem seems to be the Indian word hima, ‘snow.’

We find the word dem in the sense of ‘snow,’ also in the name Hembas, which means ‘snow-capped’ and such Indian names as ‘Kesamaster,’ Sitāram, Sātā and Rāma, and Indra occur occasionally in the g Ling chos—which shows what an important part India has played in the shaping of certain tales of this ancient religion.

14. Animism in the g Ling chos.—Here we may mention the following personifications: skyes, the wind; dbang chag zilbu, the rain; sngags dbereg ymuk ralcan, the glacier; bya Khyung dbyung nyima, (apparently) the sun; byasa dkarpo, the moon; bya mo mgur dmar, the morning-star; rgyan, spirits living in rocks and trees. It is remarkable that several of these personifications are mentioned in the various generic terms of the animal world. Some of such representatives are: nyama yea mgur, for fishes; bya rgyal rgyopo, for birds; Khyung byang kha dmar, for horses; Brong byang rgyo, for yak.

15. Festivals of the g Ling chos.—(1) The Lo-yar, or New Year’s festival, 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 thu tho (altar of the g Ling chos). The heart is torn out of the living animal and offered to the thu. In the monasteries mask-dances were probably intended, originally to show the victory of the coming spring over the demons of winter. Only at Hemis 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) Storm phangces. This is the spring festival of driving out winter. At Kalalatse 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 (doame) and destroyed outside the village. (3) The Kesar-festival. The festival is called ‘Kesar-festival’ only in Upper Kanawar. In Ladakh it is called mla phangces, ‘arrow-shooting.’ It is celebrated in spring. The g Ling glu is played and sung; and the boys assume themselves with the goddess. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the thu tho (altars) are decorated with fresh twigs, and pencil-cedars are burnt. (4) The Scrub thu, or harvest festival. In Skyrupchau the boys dance with poles covered with scarlet alpaca. 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. Meaning of the g Ling chos.—In the course of this article some of the names of the g Ling 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 agus there is always contained the distinguishing mark of the agu which forms his head; thus in no. 2, rissempopo means ‘lizard’; in no. 4, kha gyem means ‘mountain’ surrounded by a white beard; in no. 1, ru skyes means ‘horn-producer,’ or goat. As for the group of seven, this has much in common with the hero of such folk-lores as, e.g., ‘Seimspennons durch die ganz Welt,’ in the instance of no. 5, the ability to see clearly is indicated; in the name of no. 5, the ability to hear clearly; in no. 6, to shoot well. There are certain names occurring in the g Ling chos which are not of Tibetan origin; thus in the word sgen in the name sgenge dkarma yul ralcan, ‘white lions’ with the turquoise locks,’ the personification of the glacier has something to do with the Indian word Yumnam, the name of the smith Hemis, who teaches Kesar, the first part hem seems to be the Indian word hima, ‘snow.’

We find the word dem in the sense of ‘snow,’ also in the name Hembas, which means ‘snow-capped’ and such Indian names as ‘Kesamaster,’ Sitāram, Sātā and Rāma, and Indra occur occasionally in the g Ling chos—which shows what an important part India has played in the shaping of certain tales of this ancient religion.

17. Literature.—It must be admitted that all the following publications are one man’s work. They have all passed through the present author’s hands. It may, however, be stated that in no case did he write down the texts to the dictation 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.


(c) Ochsenius: ‘The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual’ in IA xxx (1901) 131 ff; ‘Die Traubelitzen von Khalsar’ (Thebes text only), ed. A. H. Francke, Leipzig, 1903; ‘Das Reitritzen von Tagmooi’ (Thebes text only, ed. A. H. Francke, reprinted from an old MS discovered at Tagmooi, 1904). A. H. FRANCKE.

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; it may be 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. The processional psalmody which is not of the responsive form is not in fact a liturgical act and is usually a liturgical form 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 Ayana 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 connexion with Christian services appears to be Basil (c. A.D. 375; Ep. civii. ‘ad Cler. Necos.’ [Opera, iii. 311 D]).

2. Objects.—Basil had raised to some innovations which Basil had made. ‘These things were not, the editors of the Greek text, the days of the great Gregory’ (i.e. Gregory Thaumaturgos, c. 354).

3. Neither...Basil’s, were the litanies which you now use. And I do not say this by way of accusing the foe; but I would that you all should live in tears, and in continual repentance.’
These litanies were, therefore, penitential devotions of some kind, but there is nothing to indicate their precise character. The word rogatio was used in a similar general sense in the West.

2. The liturgical litanies of Eastern church worship is that contained in the Apologies of Justin Martyr (A.D. 148). Here common prayers are spoken of for ourselves and for all others in every place, immediately before the blessing of Peace and the Offertory, and after the lessons and homily (Apok. i. 95). Whether these already took the form of the later litany there is nothing to show, and the response ‘Kyrie Eleison’ is not yet mentioned. And there is simply 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 form in which it 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 most usual place for it is after the Gospel, but this is not invariable. Some litany of this kind appears to be almost universal in the Eastern liturgies. Many examples will be found in Brightman (Liturgy of Eastern and Western Masses, p. 471, all belonging to the 4th cent.). The usual name for these devotions in the East is not ἁρακία, but ἱερές (lit. ‘stretched out’, i.e. the earnest prayer), ὑπαγών (continuous). There is nothing to 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 used among the heathen, as was pointed out by Claude de Vert (Exposition simple, littérature et histoire des cérémonies de l'Eglise, Paris, 1706-13, i. 94; cf. Epitomé, Diss. ab Arriano dispute, ii. 7). The Pericarpion Sileia (ed. G. F. Gamurrini, Rome, 1888, p. 47) mentions the Kyrie as one of the litanies pronounced at Jerusalem the day before the deacon’s name in the litanies mentioned above as belonging to the 4th century.

3. The liturgical litanies in the West.—It is probable that the Western litanies originally contained litanies closely similar to those of the East. This was certainly the case, as far as can be judged from their scanty remains, with the liturgies of the Gallican and Ambrosian 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. 186-201; 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 Kyrie at the beginning of Mass was 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 at least as long ago as the 6th century, as appears from the Orihales 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, while the litany response has been retained.

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 end of the service, and it was alternated 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 in our countries all say it together, but with us it is said by the deacon and the people respond; and Christe Eleison is said as many times, and this is not said at all among the Greeks’ (Cor. ep. 2).

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 Vaison (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 liturgy 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 when there was a processional litany to the church. This is the conclusion of the introductory litany, whether processional or not, was the prayer in which the Bishop ‘collected’ the petitions of the people, and which was therefore called Collectio or Collecta. But, as the Kyrie was omitted when there was a procession, the collect on those occasions was the first thing that was said after the people reached the church, and hence ritualists consider it the prayer ‘ad Collectam plebis’—when the people are gathered together. Thus there arose a double derivation of the word ‘collect’ (p.v.).

4. Processions in the East.—During the centuries of persecution it was not likely that forms of devotion so conspicuous as processions would be used by Christians. The first historical mention of them appears to be in A.D. 308, in connexion with the Arian controversy. The Arians, not being allowed to hold their assemblies in the city of Constantinople, used to meet in the public squares during the night, and to march out at dawn to their places of worship, singing antiphonally. Fearing lest the orthodox should be attracted by this ceremonial, St. John Chrysostom instituted counter-processions on a more magnificent scale, in which silver crosses and lighted torches were carried. These particular processions were prohibited by the emperor in consequence of the disorders which they caused, but the custom of using processions, especially in times of emergency, continued. Socrates mentions a legend to the effect that the antiphonal singing used at such times had its origin in a vision of Ignatius of Antioch, the third bishop from St. Peter, in which he saw angels singing responsive hymns to the Holy Trinity (HE vi. 3; Soc. HE viii. 8). These occasional processions were, however, quite distinct from the litanies in the Eucharist.

5. Processions in the West.—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 Rogalliga, 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 same day, St. Mark’s Day, seems to be a direct survival of it. Even the 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 I on 17th March, Mark’s Eve, A.D. 490, in order to avert the pestilence, seems to have been distinct from the Litania Major. Another ancient Roman festival, the Ambarruilia, was observed on three successive days in the month of May, and this also had the fertility of fields as its object. There is here a close resemblance to the Rogation processions on the three days before Ascension Day. These are said to have been instituted by Mamertus, bishop of Miletus, on the occasion of various public disasters (Sid. Apoll. Ep. v. 14, vii. 1; Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. i. 34); but such processions had probably been practised at an earlier date, and were only revived on this occasion. These rogations or litanies, called Litaniae Minores to distinguish them from those of St. Mark’s Day, spread rapidly through Gaul, and were adopted and reorganised at Rome by Leo III. (796–816). 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, 1868–71, iii. 368]). 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 the whole of the forms seem to include all the devotions 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 and the words ‘laus’ 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 they would coalesce. Various kinds of singing have always been used in processions, but that particular form of responsive singing in which the people answer with an unmoving refrain was so naturally adapted for processional use, owing to the ease with which the refrain could be taken up by a moving crowd, that litanies of the type of the Eucharistic ecensae 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 the processions became more common and popular, the word ‘procession’ came to be used almost as 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 a list of 200 litanies 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 once thought that they were derived from the litany of the Blessed Virgin, but it is now generally supposed to be a litany which belongs to the 8th cent. printed in Warren, Lit. Celt. Ch. (p. 179), but they may be much older. Some of the litanies mentioned above were intended for regular use, and was printed in the Prymer 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. In 1536, a petition 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 them placed in the first two Book. Passages were also introduced from a Sarum litany for the dying, called Commendatio Anima (also omitted in the First Prayer Book), and a considerable part of the Sarum litany was 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 Psalms 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 France at the time they were written, and that it was used for the litany in Marshall’s Psalter of 1535. Suffrages are preceded by the antiphon and Psalm verse which began the Sarum Procession of Rogation Monday, and it is said that the omission of the Amens at the end of the collect had led to the ridiculous custom of using the antiphon (‘O Lord, arise, help us’) as a sort of response to the collect. Until 1661 the Collects contained suffrages which were not printed in the Book of Common Prayer; in the revision of that year the Amens were printed, but most of the endings were omitted by mistake.

Although in its adaptation of the old litany 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 longer periods, grouped several petitions together, and enriched them with epithets and synonyms. For instance, the Preparations of the Sarum litany begin thus:

From the craftes of the devil—deliver us, Lord.
From thy wrath—deliver us, Lord.
From everlasting damnation—deliver us, Lord.

In the new version this becomes:

From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and snares of the devil, from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation; deliver us,Lord.

At the 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 had done 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 1550 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 1661 the words ‘and rebellion,’ ‘and schism,’ were added, and ‘Bishops, Priests, and Deacons’ were 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 for use for all the purposes for which the ancient litanies were employed. It was issued for occasional use at a time of distress, and it 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 octoele 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 rubrics until 1552, it 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 ‘Grace’ at the end, and partly by the rubric of 1661, which directs: ‘at Matins after Morning Prayer.’ This made no practical difference: so long as Matins, Litany, and Mass continued to be said in their natural order, but 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.

9. Lutheran litanies.—As has been mentioned above, Luther published a revision of a medieval 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.


J. H. MAUDE.

LITERATURE.

American (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 81.
Babylonian (C. BEZOLD), p. 83.
Celtic.—See ARTHURIAN CYCLE, BARDs, CELTS, COGBULLAIN CYCLE.
Chinese (P. J. MACLAGAN), p. 89.
Christian.—See BIBLE, BIBLE IN THE CHURCH, DEVOTION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE.

LITERATURE (American).—The literature of the aborigines of America may conveniently be treated under two topics, viz. purely autochthonous

ous literary expression, and works produced under Caucasian influence.

2. Autochthonous literature.—This group in-
In the Iroquoian creation myth, there is a somewhat subtle humour in the account of the fall of Assateague, the demiurge-Thames, from the Sky-world to the chaos beneath. So now, verify, her body continued to fall. Her body was falling some time before it emerged. Now, she was surprised, seemingly, that there was light below, of a blue color. She looked, and there seemed to be a lake at the spot toward which she was falling. There was nowhere any indication of the presence of many ducks on the lake, whereas they, being waterfowl of all their kinds, floated severally about. Without interruption the body of the woman-being continued to fall.

Now, at that time the waterfowl called the Loon shouted, saying: "Do ye look, a woman-being be falling over into the water, her body is floating up hither." They said: "Verily, it is true so." Now, verify, in a short time the waterfowl called the 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 so" (ST RBBW, p. 179c).

With this may be contained a fragment of the Narrahs myth of the creation of the sun (6 RBBW [1886-87], pp. 276-277), which is not without a touch of grandeur: "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 less heat, but when it 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 telling the men 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 formal literary composition. The Aztec rituals recorded by H. Sahagun (Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, Mexico, 1829) are dignified and ornate, and often imbued with a sombre and haunting beauty. The assembled lore of these more advanced peoples must have comprised a considerable body of legends, chronicles, oracles, and materially spoken customs, laws, etc., judging from the fragments which are preserved, while the existence of a secularistic literature is probable. Britton is of the opinion that the Central American may be regarded as a Thronous dramatic art (see Library of Aboriginal American Literature, no. 3). The Guipique, a Comedy Ballet in the Nahua-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua, (Philadelphia, 1887, 83), and Clements Markham regards the "Ollanty" as an example of a pre-Spanish dramatic literature (see Markham, The Incas of Peru, London, 1910, which contains a partial translation of this drama). For this literature of the semi-civilized nations see the art. ANDEANS, CHILAN BALAN, DEAMA (American), POPOL VUH.

2. Literature produced under white influence.—This class consists of (1) works in the native languages, and (2) works written by American Indian authors in European languages. (1) Works 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 have been established under native, some under missionary, editorship, in some of 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 chronicles—appearing in the Reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology and elsewhere special modifications of the Roman alphabet have been suggested and systematized for the expression of the native tongues.

(2) 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, Inca-Spanish in blood, and of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, descendant of the caciques of Texcuco, are notable as authorities for the native customs and histories of Peru and
LITERATURE (Babylonian) 83

Mexico respectively. To these might be added the names of Teozozomoc, Chimalpahin Quauhtzatzin, Nakuk Feeth, and Fernando Hernandez Arana Xahila, Mexican and Central American post-conquest chroniclers of native history (see references in C. K. Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico, i., "Crónicas Mexicas de Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Annales de San Antón Muñoz Chimalpahin Quauhtzatzin, Paris, 1880; D. G. Brinton, Littérature de l'Ancien Amérique, L., The Maya Chronicles, and The Annals of the Cakchiquels.") In N. America, George Cupway (Kagiregogd, 1815-63) was the author of several books dealing chiefly with his own people, the Ojibwa, while Charles A. Eastman (Chippewa, b. 1858) is the author of essays and stories portraying the native life and ideals of his Siouan kinsfolk.

LITERATURE.—Bibliographical details are given in the Handbook of American Indian, Bull. 20 of the American Museum of Humanology, Washington, 1907-10, under "Books in Indian Languages," "Bible Translations," "Dictionary," Periodicals, etc. See also "Cupway," "Eastman," "McCoy." Scattered throughout the Reports and Bulletins of the Bureau are many texts and translations of myths and legends. Many of the J. F. Alden's "Ten Thousand Mundos" are rich in similar material. Other collections of importance include: A. L. Frothingham, Antiquities of Mexico, 9 vols., London, 1838-48; D. G. Brinton, Library of American Indian Literature, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1882-90; J. G. Isbell, "Records of ancient documents of the History of Mexico," 5 vols., Mexico, 1888-92; E. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, etc., 2 vols., Berlin, 1902-08. Yearly increasing material is to be found in the Comptes rendus du Congrès international des Américanistes, etc.; the Memoirs and Papers of the American Museum of Natural History; and the American Journal of Semitic Studies. Many important collections of laws (see LAW [Babylonian and Assyrian]) are comprised in pure Semitic Babylonian. Before entering into a detailed enumeration of the various branches of Semitic 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—Old Babylon, or Neo-Babylonian Empire. The Neo-Babylonian Empire, the Assyrian Empire, and the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The history of the ancient East can now be authentically reconstructed from the historical inscriptions of the Assyrian-Babylonian literature.

The great kings of those monarchies the seeking of immortality by means of a careful tradition of their exploits, their successful campaigns, and building operations appeared most desirable, and so caused the records of those deeds to be inscribed on a number of clay tablets, and on the animal colossi at the entrances of their palaces. The great extent of such texts is illustrated by a recently discovered tablet, on which the events of a single year (124 days) are recorded so minutely that an English translation of the text fill five volumes of the London Times. Long prayers supplement the historical contents of these inscriptions, interposed 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 respective 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 epicatory 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. Facts of the service of his vast dominion, the building of houses and dykes under his auspices, the regulation of the temple-taxes, and the use of intercalary months, are recorded in a series of documents which 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 as yet be ascertained. However, that at the time of the Babylonian king Hammurabi, who replaced the various feuds of the petty states by a vast Babylonian Empire under one sceptre (c. 2000 B.C.), that process had come to a standstill, and what remained the Sumerian literature was gradually superseded by that of the Babylonian-Assyrians. As, however, the religious hymns and psalms composed by the Sumerian writers there were adopted by the Assyrians, forming part of their liturgy and subsequently translated by the priests into their native tongue, Sumerian was studied as a sacred language by the Babylonians and Assyrians, and its literature was carefully preserved and handed down to posterity, just as in medieval and modern times the Latin language was carefully preserved 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 literature. Babylonian literature actually begins in the time of Hammurabi, whose inscriptions (with one exception) show the amalgamation of laws (see LAW [Babylonian and Assyrian]) are comprised in pure Semitic Babylonian. Before entering into a detailed enumeration of the various branches of Semitic 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—Old Babylon, or Neo-Babylonian Empire. The Neo-Babylonian Empire, the Assyrian Empire, and the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The history of the ancient East can now be authentically reconstructed from the historical inscriptions of the Assyrian-Babylonian literature.

The great kings of those monarchies the seeking of immortality by means of a careful tradition of their exploits, their successful campaigns, and building operations appeared most desirable, and so caused the records of those deeds to be inscribed on a number of clay tablets, and on the animal colossi at the entrances of their palaces. The great extent of such texts is illustrated by a recently discovered tablet, on which the events of a single year (124 days) are recorded so minutely that an English translation of the text fill five volumes of the London Times. Long prayers supplement the historical contents of these inscriptions, interposed 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 respective 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 epicatory 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. Facts of the service of his vast dominion, the building of houses and dykes under his auspices, the regulation of the temple-taxes, and the use of intercalary months, are recorded in a series of documents which are the documents of a correspondence carried on in the middle of the second millennium between
the Pharaohs of Egypt, then rulers of the whole
recorded, 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, pro-
cessions, petitions, accounts, and notes accom-
panying requisites for
of Neo-Babylonian Empire, and are of a historical
value similar to that of the royal inscriptions
composed long before 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.

Babylonian-Assyrian literature in the narrower
sense of the word has become chiefly from the
documents preserved in a great Royal Library
held at Nineveh by Ashurbanipal, the last
great king of the Assyrian Empire, who reigned
from 668 to 625 B.C. and was called Sardanapalus
by the Greek writers. This Library, generally
known as the Kuyunjik Collection, the various
portions of which have been secured 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 trans-
lations of ancient Babylonian and Sumerian works, and deals with a variety of subjects and learning
then appreciated by the Assyrian priests, who, by
command of their royal patron, collected and cata-
alogued, revised and re-copied, the various texts
which had been gathered from the oldest cities
and archives of the whole land. Recent
excavations have in some instances also brought
to light a number of hymns and prayers, certain
omen-texts, and a few astrological inscriptions,
which have been ascribed to an earlier period than
that of Ashurbanipal, and apparently belonged
to the mass of original documents from which the
copies in the Library were made; and the same
may be said of certain collections of the Neo-
Babylonian times, in which, again, copies from the
Kuyunjik Collection have been found. An
exact idea of the literary achievements of the
Babylonian-Assyrian, 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 royal inscriptions, and numerous magical
texts, extending from early Babylonian
times down to the beginning of our own era—
 Assyrian literature was devoted chiefly to super-
stitious belief, to religious rites and ceremonies,
inscriptions 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 appearances 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 ani-
mal omens are the numerous and systematically
arranged texts bearing on menstruations and other
unusual features of births, as well as the large
collections of documents dealing with the inspect-
ion of the liver of an immolated wether. The
movements of various birds, the actions of dogs
and of a snake, and the invasions of locusts were especially observed for the com-
position of such omen-texts. Another means of
divination used by the Babylonians was pure
water, into which a small quantity of the urine of
rats was poured, so as to produce the well-known
interference-voices, 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 reduced into a kind
of pharmacopoeia. Various diseases, arranged
according to the limbs and members attacked, are
enumerated in these collections, and the draughts,
decotions, and other therapeutics are described
in detail. Mental disorder was attributed to the
influence of evil spirits, and evil spirits are found in these medical texts are frequently interspersed with in-
cantation formulae 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 many
Semitic Assyrian priests themselves added
such interlinear texts, using the Sumerian lan-
guage, then long extinct, in much the same way as
medieval monks used Latin. Moreover, even pure
Sumerian texts without an interlinear Assyrian
version are preserved in Sumerian'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, litanies, and other forms of prayers
which are written either in Sumerian only or ac-
companied, in Assyrian times, by a Semitic version.

Apart from these texts, however, are mostly
preserved as parts of certain literary compositions
or 'series,' the prayers and similar religious doc-
uments stand for the most part isolated, and only
by their style can they be recognized as belonging
to various classes. Of such, the prayers called
'after the lifting of the land,' the hymns exhibit-
ning a parallelism of members, the litanies addressed
to certain deities, and the compositions showing
acrostics may be mentioned as specimens.

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,
for instance, the Babylonian Creation Legend and the
Deluge Story, both of which have been pub-
lished and translated, OT, 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 nether world. Similarly the 'Descent of the
goddess Ishtar to Hades,' an isolated poem pres-
served in Assurbanipal's Library only, appears to
depict nature's death in the autumn and its resu-
mination in the spring, and the story of Nergal, the
lord of tombs, and his consort, the goddess Erdas-
kiqal, likewise contained in the Epic and in the mode
of the dead. Immortality was not granted to
mankind, as we learn from another myth, the
story of a fowl man called Adapa, who, being
mixed by chance, refused to partake of the food
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 Babylonia there was at least an astral religion was reigning in the valley of
the Euphrates and Tigris. This appears to be
borne out by another branch of Babylonian-Assyrian
literature, viz. the astrological texts. A large number of these, 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. These observations are taken from earlier astronomical texts, dealing with the heliacal risings and the culminations of luminous fixed stars and constellations, while the details of the Babylonian time documents with astronomical observations and calculations have been found which bear witness to the highly developed faculties 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. Those sacred Sumerian incantations, hymns, and prayers must have early prompted the protectors of religious traditions to collect helps for studying the extinct sacred tongue, and in course of time such investigations needed an inventory of the Semitic native language of those priests as well. Paradigms of verb-forms, lists of synonymous words, and, above all, large collections of Sumerian ideographs explained according to their pronunciation and meaning have thus 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 philologists, by whom the eldest colleges on earth were founded and literary tradition was first carried on.

Babylonian literature was deeply influenced, as has been shown, by its older Sumerian sister, and the Assyrians, in developing it, seem to have played a rôle similar to that played in later centuries 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 Hitite and Mitanni nations, the Chaldean tribes, and the Canaanites appear to have adopted it in one or other form, and certainly became familiar with the doings of the Babylonian people. Babylonian legends found their way to the ancestors of the Israelite tribes, and similar Babylonian documents were studied in the middle of the second millennium by the learned priests of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

Finally, the late Assyrian onomastical 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 translations 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 medieval times down to the present day.


C. BEZOLD.

LITERATURE (Buddhist).—The sacred canons of Buddhism have been handed down in two forms. One, written in Pali and preserved in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, contains the doctrine of the older school, the Hinayana (Little Vehicle; see art. HINAYANA), the chief aim of which is to attain arhatship or the release of the individual from suffering. It is the canon of one sect only. The other, the Sanskrit canon, was first translated into Sanskrit from the older Buddhist Sanskrit texts, as well as from Chinese and Tibetan translations. The chief texts of the Sanskrit Mahayana-sarvastivadins, who belonged to the older Buddhist, were translated into Chinese in the years A.D. 709-712. 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 descent of both from 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, such regarded as sacred or more sacred than the texts which were incorporated parts of or replaced a theoretically acknowledged canon. The great bulk of these Sanskrit Buddhists belonged to the new school, known in Pali as the 'Great Vehicle' (see art. MAHAYANA), the chief aim of which was the attainment of the condition of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha, who brings wisdom within the reach of the entire human race.

The forms of Buddhist literature in Pali and in Sanskrit have been commonly called 'Southern' and 'Northern' respectively because the former prevails in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and the latter in Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan. This division is thus made illusory, since all Buddhist canonical literature is based on the North, and since the term 'Northern' covers a region which is as remote from the South, and the term 'Southern' covers a region which is as remote from the North, and thus the names of the two schools are misleading. The Pali canon, therefore, more properly speaking, is Pali Buddhism and Sanskrit Buddhism.

The language in which the two canons were composed requires to be more precisely defined. Pali is the sacred language common to the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Cambodia, but Pali MSS are written in four different alphabets of those 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 can only have been the language of Magadha (Bihar), in which Buddha first preached, and which must have been the language of Mahapajapati who put together the canon. traces of such a Magadhi language may, it is true, be found in the Pali language, but it would be a mistake to think that the titles of the canonical texts enumerated in Anuka's Bural inscription appear in a Magadhi form. But Pali differs from the Magadhi language in several respects, for example, in its us from inscriptions, literary works, and grammarian. Nor is it identical with any other dialect. It is a distinct language and has a different tradition, and is therefore a distinct and different culture.

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 oral tradition.

Almost all the whole of the earliest Buddhist literature consists of short collections containing speeches, sayings, poems, tales, or rules of conduct, which are combined into larger collections, or 'books', in a manner somewhat analogous to the formation of the anniktha of the Vedas (cf. HYMNNS [Vedica]). Three such aggregate collections, called the Tipitaka, form the Pali canon.

The canon as constituted in Asoka's reign must have undergone appreciable changes between then and the time when it was fixed in the 1st cent. B.C. in Ceylon. But henceforward 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 Pali Tipiṭaka may be regarded as not very different from the Mahānāmapitaka of the 3rd cent. B.C. For the quotations occurring in the Aśoka inscriptions diverge only slightly from the extant text, while the titles of seven texts mentioned in one of these inscriptions are partly identical with, and partly similar to, those which are found in the extant Sutta-piṭaka. Moreover, the sculptures and inscriptions of the monuments at Śārīrakā and Bhāhrutā (c. 200 B.C.) afford corroborative 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 Mikhāna-piṭaka, which dates from the 1st cent. A.D., and is authentic according to the Pali tradition. It is 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 summarized in regard to their chief contents.

1. The Pali Canon. — The three main divisions of the canon are the Vinaya-piṭaka, or the Basket of Discipline, which supplies the regulations for the management of the Order (saṅgha), 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 the life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medical remedies, and legal procedure in cases of theft. Here and there are also to be found stories, some of which contain the oldest parts of the Buddhistic legend, while others are valuable for the light they throw on the daily life of ancient India.

2. The Sutta-piṭaka. — The second "basket" is the Sutta-piṭaka, or our best source for the dhamma, or religion of Buddha and his earliest disciples. It contains, in prose and verse, the most important products of Buddha literature, grouped under the names of collections named nikāyas. The first four of these consist of suttas, or "lectures," being either speeches of Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally interspersed with verses. These are cognate and homogeneous in character. For a number of suttas reappear in two or more of them; there is no difference in the doctrines that they contain; and they all show a similar mode of discussion, probably preserving a reminiscence of Buddha's actual method as good as that which the Platonic dialogues preserve of Socrates' method. One of the features of the method of argument in these suttas is the very exact use of parables and similes, which, though lacking in cogency, are valuable as throwing much light on the daily life of the artisans, cultivators, and merchants of the day. Since each of these nikāyas contains old and more recent elements of a similar character, there is no reason to doubt that all of them were formed into collections about the same time.

3. The Āggersā-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 first, entitled Brahmajāla-sutta, or: "Lecture on the Brahmans' net," is of very great importance for the history not only of Buddhism, but of the whole religious life of ancient India.

The Buddha enumerates a large number of the occupations of Brahman and ascetics from which the Buddhist monk should refrain. The second, the Cūḍaṃsā-sutta, or "Lecture on the reward of asceticism," furnishes valuable information about the views of a number of non-Buddhist teachers and founders of sects. The Ambatthu-sutta illustrates the history of caste and Buddha's attitude to that system. The Kālāpatala-sutta, or "Lecture on the sharp tooth of the Brahman," displays the relations between Brahmanism and Buddhism, while the Tavijjū-sutta, or "Lecture on the followers of the three Vedas," contrasts the Brahman cult with Buddhist ideas. The fundamental doctrine of Buddhism is treated in the Mahānāma-sutta, or "Great lecture on causation.

One of the most noteworthy texts of the Pali canon is the Dipavijjā-sutta, or "Admonition of Sīkāla," describing fully the duties of the Buddhist layman. But the most important text in the Dipavijjā-sutta is the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, or "Great lecture on the complete Nirvāṇa," a continuous account of the last days of Buddha. It is one of the oldest parts of the Tipiṭaka, as supplying the earliest beginnings of a biography of Buddha. It does not, however, all date from the same period, for in some passages Buddha appears entirely as a human being, while in others he is represented as a demi-god or magician. This text resembles the Gospels more than any other in the Tipiṭaka. On the other hand, the account of the miracles (of Buddha) indicates its lateness. It also contains the dogma of six Buddhas as precursors of Gautama, and presupposes the whole Buddha legend.

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 Brahmanism to be the only pure caste and asserting the purity of all castes. These suttas throw light not only on the life of Buddhist monks, but on such matters as Brahman sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, and the relation of Buddha to the Jains, as well as superstitions, social, and legal conditions prevailing at the time.

The difference in the age of the suttas is indicated by the fact that here too Buddhist times sometimes appear as a purely human character and sometimes as a miracle-worker.

c. Of the 56 divisions into which the Sutta-piṭaka is divided, the last is most noteworthy, as containing the famous Dhamma-chakka-pavatattvavatta-sutta, the "Lecture on setting in motion the wheel of the law," usually described as the "Sermon of Benares." The suttas in one of its sections somewhat contain a large admixture of stanzas, while others consist entirely of verse forming short ballads of great poetic merit.

d. Of the Asguttara-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 demi-god, if not an actual deity.

e. Of the Khudda-nikāya, or "Collection of small pieces," is a late compilation added after the previous ones were complete. Its content dates from very different times; for, while the Brahmans' parts belong to the latest strata of the Pali
cana), some go back to the earliest period. It is composed for the best part in verse, and, in fact, contains the most important works of Buddhist Indian poetry. Of the works which it embraces the following may be mentioned. The Khuddaka-pañha, or 'Short reader,' comprises nine brief texts to be recited by 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 famous Metta-sutta, in which kindness towards all creatures is praised as the Buddhist cult. The Dhamma-pada, or 'Words of religion,' the most familiar and longest known work of Buddhist literature, is an anthology of maxims chiefly expressing the ethical doctrines of Buddhism. More than one-half of its 423 stanzas are found in other texts of the Pali canon. The Udāna, or 'Solemn utterances,' consisting of old verses and prose stories, probably later additions, is a glorification of the Buddhist ideal of life and of the endless bliss of nirvāṇa. The Itivuttaka, or 'Sayings of Buddha,' is composed in prose and verse used in such a way that the same idea is expressed in both. Very often the verse simply repeats the statement of the preceding prose. The oldest parts of the work probably date from the time of Buddha himself. The Sutta-piṭaka is a collection of ethical sutta, many of which, as shown by internal evidence, must go back to the beginnings of Buddhism, and have arisen at least among the first disciples of Buddha. They are important as supplying information about the original doctrine of Buddha, besides representing an early, though not the earliest, stage of the Buddhist legend. The Thera-γāthā and Therī-γāthā, or 'Songs of monks and nuns,' are poems of great life, full of spiritual calm as the religious ideal, and describing the value of Buddhist ethical doctrine from personal experience. It is quite possible that here may be included the poems composed by some of the earliest disciples of Buddha, but several are much later, since they represent a Buddha cult like that of the Mahāyāna. The Jātaka is a book consisting of about 550 stories of former births of Buddhas in the character of a Birth of Buddhas, 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 see art. JĀTAKA.

While the Pali 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 Milinda-pañha, which has just been written in the north-west of India. It represents a dialogue supposed to have taken place between a Buddhist teacher and Menander (Millián), the Great king who from about 120 B.C. ruled over the Indian territory, the Ganges, and the valley of the Ganges. The author, whose name is unknown, must have lived at a time when the memory of this king was still fresh. Though written in the Greek demotic and soon after Menander, he could hardly have been remembered for more than a century. That the original portion of the work, books i. and iii. with parts of i., is thus as old as the beginning of our era is supported by the fact that it bears comparison with the very best dialogues in the Sutta-piṭaka. But besides differing in character from the rest, are containing in the Chinese translation made between A.D. 317 and 420. These and the other spurious parts are the work of learned monks in China.

II. SANSKRIT LITERATURE.—While one sect created the Pali 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 Tibetan and Chinese translations. The great bulk of this Buddhist Sanskrit literature belongs to, or has been greatly influenced by, 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 Buddhists are now regarded as divine beings from the beginning, their earthly life and their nirvāṇa being nothing but an illusion. The Buddhists preceding Gautama, instead of being believed to be thousands or even millions of millions in number and an innumerable host of Bodhisattvas is revered as having for the salvation of mankind refrained from entering nirvāṇa. Under the influence of Hinduism a new mythology grew up in which a number of Hindu deities were added to the Buddhists and Bodhisattvas, and a much stronger devotion to Buddha, analogous to that of the Brahman, Bhagavat-Gītā (q.v.). By the Brahman doctrine influenced the development of Mahāyānaism on the philosophical side also. For, while the old Buddhist denied the existence of the ego only, the also denied the existence of everything (expressed by the formula sarvam anātman, 'everything is void'), either as complete nihilism or as ideal nihilism (anjana-vāda, or 'doctrine' that nothing exists except in consciousness.

1. Hinyāna.—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 fragmentary parts of the Udoa-varga, Dhamma-pada, and Ekottaragama (corresponding to the Pali Udāna, Dhammapada, and Aṅguttaramāṅgakesa) have as yet been discovered. The Mahāyāna, or 'Book of great events' is a text of the Lokottaravādins ('followers of the doctrine' that the Buddhists are 'supernatural beings'), a subdivision of the old schismatic sect, the Mahāsutarikas, or 'adherents of the great community.' Its chief content is a miraculous biography of Buddha, written in mixed Sanskrit. It is of great importance as containing many old versions of texts that also occur in the Pali canon, such as the 'Sermon of Benares' and a section of the Dhammapada. About half of it consists of jātakas, many of which do not occur in Pali. This portion has a great deal to the Hinyānists, it contains much that is akin to the Mahāyāna, as that the adoration of Buddha is alone sufficient for the attainment of nirvāṇa. There is, however, only a slight admixture of regular Mahāyāna doctrine, and nothing of Mahāyāna mythology. Some of the elements which it contains point to the 4th cent. A.D., but the nucleus of the book probably dates from the 2nd cent. B.C. (see MAHAVASTU, the Leitā-nītāsara, or 'Detailed account of the play (of Buddha),' though it seems to have origin-
ally been a Buddha biography of the Sarvastivadins, has been extended in the sense of the Mahayana.

It is a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose, with long metrical pieces in 'mixed Sanskrit.' Containing old and new elements side by side, it is valuable for the development of the Buddhist legend from its earliest beginnings up to the dedication of Buddha as a god above all gods.

The *Buddha-charita,* or 'Life of Buddha,' is an epic composed in pure Sanskrit. It is the work of Apastamba, a contemporary of Kaniska. The 'mixed' poet, however, must have composed it about A.D. 100. Originally a Brahman, he joined the Sarvastivadins, but later wrote on devotion to Buddha. His epic, however, contains no pronounced Mahayana doctrine.

Another work of the same school, dating probably from the 4th cent. A.D., is the *Jatakas-mala,* or 'Garland of birth stories,' by Aryasura. It is composed in a mixture of verse and prose, conforming to the style of classical Sanskrit literature. It contains 31 *jatakas,* illustrating the *parramitas,* or 'perfections,' or a Bodhisattva, and nearly all occurring in the Pali *Jataka* Book.

Cognate with the preceding works are a number of collections of *avatara-s,* or 'stories of great deeds,' and practical treatises in which the hero is a Bodhisattva (but not Buddha). The older ones still belong to the Hinayana, though attaching special importance to the propagation of Buddhism just as in the *Avatara-sutra* or the *Century of great deeds,* which date probably from the 2nd cent. A.D.

*Mahayana.*—The Mahayana, not representing a homogeneous sect, possesses no canon. But there are many dharmas, or 'religious texts,' which, coming from different sources and belonging to different sects, are also called *vijnana-yana.*

The most important and most characteristic work of the Mahayana school is the *Saddharma-pundarika,* or 'Lotus of good religion.' It contains matter of different date represented by Sanskrit prose and by *gathas* in 'mixed Sanskrit.' Its original form dates perhaps from about A.D. 200. Sakyamunih, here no longer a man, the mendicant of the Pali *sutta,* is 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 adhere to this teaching, erect *stupas*, and make Buddha images obtain the highest enlightenment (see LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW).

The *sutra,* the *Karanavati-syagha,* in language and style to the later Hindu puranas, is devoted to the exaggeration of Avalokitesvara, the 'Lord who looks down' with compassion on all beings. Here the typical Bodhisattva who, in the exercise of infinite pity, refrains from becoming a Buddha till all beings are saved. The yearning for salvation has probably never been more powerfully expressed than in the figure of Avalokitesvara (Maitreya).

The *syagha* is known to have been in existence before A.D. 400. More mythological is the *Sukhavati-syagha* (c. A.D. 100), or 'Detailed account of the Land of Bliss,' which is devoted to the praise of the Buddha Amitabha ('of unmeasured goodness'), the *Gaya-syagha* (a still unpublished dharmap) celebrates the life of Avalokitesvara Mahasuri (q.v.), who occupies a prominent position in Mahayana cult and art.

Other Mahayana *sutra-s* are of a philosophic and dogmatic character. The *Lokavatimsuttra* (the 'Great dharmasutra') describes a visit paid to the demon Ravanaya in Ceylon by Buddha, who answers a number of questions about religion according to the doctrines of the Buddhists (see ASAGA). The tenets of a number of philosophical schools are also discussed here. The *Dakshinavaktra (a dharmasutra)* 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 *Samadhi-rasa* (a dharmasutra), 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 *Sutra-prabhakara* (a dharmasutra), dating from not later than the 6th cent. A.D., is partly philosophic, partly anecdotal; and partly ritualistic in its contents. The Hindu goddesses Sarasvati and Mahadeviare introduced, and magical formulae and Tantric practices are dealt with. The *Rostraval-sutra* (a Boddhisattva, A.D. 550), besides containing Buddha's description of the qualities of a Bodhisattva, introduces a number of *jatakas.* 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 *sutra-s* of the Mahayana are the *Prajapamma-sutra,* or sutras on the 'perfection of wisdom.' They deal with the six perfections of a Bodhisattva, but especially with the highest, *prajnā, 'wisdom,'* the knowledge of the doctrine of nothingness, which denies not only being, but also not-being. The doctrine of the Mahayana school was unfolded by Nagarjuna, originally a Brahman who flourished about A.D. 200 and founded the Madhyamika school, one of the main branches of the Mahayana. In order to remove the unresolvable contradictions of complete nihilism, he lays down in his *Madhyamika suttas* that the doctrine of Buddha rests on two kinds of truth. The one is the conventional truth of everyday life (in which the higher truth is latent); and the other the ultimate truth, in the highest sense. It is only through the latter that the higher truth can be taught, and it is only through the latter that nirvana can be attained. This distinction resembles that between the lower and the higher knowledge of the Vedanta system of the Brahmanas (see MADHYAMAKA, MADHYAMIKAS).

Nagarjuna cannot be regarded as the originator of the Mahayana doctrine itself. There have been teachers and texts of that doctrine more than a century before his time; for Mahayana texts were translated into Chinese in the 3rd cent. A.D., and the Gandhara type of Buddhist art, which represents the Mahayana doctrine, came into being about the beginning of our era.

Asanga (q.v.), the eldest of the three sons of a Brahman from Peshawar, probably flourished in the first half of the 5th cent. A.D., and was, according to almost all the sources, the main exponent of the Mahayana Yogečara school, which recognizes existence in consciousness (vedâna) only, denying thereby the reality of the phenomenal world. The only absolute entity is truth (buddhi), 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 systematic connexion with the Mahayana doctrine. Asanga expounds the tenets of this
school in his Mahāyāna-Sūtrakālatātra, a work consisting of memorial verses (kāvika) in various metres and a commentary written by himself. Asanga's brother, Vasu-kirti, also contributed to Buddhist literature, distinguishing for profound learning and great powers of independent philosophical thought, is remarkable as having written authoritative works representing both the greater divisions of Buddhism. His most important work, belonging to his earlier and Hinayāna period, was his Abhidharmakosā-kosā, which deals with ethics, psychology, and metaphysics, but is also a Sanskrit commentary and Chinese and Tibetan translations. In later life he was converted by his brother Asanga 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 Mahayanaists was Sanudita, who probably lived in the 7th cent. and was the author of two works. The first, Sūkyakopanidhyaya, or 'Summary of the Doctrine,' is a manual of the Mahayana teaching, consisting of memorial verses (kāvika) and a commentary. The other is the Bodhisattva Mahāsyānta, or 'Entry into the practice of enlightenment,' a religious poem of great literary merit, incalculating the pursuit of the highest moral perfection. The aim in both works is the attainment of enlightenment in the Bodhisattva by means of infinite compassion and the generation of Buddhas, the highest wisdom being the belief in nothingness (bhūmi). The successive stages of the decay of Buddhism in India is the approximation of its later literature to that of Hinduism. Thus the Mahayana sūtras show striking resemblances to the Brâhmanic purâṇas, containing, like those, mahābīmaśas, or glorifications of particular localities, and stotras, or hymns addressed to various deities. There are also separate stotras, like those addressed to Viṣṇu and Siva; many of them glorify the goddess Tārā, the female counterpart of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. A further sign of degeneracy is the increasingly important position which the dhārayaśī, or 'spells,' begin to occupy in Mahayanaist literature. They appear to have existed from the 3rd cent. A.D. They were probably in their earliest form intelligible sūtras containing Buddhist doctrine, but unintelligible mystic syllables gradually began to prevail as the 'kernel' of magic powers. Finally, under the influence of the Tântra, they became pure gibberish and entered as essential elements into the Buddhist tântras. The Tântras (g.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 treatises partly concerned with ritual (kriyā-tântra) or rules of conduct (charyā-tântra), partly with the esoteric doctrine of the yogis (yoga-tântra). The former class is a revival of the old Brâhma ritual of the Ghyâsâsâtras, and the mystical syllables contained in them are addressed not only to the god and his attendant, but also to Saivite deities. Most of the tântras, however, are connected with yoga, starting from the mysticism of the Mâdhyamika and the Yogâchâra schools. The yôga here aims at the highest knowledge of nothingness (bhūmāyatâ), not only by asceticism and meditation, but by magical rites, hypnotism, and other expedients. The teaching includes magic, sorcery, and erotics, accompanied by disgusting orgies. Nothing of Buddhism remains in them, for they differ in no respect, except in being described as 'pronounced by Buddha,' from the sūtra-tântras, inculcating as they do the worship of the Íśīva and Saivite gods, and introducing numerous female deities into their cult.


LITERATURE (Chinese).—The vast mass of Chinese literature is divided by Chinese scholars through four classes—classics, histories, writings of philosophers, and belles lettres. The term 'classic,' means originally the warp 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. Taoism and 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 them as 'sacred,' 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 Christian literature to denote the idea of holiness. Originally, however, it refers to perfection of wisdom ('sage,' 'sagely'), and does not mean of itself suggest any relation to the divine. Of the perfect Sage it is said:

'He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all follow him.' (Doct. of the Mean, v. 15.)

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; Menistria, a. The term Sheng King pronouncement is held to have fallen short of the perfect balance of Confucius. In so far as education was founded on and almost confined to the Chinese 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 superstition, with which all written printed paper is regarded. Among the commentators on the classics, Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200) has long been considered to be the standard of orthodoxy. The number of books embraced in the Confucian canon has varied. The imperial edition of the dynasties contained thirteen books. The present canon, taken in the strictest sense, includes the Five Classics and the Four Books. 1. The Five Classics.'—(1) I King, 'The Book of Changes.'—The germ of this is the Eight Trigrams, 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. Wen Wang added to the diagrams his 'Definitions'; Chou Kung supplemented these with his 'Observations'; and, finally, Confucius added 'Ten Chapters of Commentary,' and the classics were complete. By 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 its 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 now exists is this preface and fifty-eight books of documentation, which is traced back to two scholars, Fu Sheng and An Kuo. The twenty-five books which rest on the sole authority of the latter are gravely suspect. The whole collection of documents, which by no means forms a continuous whole, falls into five divisions—the books of T'ang, of Yü, of Hsia, of Shang, and of Chou. The earliest 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 also great. The political ideal is a beneficent 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 of only sixty more, traditionally said to have been selected by Confucius from the numerous pieces extant in his time. This account greatly exaggerates his share in the making of 'Shi King'; he attached great educational value to the odes. He claims that their design is summed up in this: 'Have no depraved thoughts'; but, while they are free from indecency, a number of them spring from the spirit of the times. The subject-matter of the odes is various—praise of virtuous kings and ministers, and of chaste and submissive wives, longing for absent friends, and the joy of reunion; testimonials of melancholy and personal complaints of injustice, remonstrances with careless or wicked rulers; celebration of State banquets and sacrifices. The odes are not arranged 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) 'Greater Odes of the Kingdom,' 3 books; and (4) 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar,' 8 books. The earliest odes date from the Shang dynasty (1700-1200 B.C.), and the latest from the time of King Ting (605-585 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 Usages.' Of the 'Three Rituals,' the Li Li, the Chou Li, and the Li Li, the last of all placed among the Five Classics. It is a collection condensed from a large group of documents in the 1st cent. B.C., and augmented and finally fixed in the 2nd cent. A.D. Various treatises, which are not arranged in any logical order, cover a great variety of subjects—birth, marriage, death, religious, sacrifices, and methods and age. 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 Chi, 'Anatidae.' Ch'un Chi, lit. 'Spring and Autumn,' is the only one of the Five Classics ascribed to Confucius himself; but it falls so far short of Mencius's eloquent of the Ch'un Chi which he knew that they may be said to be contradicted by other evidence—has been expressed as to whether our Ch'un Chi is indeed the Sage's work. It seems to be founded on, and may be merely transcribed from, the annals of Lu, Confucius's native State. It is a bold record of such things as the beginnings of the seasons, State-covenants, wars, deaths of persons in high estate, and extraordinary events. 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 discip les up to the time of his death, 10th year of Duke Ai (475 B.C.). Even in this scholarly record the account is not impartial, and is guilty of concealing the truth. An unfortunate cloud thus rests on the character of its author. The best known commentary on the Ch'un Chi is the Tao Ch'ien, which supplements it in a form resembling the record to 467 B.C., with one entry of a slightly later date.

2. The 'Four Books.'—(1) Lun Yu, 'Analects.'—These were probably compiled by Confucian scholars of the second century. Whatever connections with Confucius and disconnections 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 long life. For the attaining 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 (Chun Tzu) is depicted, and such topics as filial piety, friendship, and righteousness are discussed. Reciprocity—not to do others what one would not have done to oneself—is the highest moral rule. There is intentional renunciation on extraordinary matters. In politics the moral ends of the State are 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 Confucianism and himself.

(2) Ta-Hsüeh, 'The Great Learning.' is so called with reference either to the importance of its matter or to the mature age of its students. Its text appears to be fragmentary. In one respect it forms a section of the Li Ki; but as usually printed it is arranged by Chu Hsi, though without authority, into text by Confucius and commentary by Tung T'ao. The book professes to trace the development of virtue from investigation of things, through extension of knowledge, sincerity of the thoughts, rectification of the heart, up to the cultivation of the person (which is the general 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 its promise.

(3) Chung Yung, 'The Doctrine of the Mean' (probably rather 'Equilibrium and Harmony'), is ascribed to K'ung Chi, grandson of Confucius, commonly known as Tzu Sen. This treatise, like the Ta-Hsüeh, forms a section of the Li Ki. Human nature, as given by heaven, is the source of civilization. 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 coincide, we have 'sincerity.' Some have this sincerity by innate endowment; some attain to it by moral instruction. It is the sumnum bonum, and has a transforming influence on things and men. Confucius is exalted extravagantly, though perhaps not precisely identified with the ideal man who is the equal of heaven.

(4) Mencius (371-307 B.C.).—Seven books of his teaching remain, which are credibly ascribed to Mencius himself in collaboration with his disciples. The main topics are ethics and politics. The idea of human nature is made for righteousness. This original constitution is the child-heart which good
LITERATURE (Dravidian).

—Dravidian literature is the record of the best of the thought of those peoples of S. India who speak languages designated by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, in the 7th cent. of our era, as Andhra Drāviḍa. The four principal literary languages are now Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayālam. According to the Census Report of 1911, Telugu is spoken by 234 millions of people, Tamil by a little over 19 millions, and Malayalam by 62 millions. That the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans were acquainted with S. India at an early period is evident from the mention of the Andhras by Pāṇini (c. 550 B.C.), but Aryan immigration into the South came at so late a period that the South 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. Vipson says:

"Not one Telugu, Kanarese, or Tamil book now in existence is independent of Sanskrit. . . . Writing was not applied to vernacular languages before the 4th cent. It was the Aryan Brāhmaṇas or Jains or Buddhists who first having learned the vernacular languages passed to Sanskrit and then taught the natives to write and compose works. The preliminary or Jain period must have lasted two or three centuries" (Mahābhārata Dipika, April 1908).

The southern inscriptions of Aśoka show that writing must have been familiar to the people by the 2nd cent. B.C. The earliest southern scriptures are, however, all derived from the Andhra alphabets of about the 4th cent. of our era. Telugu and Kanarese alphabets date from the 5th cent., while the oldest Tamil writing comes from the 7th cent. Previous to any writing or written records the folk-songs of the people, their moral aphorisms as well as their lyric outbursts of love and war, set as they were to music, were handed down by way of oral literature from generation to generation. P. Sundaram Pillai states that more than 19,000 lines of the hymns of the early poet Sambandhar, not later in date than the 7th cent., are still extant:

'Most of them appear to have been uttered impromptu, and all of them being lyrical are not to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten. They were once sung, and are now introduced by Aryan musicians of the north' (Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature, p. 6).

The invading Aryan influence so blended with the indigenous Dravidian element that the Aryan lute (vina) completely ousted the primitive Dravidian musical instrument (gāl), no reliable description of which remains on record. Similarly, the old grammars and the grammars of the Pāṇiniya and Andhra school of grammarians have been superseded by the now standard authority for all classical compositions, the Nāṉṉāṉ, composed by a southern Jain grammarian, Pavanandi, about the beginning of the 13th century. The Nāṉṉāṉ 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, Rule 462, 'Nāṉṉāṉ'). Notwithstanding this salutary rule, Dravidian literature and poetry are considered worthy of commendation by the learned only when they are as different from the spoken vernaculars as Anglo-Saxon is from modern English. The more they hold themselves aloof from the colloquial speech of the time and the people, and the more they are wont in arishtav, the more they merit the praise of panditav. The earliest, and therefore the purest, Dravidian literature, as freest from Arvī influences, is embedded in works dating from about the 2nd cent. of our era. Collections known as the Ten Classical Poems are assigned to a very early date; these were succeeded by Eight Compositions of various authors. Eighteen shorter stanzas, including the moral aphorisms of the Kural of Tiruvalluvar, followed, and the four hundred quatrains of the Nāṉāṉāṉ, said to have been composed by a southern 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 the like. From them, and from the Arvī, some of the quatrains are mere translations from such Sanskrit epics as the Mahābhārata. Pope, who translated and annotated the Nāṉāṉāṉ 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 Kural and Nāṉāṉāṉ, in copious and quatrains, have been acclaimed as the highest achievements of Dravidian literature. Pope (Kural, p. 14) truly says of the Nāṉāṉāṉ (and the same applies to the Nāṉāṉāṉ) that 'a line 'is often little else than a string of crude forms artfully fitted together.' Style such as this, framed on Sanskrit corrupt compounds, can hardly claim the title of literature because of its epigrammatic or moral the underlying and hidden thought may be. The Nāṉāṉāṉ is, nevertheless, well suited to fill its present role as a literary puzzle for Tamil students at the Madras University, or for Honour candidates at other Universities. To the same period, from the 2nd cent. to the 10th cent., are ascribed the chief versions of Tamil romances—the Mani Mekkālai, the Mekkālai, and the most perfectly constructed and the most untranslatable, on account of its open erotic sentiment, of all Tamil romances, the
Jinakuchimunani. 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 faith. They still await translation 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, the smooth and harmonious sequences of sound, and the subtility of its quaint and involved conceits of metaphor. J. Vinson (Manuel de la langue tamoule, p. xiv) has given a valuable and balanced judgment respecting the comparaative 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'y a pas d'un point de vue technique doute du caractère compartible d'œuvre sans patine par des Européens. Ses descriptions y sont diffuses, monotones, pleines de manques gêts 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 se ressemblent tous; ce sont proprement des jeux d'esprit, des amplifications de rhétorique sur une formule générale et sur un caractère minutieusement réglé. L'invention et l'imaginaire ne peuvent n'y exercer que sur les détails, sans expressions, sur la mesure, sur la formule extérieure en un mot.'

This Aryan influence on the religions literature (see Dravidians [South India]) and even on the indigenous folk-songs of the people 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 progressed till almost the whole written literature of the country became Brahmanic. Indigenous poetry, now that it has, as it were, that and as far as possible, was edited so uncritically that the original was himself a load of corruption. This Aryan influence so permeated the whole spirit and vitality of indigenous literature that Appakavi, a grammarian of the 17th cent., contempontously declared that Telugu adaptations from the Sanskrit were merely the use of women and Nâlakat, the distinguished Dravidian scholar, G. V. Râmârâma, who quotes the above in his Memorandum on Modern Telugu (Madras, 1913, p. 3), farther states that: "If a Brahman read the Râmâyana for religious merit, he reads the Sanskrit original and not a Telugu adaptation. The same writer, an ardent advocate for a reformed pure Dravidian literature, is forced from Sanskrit corruption: only the truth when he says:"

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

Nevertheless, the simple peasant values these Telugu, Tamil, Kanaresi, or Malayalam imitations of, or adaptations from, the Sanskrit poems, epics, and purânas. 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 wisely devotion and patient suffering under unmerited calamities.

LITERATURE (Egyptian).—The great bulk of 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 under-world, the Book of Breathing), the Book of Gates, etc.; and (3) miscellaneous writings, embracing a number of hymns to various gods, Ra, Osiris, Hapé, Amen, such writings as the Lemontiations, and the Songs of Isis and Amon and the Litanies of Seker, and a number of legends concerning the gods and their relations to mankind.

1. The Pyramid Texts.—These constitute by far the most important class 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 exhibit 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 dyn. kings have no interior inscriptions, and it was supposed that this was true of all other pyramids until in 1880 Mariette's workmen at Saqqarah managed to effect an entrance to the pyramid of Pepy I. of the IVth dyn., and later on to that of Merenre of the same line, and found that both contained lengthy hieroglyphic inscriptions, hewn in the stone and coloured green. Eventually inscriptions were found in five pyramids, of which the oldest is that of Unas of the IVth dyn., and the others are those of Teti, Pepy I., and Pepy II., all of the Vth dynasty. The inscriptions thus cover a period of about 150 years, from 2325 to 2175 B.C., or, on Petrie's Sinal dating, from about 4210 B.C. on wards. 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 alt-ägyptischen Pyramidendichten, Leipzig, 1908-10).

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 Vth dynasties. The later versions show traces of editing undertaken in order to meet 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 the 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 heads: (1) funerary rite, 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, and the other pyramids make up the number to 714. The amount of text is 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 scenes re-
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sponsible for the different versions having made
(as usual in Egyptian religious writings) not the
slightest attempt to group together or the various
types of literature enumerated above. The hymns
scattered throughout the collection already exhibit a
familiar poetical arrangement, in the form of couplets
showing parallelism in the ordering of words
and thoughts; and the texts are not devoid of a
certain 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 trees swing down,
The Bow [a constellation] staggers,
The bones of the body shudder,
The gatekeepers are silent
When they see king Oses
Dawning as a soul."

And there is some power of fancy in the passage
which pictures the king, after he has passed the
ily-lake and drawn near to the gates of heaven,
being challenged by voices after voices, 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 life of blessedness which the Pyramid Texts
contemplate has already ceased to be that which
we may take to be the early form of the Egyptian
conception of life after death—that of sojourn
at and about the tomb. The deceased king's realm
is in the sky, and, moreover, in the east of the sky
—this is a contradiction to Later belief,
which always placed the abode of the blessed dead
in the west. In the sky the king may develop either
two of his people; he may become a sun, or he may be associated with Re, the sun-god,
finally becoming identified with him. These two
destinies do not represent two different strata
of earlier belief, which have been slumped to-
gether 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 Re, and the Osirian belief is referred to in
texts which show that it was held to be incompatible
with, or even hostile to, the solar form.

Certain prayers are designed to protect the pyramid
and its temple against the intrusion of Osiris;
and other passages show that the devotions of the
Solar faith, Osiris once represented the realm
and the dominion of death, to which the follower of
Re was not delivered up." (Bredt, "Development
of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," p. 140).

Gradually, however, and, as the texts show, even
within the Pyramid Age, the Osirian faith began
to assert its power and to appropriate part of the
place which the solar religion had formerly occu-
pied. In doing so the Osirian conception of the
life after death, originally one of an under world,
becomes more 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 transition of superiority on the part of
the Osirian faith over the earlier solar creed. It
would appear that in this transformation we wit-
tness the triumph of popular over State religion,
and, 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 amount of all, and its interest is due, 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
such as these which describe how the dead king in
the other world fashions and discusses with the gods,
cooking them in his kettle, and eating them,
'Their great ones for his morning meal,
Their middle-sized ones for his evening meal,
'Their little ones for his nighttreat'.

so that 'the magic is in his belly,' have their
own value as literature for the wild power and
vigor of imagination which they reveal; but they
are still more valuable as the crude records of the
Egyptian, whom we have never seen save in the
distant, 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 re-
presentative of Egyptian religious literature, and
is most widely known by the totally erroneous
title of The Book of the Dead. The only justifica-
tion 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
heavenly kingdom, 'The Chapters of Pert em Hra', or 'The Opening,
Forth by Day' (or 'Ascending Day'), a title
whose significance is somewhat obscure, though
the contents of the chapters suggest that they may
have something to do with the power which the
knowledge of them conferred upon the deceased to
go in and out from his tomb, and to live an un-
fettered life in the other world. Concerning
the early history of the Book of the Dead we have no
certain information. In fact, there is no literature
text antecedent from the period between the
XVII and the XIXth dynasties, so as to show the
development of religious thought. In the middle kingdom,
however, under the XIXth and XIXth dynasties,
there begins to appear a series of texts which are
gnated by some as an early recession 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 funereal offerings
to the deceased. About one-half of the material
thus preserved is taken from the Pyramid Texts,
the other half consisting of material which is met
later in the genuine Book of the Dead; so that,
really, the inscriptions of these Middle Kingdom texts by some such title as that of ' Coffin
Texts', which Bredt employs to denote them.
The writing of these texts is marked by the same
carelessness and inaccuracy which characterizes
the later 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 ex-
pected that his work would be seen again, and
consequently he took the least possible trouble
with it. In one instance the same chapter is
repeated five times over in a single coffin. Apparently
the thought that by his carelessness he 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, between the Pyramid Texts and the
Old Solar version of the Book of the Dead.
The Coffin Texts are still present; but the Osiran-
izing process, already begun, has carried a
stage farther, and now we have indications of the
intrusion of the essentially Osirian idea of an
under world into the old solar idea of a celestial
heaven. Breasted epigrammatically sums up the
dip of the balance in the Coffin Texts towards
the west: 'The life which is at the end that in the
Pyramid Texts Osiris is lifted skyward, while in the
Coffin Texts Ra is dragged earthward (p. 277).
The idea of a Western Elysium, in contradistinction
to the solar idea of an Eastern one, begins to
appear; and the Osiris begins to approximate to
that of the Sechet 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 Ne ner World, digging a Pool, and planting
fruit trees.' Already the Coffin Texts exhibit
instances of the desire, which reaches full develop-
ment later, of furnishing the deceased with words
of power to enable him to assume various trans-
formations. Various texts enable him to transform
himself into 'the blazing eye of Horus,' into an 'etert-
bird,' or into 'the servant at the table of Hathor'; 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 against the dangers of the under
world. Thus there are charms for preventing
the head of a man from being taken from him,' for
repulsing serpents and crocodiles, for prevent-
ing a man from being obliged to walk head down-
wards, and so forth. This kind of rubbish, towards
which the Egyptian mind had an extraordinary
inclination, increases steadily in amount until the
really valuable morality of the Book of the Dead
is almost choked under its senseless bulk.

The Book of the Dead was already so called, makes
its appearance with the New Empire in the 16th
and following centuries B.C., under the XVIIIth
and XIXth dynasties. The change from inscrip-
tions 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; this
cannot be too clearly understood that there never
was a standard text, or anything even remotely
approaching to such a thing. Probably no two
copies bear as to the number of chapters, or the
contents of them, and the divergences are exceed-
ordinarily great. The size and content of the
so-called Book of the Dead which was buried with
any particular man depended entirely upon the
poor man or the will of his friends to purchase a
satisfactory copy for him or the revenue. The poor
man has a meagre roll a few feet in length, con-
taining a pitiful selection of a few of the more
important chapters; the rich man may have a
sumptuous version from 60 to 100 ft. in length and
containing anything up to 129 or 130 chapters.
In the XVIIIth dyn. the scribes began to ornament the
texts by adding, known as vignet-
ettes. Little by little the practice developed, and
in the XIXth dyn. the illustrated papyrus had be-
come the rule. The illustrations are often beautiful
pieces of illumination, and sometimes attention
has been given to them at the expense of the text.

In the most notable papyri of the XXIst dyn.
the development of the artistic work continues at
the expense of the text, which has become very
corrupt. And to this also begins to compare that
pruning which has been carried out in the py-
not found in the earlier versions. This tenacy
is accentuated in the XXIIInd dyn. papyri, which
contain sections that, strictly speaking, have no
connexion with the Book of the Dead. And from
this time onwards there is a falling off in the
versions, until a time is reached when no copies
of the book seem to have been written. This
period coincides with the decline of the power of
the priests of Ammon. As early as the
XXVIIth dyn.

In the XXVIIth dyn., however, the book takes
a new lease of life. It now appears to have been
reduced to some sort of order, to have been, in
fact, edited and systematised. The result of this
editing is the Egyptian Book of the Dead, which
contains four chapters which have no counterparts in the earlier
versions.

In the Ptolemaic period we have a version which is
best represented by the Papyri Papyrus, from
which Lepsius prepared his well-known edition.
It is the longest extant collection of texts, containing
nominally 185 chapters—some of them, however,
are really vignettes, and others duplicates, the
number of actual chapters being 155.

Meanwhile a number of short religious works
had been compiled, containing what at this period
was deemed to be most essential in the old versions of the
book, and these are more commonly found in the end of the Ptolemaic period than the full
version. These are known as the Siwai-Sesenn ('Book of Breathings'); they contain no hymns,
no addresses to the gods, nothing in fact, which
does not directly refer to the life of the deceased in
the world beyond. They may be regarded as an
epitome of all that the Egyptian hoped to obtain
in the spirit world.

In the Roman period there are still found small
rolls of papyrus inscribed with statements referring
to the happiness of the deceased in the next world;
and even in the early centuries of the Christian era
the knowledge and use of the book were not quite
extinct, for selections from it are found on coffins
as late as the 2nd century.

If we take into consideration the fragmentary
versions in use as late as the 2nd cent. A.D., the
actually extant documents of Egyptian religion,
the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, and the Book of
the Dead, cover a period of practically 3000 years
on the most limited system of dating, and, allow-
ing for the fact that even in the earliest texts
theological ideas are to a great extent developed
and stereotyped, we shall probably not exceed
reasonable limits in saying that the documents represent the theological development of at least
5000 years. Petrie's system of dating would, of
course, considerably extend this period.

The object of the Book of the Dead was simply
and solely to secure the deceased one a
secure life and all the advantages which the Egyptian
considered desirable in the world beyond the
grave (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD
(Egyptian)). There are chapters the knowledge
of which was intended to preserve the body from
decay or the ravages of certain animals—e.g., ch.
xxvi, 'Of driving away Apshu' (the beetle
or cockroach), and ch. xlv., 'Of not suffering corrup-
tion in the under world'; chapters providing
charms against the serpent Apepi, the serpent
Rerek, and the crocodile that comes to take away
the charms from the deceased; chapters 'Of not
letting a man be burnt or killed in the
under world,' and 'Of not eating fish or drinking filthy
water in the under world,' and so forth.

Generally speaking, it may be said of these
chapters, and of many others of similar import,
that they are somewhat melancholy reading.
Allowance has, of course, to be made for the fact
that they are full of allusions to a mythology the
knowledge of which had probably perished,
and that these allusions may have been full of
signification to the Egyptian, though they are
meaningless to us. It seems, 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 incantation. Sometimes they consist simply of an endless series of names supposed to have magical power; sometimes they are merely ludicrous—e.g., ch. xxxiii., 'Of repulsing serpents in the under world':

'Hail, thou serpent Berek, advance not hither! Behold, she images of fire and flame, and thou shalt eat the tail which is an abominable thing unto Ra, and thou shalt choke the bones of a filthy cat.'

The most important chapter of the book is xxvii., 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, of the wonderful persistence with which it was maintained and worked out in the later centuries. Of all the strange resemblances which the Egyptian conception of resurrection and immortal life presents to the Christian conception. The Book of the Dead is taken 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 as close to other religious systems of antiquity ever approached.

The Overtaking of Apepi contains fifteen chapters treating of the various methods of destroying this enemy of souls in the under world. Its material is largely borrowed from the Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Nebsaneb, British Museum). The Book of Knowing that which is in the Dust 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.

3. Miscellaneous writings.—Under this heading are to be included numerous hymns of Ra, Osiris, Seth, Ptah, and other gods (cf. art. HYMNS (Egyptian)); the Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys; the Litany of Serek; the Litanies of Isis and Nephthys, and other similar works. The Festival Songs and Litanies are poems dealing with the Osirian myth, and supposed to be recited by the two goddesses with a view to effecting the resurrection of the dead Osiris. The names of the gods and their relations to mankind are found in inscriptions in several tombs notably in the tomb of Seti I.) and in various papyri, and have been frequently translated.

In addition there are certain books which do not strictly come under the heading of 'sacred,' but have yet a semi-religious character. Among them may be mentioned the Papyrus of Ptah-h tepet, of Gemmiwt, of Ani, and of Kenennu, essentially the same as the Book of 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 inhabitants of 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 Musalman, and that written under Hindu influence. The former dates from the Mughal conquest, and was composed mainly in the Urdu form of Hindostani. Up to the introduction of printing at the beginning of the 19th century, it was nearly all in verse and was confined within the limits of Persian models and in Persian metres. Its earliest work date from the 16th cent. A.D., but the standard of composition was set by Wall of Aurangabad in the Deccan, who flourished at the end of the 17th cent., and who is known as 'the Father of Ikhtel,' Ikhtel being the technical name for the form of Hindostani used by these poets. From the Deccan the taste for this literature spread to Wall found numerous successors, and thence to Lucknow. The most celebrated of the Delhi poets were Rafful's-Aalaul, best known for his satires, and Mir Taqi, famed for the purity of the language in which his Ghazals and Mathnavis were expressed. Both these flourished in the 18th century. Among the Lucknow poets the most celebrated was Mair Hasan (18th cent.). Hindostani prosers have existed as literature till the foundation of the College of Fort William in Calcutta at the commencement of the 19th century. It began with the preparation of text-books for students at the College, and has had a prosperous existence. It has been specially successful in the department of fiction. The novels of such authors as Raitan Nair Sahib and 'Abdu'l Hamid Shams are worthy of a wider circle of readers than to which they are
condemned by the language in which they are written. Although the above literature grew up under Muslim 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.

The beginnings of Hindu literature in the modern vernaculars were religious. In the North, up to about the 16th or 17th century, the language of religion was Sanskrit, but, in the South, vernaculars were employed at a much earlier period. There is a great collection of Tamilite texts in Tamil, said to go back to the 2nd or 3rd century. The most important of them are described in the art. DRAVIDIANS (South India). To these can be added a long list of Vaishnava works in the same language dating from before the time of Rāmacandra (12th cent.). The most noteworthy of these are referred to by A. Govindacharya in two papers in the JNAS (1910, p. 565 ff), and 1911, p. 935 ff). 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 Teagalis, or Southerners, wrote in Tamil (cf. Govindacharya, in JNAS, 1912, p. 714). In the Southern Indian religious literature, the language is of enormous extent and, considered merely as literature, of great merit. It owes its origin to the spread of the Vaishnava Bhakti-Mārga under Rāmacandra and his followers (see art. BHAKTI MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 539 ff, esp. 564). All the great writers of this early period belonged to humble ranks of life, and were not Sanskrit scholars. Even before, this literature was vernacular.

"The greatest of all the moderns, Tulsi Dās, although a Brāman by caste, was abandoned by his parents at birth, and was picked up and educated by a wandering ascetic. Kabir was a weaver, and Dādā a humble cobbler-carder. Nandīdev, the most famous ascetic, a tailor, and his most famous successor, Tukārām, a struggling Sūdra shopkeeper. Tīrāmūllār, the brightest star in the South Indian firmament, was a Partab, the lowest of the low; and Vāmāna, the most admired of Telugu writers, was an untouchee peasant."1

In Northern India this bhakti-literature falls into two groups—those devoted to Rāmacandra, and that devoted to Kṛṣṇa (Krishna). In both cases it includes not only devotional works, but also branches of literature ancillary thereto. But, according to Brāhmaṇa (vol. ii., p. 539) it has been pointed out that the foundation of the religion is the belief in the fatherhood of God. This is more especially true as regards that literature in which the Brāhmanas are regarded as the most 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, Kāhīr (16th cent.) preached the doctrine in wise and pithy sayings that are still household words in Hindostān. 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, SIKHS). Both Kabir and Nānak (the founder of Sikhism) were more or less sectarian in their teaching. A greater man than either, but the founder of the famous poet. Tulsi Dās (16th-17th cent.), the author of the religious epic entitled the Rāma-charita-mānas, or "Lace of the Gauses of Rāma," and of at least eleven other important works, was born in the present day where people of Hindostān cannot be overrated. Tulsi Dās was a native of Awadh (Oudh), and this country was the scene of Rāmacandra's earlier years. The poet, therefore, wrote in the Awadh dialect of Eastern Hindi, and this form of speech has ever since, in the Ganges valley, been the only one employed for celebrating the deeds of Rāma-

1 G. A. Grierson, in IGI ii. 415.
or 'Adventures of the Merchant Srimanta,' and the Chandī, a poem in praise of the goddess Durgā. Extracts from the latter have been translated into English verse by E. B. Cowell (JASBE lxxi. (1902), exta no.). There is also a considerable amount of prose literature. This deals not only with Siva, rather than with his shakti, and is more in agreement with the Saivite writings of the South described in the art. Dravīḍiyan (S. India). There is also a considerable amount of prose and romantic literature in the vernacular literature of India. Of great importance are the bardic chronicles of Rājātāna, Gujarāt, and the Marāṭh country. The name of the earliest and best known of these, the Prabhātī Rātrī of Chhatrī Bandār (15th cent.), is familiar to students of J. Ted's Rajasthan (London, 1892-32, frequently reprinted), in which the poem is freely quoted. A semi-historical work, the Padmavat of Malik 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 most famous writer in Northern India was Kesāv Dās of Bundelkhand (16th cent.), who wrote in Braj Bhākhī.

The introduction of printing into India has given an enormous 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 led to more and more models 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 Nath Tagore.

Literature.—The only work attempting to deal with the vernacular literature of India as a whole is F. W. Frazer, A Handbook of Indian Literature, London, 1868. G. A. Grierson, in JASBE, vol. ii. (Oxford, 1908), 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 IL and in prefaces to grammars and dictionaries. For Marāṭh the English student can find the most accessible account in the preface to J. T. Moleworts, Marathi Literature (Calcutta, 1868). For Bengali see Dinsh Chandra Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1891, the philological parts of which should be used with caution by an English scholar, as their selections from Bengali literature entitled Tung Shishya Parichāya, Calcutta, 1914, Ford, c. F. J. Lyall, in F. R. S. G. A. Grierson, The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindīstân, Calcutta, 1899; the dates in this work have not always been accurately given and are not always to be relied upon. See also C. F. J. Lyall, art. 'Hindīstānī literature,' Elr. xi. 827 ff., and Ganapati Vibhīra Miśra, History of Bengali Literature, Calcutta, and Sukadeva Vibhīra Miśra, Surendra-bundhu-rādhīka (Hindi), in course of publication, pt. i., Kāpoṣhabhā and Alīkābhā, 1915. G. A. Grierson

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 authors, as though written in Hebrew and meant for Jewish readers, deal with matters of general learning or literature.

I. 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 unlawful to commit their teachings to writing. The Scripture, as the Book par excellence, could supply no other book to approach it; all supplementary documents must be imparted orally (see Lev. 24: 42); 'to set down the oral teaching in writing was regarded asdestroying, ex-
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. 600 to 1200 Jewish literature passed through its medieval period of fertility in two ramifications, viz., a Hispano-Arabic, which displays a powerful tendency to scientific thoroughness and systematization, and a Franco-German, which in more chauvinistic fashion further elaborated the traditional materials of knowledge. The period from 1200 to 1600 was one of declines, and from 1500 to 1750 one of profound decadence, during which the literary activity of the Jews was mainly confined to Poland and the East; but, from the advent of Moses Mendelssohn (q.v. 1729-88), Jewish literature, now in contact with the spirit of European culture, experienced a fresh revival which, mainly under the influence of Leopold Zunz (1794-1868), developed into a scientific treatment of Judaism, i.e., a methodical and critical discussion of the thought expressed in the Jewish teachings and evolved from the Jewish mind, and has since found expression in numerous works, not only in Hebrew, but in all the languages of Europe. 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 that asserted themselves in it, and to search for the reasons that led to their development.

A characteristic feature of Jewish literature, as contrasted with the literatures of other peoples, is that it is not so much the work of individual authors as the cumulative product of the spirit of entire epochs. In many cases, too, it is ill preserved—a result of the fact that it was not studied by the learned only, but spread among all classes and folk. In the Talmud, for instance, is the Psalms, and transmitted by untrained hands, in a form very different from what was originally intended.

III. THE SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS OF JEWISH LITERATURE. Jewish literature in its entire range may be conveniently brought under the following categories, with which we shall deal in order: the Targum and Midrash constitute its earliest forms, and perhaps the two were originally one, for the Targum was of the nature of paraphrase, and thus involved a kind of exegesis. Traces of the old, non-literary rendering of the Scriptures are found in the so-called Palestinian Targums—the Targum of Jonathan and the Fragmentary Targum. For the Pentateuch, however, the rendering to which Aquila and Theodotion, the names of the Targums of Ongoles, and which assumed its definitive form in the Babylonian schools of the 3rd cent. A.D., became the standard of authority; it was recited in the synagogues, and was generally regarded by the Jews as the Targum. For the Prophets, again, the acknowledged standard was the so-called Targum of Jonathan—not much later in date than that of Ongoles; and here, too, the Palestinian Targum fell into the background. For the Hagiographa there was in the period of the Talmud no recognized Targum at all, and the renderings which we now possess were separated from the course of centuries, some of them, indeed, not having been compiled till after A.D. 1000 (cf. JE xii. 57 ff.). ‘Midrash’ (q.v.) denotes an exposition of Scripture, and was at first attached to the particular passages explained; but in the Bible itself we find the word used in the sense of a reproduction of older narratives (2 Ch 24:1; cf. 15:4). The Midrash was of a twofold character: 1000 character—law—the Halakha—or also deduced moral and religious teachings, adding stories and parables—the Hagaddah. The Halakhic Midrash was compiled chiefly in the schools of R. Ishmael ben Eliezer (2nd cent. A.D.) and R. Aqiba (see art. Aqiba ben Joseph), and the latter school continued to be regarded as authoritative; the work of both schools, however, being in the mass subsequently lost, has come down to us in mere fragments, and it is only recently that we have been able, with the help of the Midrash hag-Gadol, 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 Haggadic 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 (JE viii. 737 ff.), we may distinguish the following great compilations: the Midrash Rabbah or Midrash Rabbah to the Pentateuch and the Five Megillot, to Esther, Ruth, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, the Tanhuma to the Pentateuch, and the Midrash to the Psalms, Proverbs, and Samuel; but, while all these continue to follow the order of their respective books, the Peshitta collections deal only with selected portions of the Torah or of the Prophets, for use at festivals or on special Sabbaths. Mention should also be made of the great Midrashim known respectively as the Yalqut Shimoni, which probably took shape in Germany during the 12th cent. A.D., and embraces the entire Bible, and the Midrash hag-Gadol of Yemen, which is confined to the Pentateuch (ib. 657 ff.).

The Haggadah has been brought within the reach of contemporary scholarship by the monumental works of Wilhelm Bacher, Die Agada der babylonischen Amoréer, vols. 1 and 2, 1875, Die Agada der Tannaen, do. 1890, 1905, and Die Agada der paléstinen. Amoréer, do. 1892-99.

The Midrash frequently gives simple explanations of the words and meaning of the text, but this is by no means its primary interest; in the main it is concerned with religious and devotional ends. Jewish scholarship did not evolve a rational exegesis of its own—exegesis in the scientific sense—till the time of Saadya, 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 Northern France. The Spanish school was largely influenced by Arabic learning, and its most prominent representative was Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1165), whose works superseded those of all his predecessors (cf. JE vi. 520 ff. and art. IBN EZRA, II). His commentaries had an extraordinary popularity; they have come down to us in various MS copies, and were appended to the first printed editions of the Bible.

The Northern French school, again, while it certainly lacked the scientific bent, the philological foundation, and the general culture of the Spanish school, yet by its devotion to study of the Biblical text and its sympathy with the spirit of the written word
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did a large amount of highly meritorious and
exemplary work for the discovery of the verbal
sense. It failed to gain recognition in its ripest
representatives, who—particularly Samuel b. Meir
(c. 1085–c. 1174)—have, in fact, been
buried by the scholarship of the Middle
Ages was the work of Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes,
called Rashi (1040–1105), who combined the old
masters of the Midrash with the effort to ascertain
the plain meaning; and consequently, though he
certainly gives the dry details of exegesis, we also
find in his work passages of an attractive and
effacing 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 to itself
over a hundred special commentaries, and ranks in
the popular mind as "the commentary" of the
(cf. JE x. 324 f.). A blending of the characteristic
tendencies of the Spanish and Northern French
schools appears among the scholars of Provence
from whose group sprang David Kimhi (1160–1235;
and vii. 494 f.), whose exegetical works on the
Prophets and the Hagiography were especially
popular in the Middle Ages. His predecessors and
successors of the exegetes named, as also the his-
torical evaluation of the entire literature of the
period, has been the work of modern scholarship.
In this we find a new type of exegesis—philosophical,
whom each passed into the mystical.
periods that favoured this type,
those especially which were able to bring 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. JE i. 126), and
also those of the so-called Haarste (JE iii. 392),
dating from the age immediately after Moses
Mendelssohn.
On the whole field of exegetical
literature cf. JE 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 of other
scholarly interests.
The literary treatment of Hebrew
grammar and lexicography was systematically
presented by the Hispano-Arabic school, the work of
which, however, were composed in Arabic, and
were only translated, even when translated into Hebrew,
but not always;
the philological writings of Judah b. David Hayyuj (b. c. 960; JE vi. 277 f.)
and Aba b. Al-Walid Marwān ibn Jānah (early 11th cent.; ib. vi. 534 ff.), important as they are, were
redescovred only recently.
The works of Abraham ibn Ezra enjoyed an enormous vogue, as did also,
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 century, however,
a marked decline in linguistic studies began; in
proportion as mysticism prevailed, interest in
exegesis decreased. The isolation of Hebrew fell away;
the works of Elijah Levi (1483–1549; cf. JE 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 Mendelssohniian group; the manuals
of J. L. Ben-Ze‘eb (1764–1811; JE ii. 681 f.) were
widely studied until they were superseded by more
modern works. The revival of Hebrew philology was due in a very special
degree to the pioneer work of S. D. Luzzatto
(1800–65; cf. JE x. 224 f.). Luzzatto was at the
same time the first Jewish scholar for centuries
who combined the study of the language with the
exegesis of Scripture, and may also be regarded as the
most eminent independent representative of
Biblical literature among the Jews of last century.
With the name of the discoveries of Abraham Geiger
(1810–74) deserves to be specially associated.
Speaking generally, we may say that the Biblical science of the Jews during last century was profoundly
influenced by the contemporary critical works of
Christian scholars in the same field.
2. Works relating to the Talmud.—The Talmud
came to be the most important, the most comprehen-
sive, and the most highly esteemed branch of Jewish
literature; it is a sense bound up with
Biblical study, as its geras are found in the Mid-
rash, and as it purports to be nothing more than an
exposition of and a complement to the Scriptures.
It consists of two parts, the Mishna and its
clarification, the latter being the Talmud in the narrower
sense; the term G'mara, which is usually applied
to the second part, is of relatively late origin, and
was introduced into the text by the clerical censor-
ship. Our use of the expression 'the Talmud'
involves a presumption due to the facts of historical
development; for, although there is but one Mishna,
there are two sets of commentaries upon it, the one
Talmud of Palestine, or Talmud ha-Gezer, the other
Talmud of Babylonia, origin. In the process of historical development, however, the
semunaries of Palestine were early dissolved, while those of Babylonia maintained their position, and
succeeded in establishing a characteristically
whether views and decisions. The result was that,
although in the earlier period the Palestinian scholars
were held in great honour, and their
decisions sought in all important questions, eventually
the scholars of Babylonia came to be the sole
recognized authorities. In the age of the Gaonim
(c. 600–1000) the Babylonian Talmud had secured
so high a place in general esteem that its Pales-
tinian counterpart was virtually forgotten;
and when, about the year 1000, the latter was once
more brought to mind, consultation for its long
neglect was sought in the presenting that the decisions
of the Palestinian scholars had been known to the
Babylonians, and had been duly taken into con-
sideration by them. In consequence, the Pales-
tinian Talmud remained a comparative obscurity;
it was not studied to anything like the same extent
as the Babylonian, nor did it find a single commen-
tator during the entire medieval period; moreover,
its text suffered such gross deterioration that we
can now scarcely hope to see it in a form resembling
its original form. It should be noted,
however, that a few Ḥalkakī collections from
Palestine, the so-called Minor Tractates, were
studied in conjunction with it, thus becoming
a factor in the further development of religious
practice and religious law. The two Talmuds are
not related to the Mishna in the same way; in the
Palestinian Talmud we have the commentary to
forty Mishnaic Tractates, belonging to the first
four Orders; in the Babylonian we have thirty-
six only, principally from the second, third, fourth,
and fifth Orders, while the first and sixth Orders
only one tractate in each is dealt with.
As the Talmud, until the dawn of the modern
eónghe, occupied the central place in Jewish learn-
ing, and formed the supreme standard of religious
thought and practice among the Jews, it became
the nucleus of an enormous literature, which, in
connexion with its more outstanding representa-
tives, may be summarized in the following points.
(a) Expository works.—For so intimate a work as the Talmud, explanation was indispensable; its own expositions were
frequently very brief, and the lack of commentary was
plilled only by those who had been initiated into the peculiar
code of its dialectic; moreover, the language of the Jews, like
their general conditions of life, underwent a process of


and an active correspondence by letter had been carried on between the teachers of the Talmud in Palestine and those in Babylon. The study of the Talmud among the Jews became more and more dispersed, correspondence became more and more necessary, and from the time of the Baraita there was a large increase in the number of such correspondences; from that period itself, indeed, no fewer than fifteen or more voluminous collections of correspondence were preserved. Nor, when the centre of Jewish life was transferred to Europe in the Middle Ages, did the interchange of opinions diminish either in extent or in vigour. Talmudic discussions and legal pronouncements by certain eminent Rabbis of medieval times have been preserved, and were regarded as an important source of information. The number of works embodying such responses is so enormous that we must be content to mention only the more extensive and the most generally consulted: from the Middle Ages we have those of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (1233-90), Nahmanides (1194-1270), and Solomon b. Abraham (1289-1419); and that of Isaac b. Sheeshet (1290-1366), all belonging to Spain; from the centre of the modern period, those of Isaac Luria († 1469) and Joseph Kelon († 1460), as also of David Ibn Abou Simara († 1570), and more recent times include Levi Landau († 1795) and Moses Sofer († 1849).

The literature of the responses cf. also J.E. xvi. 248ff.

(6) Systematic works.—Menorah 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 treatise but little regarded in the earlier periods, and indeed never strenuously applied till modern times. The earliest work aiming at systematic treatment is the Seder Tanachim ve-Emorim, dating from the 4th cent.; the next works of the kind to appear are the Seder hahamot ha-Tebet of Samuel the Samarian (1600), the Seder ha-Mishnah, compiled by J. Isaac of Medina (1439), and that of Judah ha-Levi of Tiberias (1429), the latter has drawn around it numerous commentators, and has often been republished. A new epoch in the history of Talmudic study was ushered in by S. J. Rapoport (1790-1837; cf. J.E. x. 352f.), who, in various Hebrew periodicals, as also in his discourse at the funeral of莹, dealt with the problems of the Talmud in a scientific way, at once systematic and critical. The work most outstanding by Rapoport has been followed by E. Frankel (1815-75; cf. xvi. 48f.), in his Darbey ha-Mishnah and his Sefer ha-Derashot, Abraham Geiger (1810-74; cf. x. 353f.), and H. Weil (1815-1896; cf. xii. 195ff.) in the historical work named below.

3. Historical literature.—The post-Biblical historiography of the Jews took rise as an element in the systematic treatment of the Talmud. The majority of the early 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 genealogy of the compilers and the chronicle of learned men. The forms of Jewish historical literature are found in the Talmud itself, and these furnished the pattern for the earliest developments. The chronology of the Talmudic historiography is the Creation to the destruction of the Second Temple is given in the Seder 'Olam, the nucleus of which was the work of Joseph b. Halitsa (c. A.D. 160). An annalistic work, though dealing only with the family of the exilarchs, is found in the Seder 'Olam Zei', a genealogical register, which cannot have been drawn up before the 7th cent. A.D., and which assumes a disparaging attitude towards the exilarchs of the day. The bibliographical annals of scholarship, again, are represented by the Seder Tanachim ve-Emorim (c. 880), and the Epistle of Sherira (857), the latter being our principal source for the period between A.D. 857 and 1300. To the same class belongs also the Seder hahamot ha-Qabbalah, composed in 1161 by Abraham b. David of Toledo, who is chiefly concerned to exhibit the continuity of learned tradition down to his own day, though he gives somewhat 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 in the community through time. The work of Abraham Zakuto, who was for a time a professor of astronomy and chronology in Samalama, but after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain settled in Italy, contains in similar lines, his Sefer 'Yad Mesha (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 in its original shape in 1857. Jehiel Heilprin, of Minsk, wrote his Seder had-Dorot (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 which they had to endure almost 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 Rhine country, in connection with the Crusades is given by A. Neubauer and M. Stern in their "Hebraische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge," Berlin, 1892. In those days of incessant persecution it was the practice to record in the synagogues 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 comprehensive of these books was published by S. Salfeld under the title Das Martyrologium des Nürnbergischen Memorbuches, Berlin, 1898. The earliest connected account of the persecutions was composed by the noted astronomer Judah ha-Levi of Verona († 1455), whose Sefer ha-Yashhāh was supplemented by a younger relative named Solomon and another writer named Joseph, and published in its enlarged form. The best-known work of the Jewish martyrologists in the Middle Ages is from the hand of the physician Joseph hak-Kohen, who lived in the 16th cent., and resided in various Italian cities; his Emun ha-Dekha describes with accuracy and graphic power the persecutions and martyrdoms suffered by the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple. A strange combination of martyrology and the history of learning is found in Gadalshim ha-Tebet of Nissankauf (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 scholars of the Middle Ages had little aptitude for intelligently grasping or portraying their people's history. The Book of Joseph, a reproduction of the Latin Hecogipius (cf. E.Z. vii. 578) in fluent Hebrew, composed in Italy in the 10th cent., 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 Chronicles of the Kings of France and Turkey, written in 1558, while, a few decades afterwards, David Gans († 1613, in Prague) published, in his Shoshen ha-Shem (1625), a history of the 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 continuous way. In 1820 I. M. Josè began the publication of a history of the Jews in
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many volumes and in various forms, in which he was primarily concerned to recount the political fortunes of his people, discussing their development in an appendix.Lepold 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 on all branches of that history, and suggestions as to the method 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), is in style at exhibiting the development of the religion and literature of the Jews in relation to their political position and the martyrdoms suffered by them, while A. Geiger's Das Judentum und seine Geschichte (Breslau, 1871) deals solely with their religious development. I. H. Weiss, in his Heb. Dör Dör or-Dorsdhak (Vienna, 1871-91), is likewise concerned only with the development of Judaism on its spiritual side. On the historical literature cf. also M. Steinerschneider, Die Gesch. der Juden, J. Steiner (1905), and art. 'Historiography' in JE vi. 435 ff.

The most important source of information regarding the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages is found in the copious narratives of the numerous Jewish travellers and wayfarers. The most important among these is the mass of the Hasdai ibn Joseph of Tudela, who (c. 1165) made a journey from Spain to the East and back, and noted down in a raucy style 'all that he had seen or heard.' In the edition of the Mass. 11th prepared by A. Andrae (Munich, 1903) has given a detailed account of the geographical literature of the Jews ii. 230 ff.

4. Systematic theology. A great part of the Talmudic period is devoted to the religious and moral teachings of Judaism; the Haggadah in particular is concerned mainly with the problems of theology—doctrinal and ethical. More than the Bible itself, however, does the Talmudic literature give a systematic presentation of theological doctrine. It was, in fact, only under the influence of Muslim theology that the Jews, first convinced, then equipped 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. The most important of the efforts of the family of Ibn Tibben, in Lune—and in this form given to the Jewish world. The earliest systematic theologian among the Jews was Sa'adya Gaon, who, in his Emunoth ud-Din, written in 433, sought to bring the doctrinal teachings of Judaism into relation with contemporary philosophy. Babyl. in Joseph (first half of 11th cent.; JE ii. 440 ff.) won an extraordinary success with his Dibburot kei-Dibburot, which treat 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. Judah Halevi (JE vi. 436 ff.; see also art. Halevy), in his Kuzari, renowned philosophy altogether, and based theology exclusively upon the revealed faith and the experience of the Jewish people; his work, by reason of its poetical mode of treatment in the style of the Platonic Dialogues, enjoyed a great vogue. By far the most eminent work in this field, however, is the Mitzvah Nokhakhim of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), the most brilliant of the Mithn Tivkh, mentioned above, is distinguished at once for its rigorously systematic structure and for the keenness and independence of its thought. Although the book, with its large bearing to theology, has an immense latitude 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 revolved around the Mitzvah Nokhakhim, and the most outstanding Jewish thinkers, such as Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn (qq.v.), and Solomon Maimon, found in it the incentive to the construction of their own systems. The Mersch marks the culminating point of Jewish speculative literature in the Middle Ages. Of writers belonging to the time after Maimonides we mention only Levi ben Gershon (qq.v.), c. 1380; JE viii. 36 ff., who, with his Mitzvah Nokhakhim, was able to make a stand against the authority of Aristotle; Hasdai Crescas (c. 1400; ib. iv. 330 ff.), whose Or Aḥadet was drawn upon by Spinoza as an important source; and Joseph Albo (c. 1415; ib. 224 ff.), whose 'Ikarim was an enormously popular book.

The period after Maimonides was, however, on the whole one of profound decadence in philosophical studies, which, in fact, regarded as positively unlawful. The enlightened philosophy of Maimonides brought forth a counterpoise in the composition of the Qabbalah (see KABBALAH), a peculiar medley of speculative ideas and curious fancies which was put forward as an external doctrine of ancient origins, and sought to attack itself to the earliest authorities; its representatives, indeed, did not scruple even to disseminate writings purporting to be the work of the most venerable sages of the Talmud and the Patriarchs. The most notable book of such speculative secret doctrine was the Zohar, which was put into circulation c. 1500 by Moses de Leon, and passed off as the work of Simeon b. Yohanan, a writer of the 2nd cent. A.D. It takes the form of a commentary to the Pentateuch, but is interspersed with many systematic dissertations, bearing special names, and are perhaps later insertions. The name of Isaac Luria (1573-1630) marks a further stage in the development of the mystical literature. While Luria himself wrote nothing, his pupils promulgated his teachings in a vast number of autobiographies of their master, of commentaries to the Bible and the book of prayer, and of legal and ethical works. Likewise Hasdai (c. 1180), last phase of Jewish mysticism, gave birth to countless commentaries to the above; but, as all of them reproduce the ideas of their respective schools in a most unstandard and incoherent way, it is very difficult to describe them in terms of literary science. It was not until comparatively recent times that Jewish theology again assumed a rationalistic character. The turning-point was marked by Mendelssohn's Jerusalem (Berlin, 1783), and thereafter, under the influence of Kant, Hegel, and Schelling, 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. Of the latest works dealing with Jewish theology we would mention only K. Kohler, Grundriss der Judentum, Leipzig, 1910, and S. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, London, 1909.

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 discourses (Dibburot), but also numerous books of morals, which, it is true, laid more emphasis upon ethics than upon the speculative verification of the ethical. The most typical of the books of morals produced in the Middle Ages is the Sefer Haholim of Judah b. Samuel of
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Regensburg (1317; JE vii. 356.E.), a work of high ethical value, which, though not free from the superstition of its time, is pervaded by an admirable spirit of piety and an earnest desire to foster the mutual love and understanding of the Christian and Jew. The books of the Talmud, however, were in many cases translated into the languages of the countries in which they arose, and they form a large part of the Judeo-German, Judeo-Spanish, and Judeo-Arabic literature. From the time of their composition they have had an enormous currency, and even at the present day the most widely read and systematic work on Judaism is the Ethik des Jostentum of M. Lazarus (Frankfort, 1886).

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 most notable for the fear of the dominant religion, indeed, they were often suppressed, or 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 Muhammadan sense, or of systematic treatises on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity or Islam. Of writings directed against Christianity the Teshubim of R. Isaac ben Joseph ha-Kohen, 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 Rizziyin Emissim, in which Isaac ben Jacob of the Qaranite, made a systematic attack upon Christian doctrine (c. 1390). Both of these works were translated into various languages, and many attempts were made to refute them by Christian theologians.

Of Jewish critical literature cf. further, J.E. x. 102.

A considerable amount of varied polemical activity was likewise directed against the Qaranites 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 piyut, 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 psalmist. It was under the influence of the Arabs that Jewish religious poetry sprang into life, and it was from there that it borrowed its artistic forms, but it required first of all to mould the Hebrew language to its designs—a process which, after long-sustained efforts, was at length brought to full realization in Spain. The most distinguished poets of the Middle Ages were Ezekiel ben Jacob ha-Qazari, 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 Spain, which had its own eminent figures in this field, and where medieval Hebrew poetry attained its highest level by the end of the 12th century. The most outstanding names here are those of Solomon ibn Gabirol, Moses and Abraham ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi (q.v.). Poems by these writers are found in all prayer-books, but such compositions form only a part of their poetic work; they also wrote voluminous 'divans,' which, it is true, soon fell into oblivion, and were rediscovered only in recent times; a number of them still awaits publication. On the piyut cf. J.E. x. 88 E.

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 piyut itself sometimes assumed a didactic form; but, in addition, we find disquisitions in verse relating to the calendar, philology, and Biblical study, the Halakah, 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. The importance, as being more closely in touch with the poetic spirit, is Jewish lyric poetry. The religious poetry, once more, was to a great extent lyrical. But the earliest development of the form in the ordinary sense, i.e. the poetry that finds its themes in love, wine, war, patriotism, etc., took place in Spain, where the supreme master of this form was Moses ibn Ezra, the great poet of Cordova. Of his occasional poems and his poetical descriptions of nature, and where Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah ben-Harizi (early 13th cent.) found recognition as keen satirists. The greatest Jewish secular poet, however, was Samuel ibn Solomon, of Rome—the contemporary, perhaps a personal friend, of Dante—who combined Oriental fantasy with Italian erudition, and gave expression to them in highly polished Hebrew verse, writing, indeed, with such audacious abandon that the Shabbai 'Arakh forbade the reading of the poet's Mahberoth on the Sabbath, while even in our own time Ginzetz has accused him of having profaned the Hebrew tongue. Another lyric writer worthy of mention is Israel Nagara (c. 1750), who, while he sings of God and of Israel, works upon a basis of love-songs and their melodies, and writes with such intense 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 renaissance 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 (1851-92; cf. J.E. vi. 47 E.), 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 justly met with the highest appreciation, and whose compositions have translated into nearly every European language.

The last few decades have witnessed the rise of a copious Hebrew literature of general interest.

LITERATURE (Pahlavi).—Pahlavi ('Parthian,' i.e. 'heroic, belonging to heroic times'), or Middle Persian, literature dates, so far as its contributions to religion are concerned, from the 8th to the 11th cent. of our era; and its chief value in this regard is the elucidation of Zoroastrianism and Manicheanism (qq.v.), since it explains and supplements the data contained in the Avesta and adds materially to the scanty documents of Manichean 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 Manichean and Christian literature.

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 composition of any Middle Persian of which we are aware, to the analytic type present in Pahlavi, whose grammar differs only in unimportant details from that of Modern Persian and other modern Indo-Iranian dialects.

At the same time, the Middle Persian translations of the Avesta possess genuine value and merit consideration in any attempt to decipher the meaning of the Avesta original, particularly in view of the allusions, etc., preserved by Iranian tradition (see, further, "Nisabdah" and "Avesta").


2. Texts on Zoroastrian religious subjects.—Of these the longest and best known is the Dinkart ("Acts of the Religion"), dating from the 9th cent., and forming a large collection of information regarding the doctrines, customs, traditions, history, and literature of the Manichaean religion (E. W. West, GHR ii. 91). The first two books have been lost, and the ninth ends abruptly.

The Dinkart is the chief source for a knowledge of Zoroastrian philosophy in the Sassanid period, and it also contains many apocryphal and legendary materials, of no great value, such as the traditions concerning Zoroaster (tr. West, SBE xxvii. [1897] 3-130), while two books, viii.-ix. (tr. West, SBE xxvii. [1897] 3-397), contain summaries of the Avesta, including accounts of those large portions which are no longer extant.

The text, which is of exceptional difficulty, has been edited by D. M. Madan (Bombay, 1911), and with English and Gujarati paraphrases, by Peshwai Behramji and Darab Peshkani Sanjana (do. 1874 ff.); vol. xiii. carries the work through Dinkart vii. 2). The Bundahišn treats of Zoroastrian cosmogony, cosmology, and eschatology. It is found in two recensions: a shorter (ed. and tr. F. Justi, Leipzig, 1898) and a longer—the so-called Great, or Iranian, Bundahišn (ed. T. D. Ankleasria, Bombay, 1908; summary of contents of any copy in GHR, 257 ff.)—in portions by Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, i. 297 ff., ii. 302-322, 340-632, by J. J. M. Moder, Asiatic Papers, Bombay, 1905, pp. 223-324; and by E. Blochet, RHR xxxi. [1886] 99 ff., 217 ff.

Eschatological forms and narratives are the subject of the Aštā-vīrāh Nāmuk, which sets forth, in describing the journey of Aštā-vīrāh through heaven and hell, the future life of both righteous and wicked (ed. Hoshangji Jamsāppi Asa and M. M. Gander, de, 1907), which also belong to the Bahman Yatī, which purports to be Ahura Mazda’s revelation to Zoroaster of the future vicissitudes of the Iranian nation and religion (ed. K. A. Noshevn, Fomen, 1899; tr. West, SBE v. 191-235); and the Mamtsā-Šāh Vahrām-ī-Vorjwānd ("Coming of King Vahrām-ī-Vorjwānd"), on the expulsion of the Arabs from Persia (ed. Jamsāppi Asa and R. K. Jamsāppi Asa), Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codices MK, Bombay, 1897-1913, p. 160 ff.)

The principal Pahlavi texts of a purely general religious character are the following: the Haft-Angāmbānd ("Particulars of the seven Amesha Spenta";), Sātīyān-ī Siḥ-Rōkāk ("Praise of the Thirty Days"), which praises and invokes Ahuramazda as the creator of each of the thirty sacred beings whose names are applied to the days of the month, and whose attributes are detailed and blessed in succession (West, GHR. 258); Sātīyān-ī-Drōn, a lamentation of the drōn, or sacred cake; Yaŋqāl-ī-Bēlāsh ("Statement of the Days"), stating what actions are suitable on each of the days of the month; Mātāpśī-ī Māh Farāvšīn Rōy Xūrād, enumerating the marvellous events that have occurred on the sixth day of the first month from the beginning to the end of the world (ed. Jamsāppi, op. cit., pp. 102-108; tr. K. J. Jamsāppi Asa, Cama Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1906, pp. 122-129); Mātāpśī-ī-Sī-Rōy, containing many traditions of the Haqanest, but in fuller detail (tr. D. P. Sanjana, Next-to-Ein Marriages in old Iran, London, 1883, pp. 105-116); Īdrār-ī-Xurāndī, giving the components (comeminent, perseverence, etc.) which are to be brought with the "pers of the sacrament," and taken daily at dawn with the spoon of prayer (ed. Jamsāppi, op. cit., p. 154); Īdrār-ī-Drōn ("Meaning of the Sacred Cake"), dealing with the symbolism and consecration of the sacred cake, and giving the formula for the confession of one’s sins; a number of Afrīn ("Beneficences"); the Aḵāh, or marriage benediction; Nāmāt-ī-Aḥūrāma, a landa-
tion of Ahura Mazda (ed. and tr. E. Sachau, SWAW lvii. [1871] 828-838; also ed. Darmesteter, Une Prêtre judéo-persane, Paris, 1891); and Nāmāstātgāna, a laudation of the name and attributes of Ahura Mazda.

Second only to the Dīnkērt 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 recent Persian literature. This treatise of all sorts of matters on which questions might arise. One of the most important works of this type is the Dīštān-i-Dānīlīk, the Religious Opinions of Manuṣṭhāra, high priest of Pars and Kūrānī, in reply to the questions raised by Mīrūn Xūrūz and others (tr. West, SBE xviii. [1882] 3-276; the first 15 questions ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1897); with this is connected a long and important Pahlavi Eshquān (ed. Barnamji Nāsrānī-Dhabhar, Bombay, 1913), while the same Nāmsūšār wrote, in 581, three epistles on ritual problems (ed. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1912, tr. West, SBE xvii. 279-306); his brother, Zād-Sparam, also being the author of a noteworthy religious treatise (tr. West, SBE v. 155-186, xviii. 133-170, xxvii. 401-405). Of equal importance with the Dīštān-i-Dānīlīk is Sāyid-i-Shahādah, Hymns of the Spirit of Wisdom, of which only a portion (ed. E. F. C. Andreas, Kiel, 1882) survives in Pahlavi, though the complete work is found in Pāzand and Sasanian, Stuttgart, 1871; tr. West, SBE xxiv. [1885] 3-113. The Parsīnātā (Questions) are chiefly answered by quotations from Avesta texts (the later ed. and tr. Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, iii. 1886, SBE, 1894), a noteworthy collection of responsa (as yet unedited) is contained in the Nīwāyāt-i-Hūmān-i-Afshārīstānī, here, too, belongs, roughly speaking, the Sāyid-i-Sāyist ( Proper and Improper), whose contexts are of a very varied character, but sins and good works, precautions to avoid impieties, details of ceremonies and customs, the mystic significance of the Gathas, and praise of the sacred beings are the principal subjects discussed (West, GP i. 107; tr. West, SBE v. 399-406). In this category may also be ranked the Māfigān-i-Yāst-i-Frāzī, narrating how the righteous Yosīt answered the 33 questions of the wizard Axt. Axt was very desirous to have his son who was his precious child, murdered and failed to solve his queries—the Iranian version of the story of the sphinx (ed. and tr. Hoshangji and Hang, in their Ārdhī Vīrūz; also A. A. Suranjavan, Une Légende iranienne, Paris, 1889). Revolutionary literature is represented by the Māfigān-i-guyastāb Abdīš, recounting the dispute between the heretic Abalsī and Aftār-Farnūk (who began the compilation of the Dīnkērt) before the Khalif Al-Mānūn about 825 (ed. and tr. Barthélémy, Paris, 1887).

Yet another important type of Pahlavi literature is that of didactic admonitions. To this class belong the Pandānāmāk-i-Zarrāštī (not the Prophet, but probably the son of Aftār-Māraspand; ed. and tr. B. P. Sanjana, in his Ganjz Shāgān, Bombay, 1885); Andārī-i-Kānīrān, purporting to be the dying counsels of Chosroes to his people (ed. and tr. Sanjana, op. cit. ; also tr. L. C. Casartelli, BOR i. [1987] 97-101, and Salemann, Mīrāngs asatīn: tīrūt du bull. de l'accd. imp. des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, i. [1887] 240-256); Andārī-i-Aftār-Māraspandān, being the advice of Aftār to his son Zarrāštī (perhaps the person mentioned just above; ed. and tr. Sanjana, op. cit. ; also tr. L. C. Casartelli, BOR iv. [1887] 66-78); Pandānāmāk-i-Yātūr-Mīrāng-i-Būzkāldān (ed. and tr. Sanjana, op. cit. ); Five Disposition of Priests and Ten Admonitions to Laymen (ed. Jamsajj, op. cit. 129-131); Characteristics of a Happy Man (ed. Jamsajj, op. cit. 162-167); Vāhen osemd-i-Aftār-Māraspandān, the dying counsel of Aftār (ed. Jamsajj, op. cit. 144-153); Andārī-i-Aftār-Māraspandān, the dying counsel of Aftār. Aftār-Māraspandān, the dying counsel of Aftār (ed. Jamsajj, op. cit. 144-153). These and other works have been translated by R. A. Farnab and Bux Axir (these as yet unedited).

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 M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. van Le Coq, and P. Pellicot have revealed a new province of extreme interest and value. The decipherment of the MSS found by these explorers has only begun. Here it may 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 Estrangolo-Schrift aus Turfan, ABAW, 1904; revised ed. C. Salmond, Manichaeische Studien, i., Mém. de l'acad. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, viii. 10 [1908]); Müller, Doppelbündt aus einem maniachen Hymnenbuch, ABAW, 1914. The parallel Kūranī, Pahlavi, and Syriac versions of the Gospels are numerous fragments of a version of the NT, perhaps from the 9th or 10th cent. (Müller, NT Rerum et schol. in s. 2, 1881, pp. 290-297; 'Sogd. Pahl. in SSW, 1912; ed. L. H. Gray, Ev. P. xxv [1913] 59-61).

4. Pāzand and Sanskrit versions. The special problems of the Pahlavi language cannot be discussed here (see P. Robertson, Sprache, Vienna, 1851; B. P. Sanjana, Gram. of the Pahlavi Language, Bombay, 1871; C. de Harlez, Manuel du Pahlavi, Paris, 1880; Darmesteter, Etudes de Pahlavi, ed. 1883; Salemann, GP i. 1 [1901] 249-332; E. Blochet, Études de grammaire 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., Dastān, 'king of kings,' Instead of mālutān malkūt), the language is termed Pāzand (Spiegel, Gram. der Pārzinsprache, Leipzig, 1851). Many Pahlavi texts already listed are found in Pāzand as well. The great majority of the religious writings of this type, except the important Sīkand gīmnīyī Vīhār ('Doubt-dispelling Explanation'), probably dating from the latter part of the 9th cent. (ed. Hoshang W. W. and West, Bombay, 1887, tr. West, SBE v. 117-251), and the Jāmāsp-nāmā (ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1903), have been edited by K. K. Antša (Pāzand Texts, Bombay, 1909). The Sīkand gīmnīyī Vīhār defends the doctrine of dualism, and in this connection polemizes in very interesting fashion against Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and—necessarily quite guardedly—Muhammadanism (ed. art. JESUS CHRIST in Zoroastrianism; the Jāmāsp-nāmā gives a summary of Iranian cosmology, history, and future fortunes of the Iranian religion. Among the texts edited by Antša are ādāt (benefactions recited on various occasions), miramas, charms, often of much ethnographical interest; for examples see Modi, Anthropological Papers, Bombay, 1911, pp. 48, 125-139; K. K. Kangas, in Canad. Mem. Vol., 149-145); and texts of not included in this collection mention may be made of A Father instructing his Son and Andārī-i-guyastāb Abdīš. A number of Pahlavi (and Avesta) treatises are found in Sanskrit as well as in Pahlavi and Pāzand versions. Many of these are given in editions of Pahlavi texts enumerated above, but we must also note the ed. of Nersisjan's version of the Yemia by Spiegel (Leipzig, 1861) and the series of Collected
5. 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 Zarathust naman, dating from the 12th century, is now accessible in original and translation by F. Rosen (Petrograd, 1904), gives a legendary biography of Zoroaster. Another work of importance is the Sad dar (‘Hundred Gates’), which discusses a hundred subjects of note in Zoroastrianism. Two of its three recensions have been translated into English (West, SEB xxiv. 255–361) and Latin (T. Hyde, Hist. religionis veterum Persarum, Oxford, 1760, pp. 433–488). A different work, although among the same general lines, is the Sad dar bandi bok (or Sad dar Bundi dini; ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1909). Of worth for a study of the methods of Zoroastrian polemic against Muhammadanism is the Ulat mi-ul-din, which is found in two recensions, the shorter of which has been edited and translated (ed. J. Mohl, Fragments relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre, Paris, 1859; tr. J. Vallias, Uber die Religion der Zoroaster, Bonn, 1851; Blochet, BHR xxvii. (1868) 23–49). A particularly valuable collection of Parsi-Persian literature is contained in the MS 52, belonging to the University of Cambridge, which is a second vol. of which has been edited by M. N. Unvala (not yet published) and analyzed by Rosen (Notices de litt. perse, Petrograd, 1909). It contains a large number of Rituals (religious tradi- tions) and legal texts on the most diverse subjects: — ritual, cosmogony, eschatology, etc. — the longer recension of the Ulat mi-ul-din (pp. 72–80), the Abhak-i-Andap (containing the horoscopes of the zoroastrian priests) and the first part of the Avesta (on the heresarch Mazul, pp. 214–230, six parables connected with the Barlaam cycle (pp. 305–327; cf. art. Josephat, Bablaam and?), and questions asked of Zoroaster by Jamasp (pp. 417–428). Among other Parsi-Persian texts, not yet edited, may be mentioned a Discussion on Dualism between a Zoro- astrian priest and a Muhammadan, and the Sayagat-naman, or ‘Book of Catha’. The combining secular work in Pahlavi, Fzand, and Parsi-Persian, such as geographical matters, 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 iran. 202 ff., but also, from the 15th cent., into Gujarati, the vernacular of the Indian Zoroastrians (see the Prolegomena to K. Geldner’s ed. of the Avesta, Stuttgart, 1898, pp. vii–xi; Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, i. p. xii; and the modern religious literature of the Parsees is chiefly written either in Gujarati or in English.

LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit).

— The language. — The name Sanskrit (mann- skritta, ‘adorned’, perfected, perfect passive participle of the word ‘to adorn’; tattvad and, ‘to make’) is ordinarily 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 treasured by the Hindugermans, Panini 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, until the present day, to a very marked extent, the means of communication and literary expression of the priestly, learned, and cultivated classes. The more popular speech upon which it was based is known as Bhoja (‘speech from Bhoja’, ‘to speak’, ‘bhoja’); whilst for the present decade is no direct record. Sanskrit is distinguished more obviously from the phonetically later, decayed dialects, Prakrit and Pali, the second of the two being the language of the canonical writings of the Southern Buddhists. The relation of the Prakrit and Pali 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, from the oldest forms of Indian speech, preserved in the canonical and wholly religious literature of the Veda (‘Veda, knowledge, from ved, ‘to know’, connected with Gr. vedeo, ‘I know’, Lat. scientia, ‘knowledge’). These forms of speech are in their turn by no means free from important dialectic and chronological differences; yet they are comprised under the name Vedic (or, less properly, Vedic Sanskrit), which is thus distinguished from the language of Panini and its forerunner, the language of the Epic, whose proper designation is Sanskrit, or Classical Sanskrit.

Vedic differs from Sanskrit about as much as the Greek of Homer does from Attic Greek. 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 earlier language, without, as a rule, 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 heiroon which the Hindu language has handed down from pre-historic times, namely, the Vedic system of accentuation. In the forty years the reconstrued Vedic accents have proved to be of paramount importance in the history of the Indo-European languages. Vedic, however, notwithstanding its somewhat unsettled wealth of form, and 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 up upon popular idioms. The grammatical regulation of Sanskrit at the hands of Panini 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 by the aid of Comparative 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 even to a less extent Sanskrit) with the oldest forms of Iranian speech (in the form of the Avesta and the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achemenian Persian kings, yields the rather startling result that these languages are collectively more closely akin to a hypothetical language of the pre-Aryan period. 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 Frnkrit and Pali. The absence of the Aryan 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 special sound changes which each has acquired with the separate existence. And the literary style, the metre, and above all the mythology of Veda and Avesta are closely enough allied to make the study of either to some extent directly dependent upon the other. In fact the ritual 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 historical and philosophical study either owe their very existence to the discovery of Sanskrit, or were profoundly influenced by its study.

2. 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 to 1500 B.C., but which may be considerably earlier, the Aryan tribes, who had already dispersed the later name of the third, or agricultural, caste, Vaiśya, began to migrate from the Iranian highlands on the north of the Hindu Kush mountains into the north-west of India, and the plains of the river Indus and its tributaries. The non-Aryan aborigines, called Daśya, in distinction from Aryan (whence the word 'Aryan'), the name of the conquerors, were easily subdued. The conquest was followed by a gradual amalgamation of the fairer-skinned conquerors with the dark aborigines. The result was a net altogether primitive, semi-pastoral civilization, in which cities, kings, and priests called brahmanas (the term is later used for the learned temple priests) dominated the country and resided in monasteries. The Aryans tended to a more pastoral life, and the brahmanas to a more sedentary and literary life. The Aryans cultivated the ground, and the brahmanas devoted themselves to the study of the sacred books. They were called 'sāṅgha'—a term which is derived from the root 'śā,' and is the Sanskrit form of the root 'śā,' meaning to pursue, to follow. The Veda, which is the foundation of the entire system of Vedic literature, is written in Sanskrit.

3. The Rigveda.—The Rigveda is on the whole the oldest, and as such is the most important, of all the collections. A little over 1000 hymns, equaling in bulk the surviving poems of Homer, are arranged in ten books, called mandalas, or 'cicles.' Six of them (ii.-vii.), the so-called 'family books,' form the nucleus of the collection. Each of these is the work of a disclosing, or of a collection of poets, traditionally descended from such a 'gītiya,' as may be gathered from certain statements in the hymns themselves. The eighth book and the first fifty hymns of the ninth book belong to the family of Kauya, and are often arranged in stanzas of two or three lines. These stanzas are called 'sāṅgās,' or 'sāṃga,' or rather a family of poets, traditionally descended from such a 'gītiya,' as may be gathered from certain statements in the hymns themselves. The eighth book and the first fifty hymns of the ninth book belong to the family of Kauya, and are often arranged in stanzas of two or three lines. The Rigveda, which is the foundation of the entire system of Vedic literature, is written in Sanskrit.

On the whole the Rigveda is a collection of priestly hymns addressed to the gods of the Vedic pantheon (see VEDIC RELIGION) during sacrifice. This sacrifice consisted of the oblation of offerings into a sacred fire. The 'soma' plant, which reappears in the Zoroastrian Avesta under the name haoma (g.v.), and was therefore the sacred sacrificial fluid of the Indo-Iranians, or Aryans. In addition, melted butter (ghṛtā or ghṛṣ) was poured into the fire, personified as the god Agni (Lat. ignis), who performs the function of messenger of the gods (Anūgā). The ritual of the Veda is to a considerable extent pre-Hittite, and advanced in character—by no means as simple as was once supposed. But it is much less elaborately than that of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas (see below). The chief interest of the Rigveda lies in the gods themselves and in the myths and legends narrated or alluded to in the course of their invocation. The mythology represents an earlier, clearer stage of thought than is found in any other parallel literature. Above all, it is sufficiently primitive in conception to show clearly the processes of personification by which the phenomena of nature developed into gods (omorphosis). The natural and spiritual nature of the Vedic gods, however, is not always clear, not as clear as was once confidently assumed to be the case. The analysis of their character is a part of Vedic
philosophy as difficult as it is important. In any case enough is known to justify the statement that the keynote of Rigvedic thought is the nature myth.

4. The Yajurveda.—The Yajurveda represents the exceeding growth of ritualism or sacerdotalism. Its *gyānīs*, ‘liturgical specialists and formulae,’ are in the main, thought not wholly, of a later time. They are partly metrical and partly prose. The materials of the Rigveda are freely adapted, with secondary changes of expression, and the whole is regulated by original purposes and order of their composition. The main object is no longer devotion to the gods themselves; the sacrifice has become the centre of thought: its mystic power is conceived to be a thing *per se*, and its every detail has swollen into all importances. 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 priests seat themselves on the sacrificial ground, strewn with sacred grass, and proceed to mark out the *altars* (*vedi*) on which the sacred fires are built even the act has its stanza or formula, and every utterance is blessed with its own fitting blessing. Every flaw is elaborately expiated. These formulae are conceived no longer as prayers that may, or may not, succeed, but as inherently consecrated symbols. If the priest chants a formula for rain while pouring some sacrificial fluid, rain shall and must come; if he makes an oblation accompanied by the curse of an enemy, that enemy is satisfied by the name of the enemy, which is in brief, the Yajurveda means the delimitation of the sacrifice in its every detail of act and word.

5. The Sāmaveda.—The Sāmaveda is the least clearest of the four Vedas as regards its purpose and origin. Its stanzas, or rather groups of stanzas, are known as sūkha, ‘melodies.’ The sūkha-stanzas are preserved in three forms: (1) in the Rigveda, as ordinary verses, accentuated in the same way as other Vedic poetry; (2) in the Sāmaveda itself in a form called śākikā, a kind of litreto composed of a special collection of stanzas, most of which, though not all, occur also in the Rigveda (see above); (3) also there is a system of accents, peculiar in its notation, but apparently with reference to the unsung *sāman*—(3) in the third sūkha-version, the gāna, or song-books, we find the stanzas grouped; there are not only the text but the musical notes are given. Still this is not yet a complete sūkha. In the middle of the sung stanzas exclamatory syllables are interspersed—the so-called *stokhas*, such as *ahā, o, am, hī, kō*, or *kū*; and at the end of the stanzas certain concluding syllables—the so-called *nīkhānas*, such as *atha, ö, iva, and athi*. The Sāmaveda is devoted chiefly to the worship of Indra, who is a blustering, bragadocio god and who has beffalad himself with *soma* in order to slay demons. It seems likely, therefore, that the *sāmās* 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 exhortations. It is well understood that the Brahmins were in the habit of utting these and conceiving them with the practices which they found among the people. The sūkha-melodies and the exclamations interspersed among the words of the text may therefore be the substitute for the old-exciting shouts of the shaman priests of an earlier time.

6. The Atharvaveda.—The oldest name of the Atharvaveda is *atharvalīgīrthā*, a compound formed of the name of two semi-mythical families of priests, the Atharvans and Aīgrases. At a very early time the former term was regarded as synonymous with ‘holy charms,’ 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 the Veda: *bhrguvigānas*, that is, ‘Burgus and Aīgrases,’ in which the Burgus, another semi-mythical family of fire priests, take the place of the Atharvans; and *brahmveda*, probably ‘Veda of the Brahma, 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 Neo-Platonic *lógos*, as a kind of pantheistic personification of holy thought and its pious utterance. The Atharvaveda is a collection of 750 hymns, containing some 6000 stanzas.

7. The Vedic schools.—The redactions or collections of these four Vedas are known as *Samhitās*; each of them is handed down in various schools, branches, or recensions, called *charayya, sāhkhā, or bheda*, the term *sāhkhā*, or ‘branch,’ being the most familiar of the three. These ‘branches’ represent a given Yajurveda in forms differing not a little from one another. The school differences of the Rigveda are unimportant, except as they extend also to the Brāhmaṇas and Śutras of the Veda (see below). There are two classes of Rigvedic redactions, those of the schools of the Kauṭāyana and the RāmAṇyana. A very persistent tradition ascribes nine schools to the Atharvaveda; the Samhitas of two of these, the Sama and the Pāippaladas, are published, the latter in an interesting chrono-photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of that text preserved in the library of the University of the White Yajurveda, especially is handed down in recensions that differ from one another very widely. There is in the first place the broad division into White Yajurveda and Black Yajurveda. The most important difference between these two is that the Black Yajurveda schools intermingle their stanzas and formula with the prose exposition 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 Vaiṣṇavas, and is subdivided into the Madhyamadīna and Kāṇva recensions. The important schools of Atharvaveda are the Taittiriyas, Māitrāyaniyās, Kaṭhas, and Kapiṭhālas. Sometimes these schools have definite geographical locations. For example, the Kaṭhas and Kapiṭhālas were located, at the time when the Greeks became acquainted with India, in the Punjab and in Kashmir. The Māitrāyaniyās appear at one time to have occupied the region around the lower course of the river Nar- mada; the Taittiriyas, at least in modern times, are at home in the south of India, the Deccan.

8. The Brāhmaṇas.—The poetic stanzas and the ritualistic formulae of the Vedas collectively go by the name of *maṇtra*, ‘pious utterance,’ or ‘rhythm.’ These were followed at a later period by a very different literary type, namely, the theological treatises called *brāhmaṇa*, the Hindu analogon to the Hebrew *Talmud*, their own hieratic conception and conception of the practices which they found among the people. The sūkha-melodies and the exclamations interspersed among the words of the text may therefore be the substitute for the old-exciting shouts of the shaman priests of an earlier time.
latter by its poetie form. The Brāhmaṇas also were composed in schools, or recensions; the various Brāhmaṇa recensions of one and the same Veda differ at times even more widely than the Sāṁhitās of the mantras. Thus the Rigveda has two Brāhmaṇas, the Ātirṛṣaya and the Kaiṣāṭikī, or the Sāṁghāya. The Brāhmaṇa matter of the Brāhmaṇa of the Ātirṛṣaya is given together with the mantras of that class (see above); on the other hand, the White Yajurveda treats it separately, and 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, Sāṁhita, this work is the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature. Two Brāhmaṇas belonging to independent recensions of the Sāṁvada have been preserved entire, that of the Tapliśkas, usually designated as Paśchātvāṇda Brāhmaṇa, and that of the Tālāvākasras or Jaiminīyas. To the Atharvaveda is attached the very late and secondary Gogasūrya Brāhmaṇa; its contents harmonize so little with the spirit of the Atharvavedic hymns that it seems likely to have been produced in imitation of the school conditions in the other Vedas.

9. The Āranyaka and Upaniṣad. — A later development of the Brāhmaṇa is the Āranyaka, or Forest Treatise. Their later character is indicated both by the position which they occupy at the end of the Brāhmaṇa itself, and by their partly poetic, spiritual character. The name Forest Treatise is not altogether clear. Either these works were recited by hermits living in the forest, or, owing to the superior sanctity of these 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 Āranyakas are the Ātirṛṣaya and the Taittirīya, belonging to the two Vedas of that name. The chief interest of the Āranyakas is that they form in content and tone a transition to the Upaniṣad, the elder of which are either embedded in them or form their concluding portions (see arts. Āranyakas, Upaniṣads).

10. The Āraśu-Sūtras, or manuals of the Vedic ritual. — Both mantra and brāhmaṇa are regarded as revealed (brāhman or revelation); the rest of Vedic literature is regarded as tradition (smṛti), derived from holy men of old. This literature has a characteristic style of its own, being handed down in the form of brief rules, or śūtras, whence it is familiarly known as Śūtra literature, or the Śūtras. They are in the main, of three classes, each of which is, again, associated with a particular Vedic school, reaching back, as a rule, to the school distinctions of the Sāṁhita and the Brāhmaṇa. The first class of Śūtras are the Āraśu or Kalpa Sūtras, which may be translated 'Sūtras of the Vedic Ritual.' They are brief mnemonic rule-books compiled, with the help of oral tradition, from the Brāhmaṇas. They are technical guides to the Vedic sacrifice, distinguished from the diffusive Brāhmaṇas, where the ritual acts are interrupted by explanation and illustrative legend. The Rigveda belongs to two Brāhmaṇa schools: the Ātraśu-Bārahjnaṃ, and the Sāṁghāyu or Kaiṣāṭkī to the Brāhmaṇa of the same name. The White Yajurveda belongs to the Sāṁghāyu Sūtras of Kātyāyana, closely adhering to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. There are no fewer than six Brāhmaṇa schools belonging to the Black Yajurveda, but only the two Sūtras are published, or known in publication, those of Āraśu and Baudhāyana, belonging to the schools of the Ātraśu and the Manava, belonging to the school of the Maitrāyaniya. The Sāṁvada has two Sūtras, those of Lātāyana and Brāhāyana, belonging respectively to its two schools of the Kauṭāyana and the Kāṇāyana. The Atharvaveda has the late and inferior Vāstuvīna, or the House Books. —

11. The Gṛhya Sūtras, or 'House Books.' — Of decidedly greater, indeed of universal, interest is the second class of Sūtras, the Gṛhya Sūtras, or House Books. These are treatises on which deal systematically and playfully with the events in the everyday existence of the individual and his family. Though composed at a comparatively 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 plain Hindu in the aspect of a devout 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 has the Gṛhya Sūtras of its two schools, that of Āśvārayana and Śāṅkhyāyana; the White Yajurveda, that of Parāśārayana and Purāṇa Yajurveda a large number, as those of the Āstāvistika, Bādhāyana, Hiranyadeva, Manava, and Kāthaka schools; the Sāṁvada has the Gṛhya Sūtras, the Kāthaka, and the Jaiminīya. To the Atharvaveda belongs the unique Kauśika Sūtra, which, in addition to the domestic ritual, deals with the magical and medicinal practices that specially belong to that Veda.

12. The Dharmasūtras, or 'Law Books.' — The third class of Sūtras are the Dharmasūtras, or 'Law Books.' They also deal 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 Sūtras are the Veda themselves. A considerable number of expiatory, hymns and stanzas, clearly of the same stock as the rules of expiation, are found in Vedic texts, especially the Atharvaveda and the Taittirīya Āranyaka. The Law Sūtras, in their turn also, are either directly attached to the body of canonical rules, or expiatory, or to 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 Āstāvistika, and the Bādhāyana, belonging to the Black Yajurveda; the Gautama belonging to the Sāṁvada; the Vīṣṇu belonging to the Kāthaka school of the Black Yajurveda; and the Vāstūga of less certain associations. The earliest metrical law books, the so-called Dharmasūtras, written in Classical Sanskrit, seem also to be based on lost Sūtra collections of definite Vedic schools. The most famous of these are the Māṇḍava Dharmasūtras, or 'Law Book of Manu' (see Law (Hindu)), may be founded upon a lost Dharmasūtra of the Manava or Maitrāyaniya school of the Black Yajurveda, while the briher 'Law Book of Yajnavalkya' 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 respects, a series of translations edited by Max Muller and J. E. B. Mayor, SBE (Oxford, 1879-.) and P. E. Boutrup. Parts of the Rigveda are translated by M. L. M. H. H. G. Allenberg (vol. xii., and xxiv.-xxvi.); the Atharvaveda by J. E. G. H. G. Allenberg (vol. xii., and xxvi.); the Gṛhya Sūtras by H. P. Baldwin (vol. xii., and xxvi.); the older Dharmasūtras by E. H. B. Allenberg (vol. xxvii., and xxviii.); and the law of the Law Book of Manu by J. J. Rolles (vol. xii., and xxiv.).
LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit)

The form and style of Sanskrit literature differ as widely in these as they differ in 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, Brahmanas, and Upanisads; in Sanskrit, apart from the strained scientific language (śāstra) of philosophy or grammar, or the diffuse and inorganic style of the commentators, prose is rare. It presents itself in genuine literature only in fables, fairy tales, romances, and parables, in the dramatic style. Not so in Vedic literature, for it has preserved the literary and aesthetic quality, as compared with the earlier variety. On the contrary, it has become more and more clumsy and hollow, full of long awkward compounds, gaudy, ornamental, 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 anuvāda metre of four octosyllable lines of essentially iambic cadence. But numerous other metres, usually built up on Vedic prototypes, have become steadily more elaborate and strict than their original; in the main 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 while the Vedic literature is essentially religious in character, whereas Sanskrit literature is, with rare exceptions, such as the Bhagavat-Gītā, or the metrical Law Śāstras, prose, in the Veda lyric poetry as well as legendary prose are in the service of prayer and sacrifice; in Sanskrit epic, lyric, didactic, and dramatic forms are all for the purpose of literary delectation and aesthetic or moral instruction.

Moreover, with the exception of the grand compilations of the Mahābhārata and the Pārāṣāras, 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 invariably submerged.

14. Epic literature.—Sanskrit literature may be divided into epic, lyric, dramatic, didactic, narrative, and scientific. In epic poetry there is the important distinction between the freer, narrative epic called śāhās (q.v.), story, or purāṇa, and the more artificial epic called kāvya, 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 Rāmacāyana. But the finished style of the kāvya is not evolved until the time of Kalidāsa about the 5th cent. A.D.

The Mahābhārata, or 'Great Bhārata Story,' the greatest of Hindu epics, is a huge authorless compilation for which tradition has devised the name Vasantapitaka, or 'collection.' 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 Ramayana.

The kernel story of the epic, which is interrupted by many episodes, or interwoven narratives, tells how the ancient world was overwhelmed by the plagues of the Punjab and Pāsindh. At a gambling-match depicted in the most vivid language, Durvudha, the king of the Kuru, crossed dice with Vīsuv, the king of the Pāndus, robs them of their kingdom, and exiles them for thirteen years. But this is only the preparation for a long war, and the final conflict between the opposite royal houses and their allies. In this the Kurus are finally overthrown and destroyed.

The heroic story is not onlyinterrupted 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 encyclopaedia of moral and religious instruction.

A Bhāratā and a Mahābhārata are mentioned as early as the 6th cent. B.C., but the term is applied to the later Vedic literature, but all dates assigned to the original simpler epic which preceded the encyclopedic poems in its finished form are mere guesses, except that it obtained its completely present form in the 4th or 5th cent. of our era.

Among the episodes of the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavat-Gītā, 'The Song of the Divine One,' or 'Song Celestial,' is pre-eminent. It is in some respects the most interesting and important book in post-Vedic literature.

When the rival armies of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus are drawn up against each other, Arjuna, the leader of the Pāṇḍus, tradition of heroes, hesitates to enter upon the slaughter. Then Krishna, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, acting as Arjuna's charioteer, silences his scruples by putting out that action, which is the performance of duty, is the obligation of man in the world. Although, finally, abstracted devotion to the act of battle alone leads to salvation. The poem is conceived in the spirit of didactic Hindu theology or philosophy. At the bottom is the Śākya doctrine of non-action and the Tānta school of mystic Vedanta is prominent (see BHAGAVAT-GĪTĀ).

It is not likely that the poem formed part of the original 'Bhārata's Story,' but the later theological additions are to be reckoned with as to its date and authorship. The Mahābhārata has been translated into English prose at the expense of Pratāpa Chandra Ray (Calcutta, 1885), and by M. N. Dutt (id. 1856).

15. The Rāmacāyana.—The Rāmacāyana, the second of the great epics, is, in the main the work of a single author, Vālmikī. Though all parts are not from the same hand, and though it is not entirely free from digression, it is of great interest in epiciction of the highest order. It is to this day the favourite poem of the Hindus. The central figures are Rāma and his devoted wife Sītā; the main event the conquest of Laṅka (probably Ceylon).

Dāsaratha, the mighty king of Ayodhyā (Ayodhya), having grown old, decided upon Sita, his eldest son, as his successor, but his intriguing second queen, Kaikῆī, succeeding in changing his mind in favour of her son Bharata. Rāma, banished for fourteen years, retires with Sītā to the forest. On the death of Dāsaratha, his son Bharata refuses to usurp Rāma's throne, and seeks him out in the forest in order to take the throne in his capital city. Rāma in turn refuses to cross his father's decision; he offers his gold-embroidered shoes as a token of his submission to the will of the king, and places the shoes upon the throne, and holds them over them the 'golden yoke,' the sign of royalty, before he acts as the king's plenipotentiary. In the meantime Rāma makes it his business to fight the demons who molest the sanctity of the forest in which he is living, places the shoes upon the throne, and holds them over them the 'golden yoke,' the sign of royalty, before he acts as the king's plenipotentiary. In the meantime Rāma makes it his business to fight the demons who molest the sanctity of the forest in which he is living, the sons of the demon, who lives in Laṅka, revengefully kidnaps Sītā. Then Rāma forms an alliance with Hanuman and Sugriva, the kings of the monkeys, who build for him a wonderfull bridge across the mainland to Laṅka. Rāma slays Kaikēē, is reunited with Sītā, returns home, and, conjunctly 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 mythological roots. Certain details in the personified rafter of the field, the beautiful wife of Indra or Parjanya (see VIDIC RELIGION). Hence Rāma certainly continues the qualities of the Indian slayer of demons. The story also seeks to typify the advance of Brahmanical civilization southwards towards Ceylon.

The Rāmacāyana consists of seven books, in about 23,000 stanzas. It exists in three recensions, the standard one being the other in their readings, the order of the stanzas, and in having each more or less lengthy passages that are wanting in the other. The best known and most commonly used edition has been translated by the Anglo-Indian scholar R. H. Griffith in five volumes (Lectures, 1878-79).
a stanza with its metrical expression. The most elaborate continuous lyrics of India are the Magha-
dīha, or 'Cloud Messenger,' and the Rûmânnârâ, or 'Cycle of Seasons,' both by Kâlîdâsa, 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 sentiment of prosaic poetry which the
Hindus also cultivated with great success. In
fact the most famous collection of such stanzas,
that of Bhartârâ, consists of 'lyric, didactic,
and didactic poetry. Even in erotic lyrics the
Hindu's deep-seated inclination towards specu-
lation 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
stanzas, which may be called the 'Proverbbook.'
Bödhisattva Dollhöng (Ind. Sprachleit, Pettinger,
1870-73) collected all Sanskrit literature some 8000
of these stanzas. They begin with the Mahâbhârata,
and are particularly common in the moral essays
of the fable literature. Their keynote is again the
vanity of human life, and the superstitious
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 (incarnation).
Hence the practical value of virtues almost over-
rides the pessimistic view of the vanity of all
human action. These gnomic stanzas are gathered
up in collections such as the Śrutī-sūtras, or
'Century of Tranquility,' or the Maha-mudrâ,
or 'Hammer of Folly'; but the ethical saw is
really at home in the fables of the Pâñchântana
and Hitopadeśa. These works are paralleled by
Buddhist compositions (see below). In fact, a
Buddhist collection of this sort, the Dhama-
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 8th or 9th cent. of our era. Certain Vedic 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, kavya, is a verb from the root kavya, 'to dance' (whence 'maudeh 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 Vigna, and especially of Siva's incarnation Karna, was accompanied by pantomimic dances. These pantomimes reproduced the heroic deeds of these gods, and were accompanied by songs. Popular representations of this sort, the so-called yatra, has 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 Karna and Radha, his love, are the main characters, but there are also friends, relatives, and many episodes of the Indian poet. The yatra, a mixture of music, dancing, song, and improvised dialogue, while unquestionably in some way connected with the origin of the drama, are nevertheless separate from it, a very Indian leap from the finished product of the nārāha as it appears in such works as the Sakuntalā of Kālidāsa, or the Mṛcchhakatikā, 'Clay Cart,' of Śudraka.

A drama of political intrigue, 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 shaping of 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-West India, and the commerce in Greek and Greek art and Greece and Greek art and Greek astronomy certainly exercised strong influence upon Hindu art and science. The chief points of resemblance between the Hindu drama and the Greek comedy are as follows. The Hindu drama is divided into acts (from one to ten), each of which is no longer than a page, and proper are preceded by a prologue spoken by the stage manager (värikātaka). The stage was a simple rostrum, 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 yavanikā—that is, 'Greek curtain' (tavos). 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 vīśāgaka, the unromantic friend of the hero, compares well with the go-between, the nārāha, of the Greek- Roman comedy.

The vīśāgaka is a hunch-backed, bald dwarf of halting gait, the clown of the piece. Though a Brahman by birth, with the (inevitably) coarse manner of society even in a good dinner, to the hero's sentimental flower romanticism. Although it is just possible that one or the other feature of the Hindu drama may be due to outside influence, the inner matter is essentially national. The primitive character, for the most part, these 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 those of other Hindu literature. They show no foreign features. We have forgotten that certain 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 proof. The chief dramatic writer is Kālidāsa, the incomparable Hindu poet, master at the same time of epic and lyric poetry (see above). Most of his dramas are ascribed to him: the Sakuntalā, the Uśan, and Mālāvikāgnimitra, or 'Malavika and Agni.

From a time somewhat earlier than Kālidāsa comes the drama Mṛcchhakatikā, the 'Clay Cart,' said to have been composed by king Śudraka, 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 Ratnāloki, or 'String of Pearls'; the Nāgannanda, whose hero is a Buddhist, and whose prologue is in praise of Buddha; and the Priyadarśika. From the 8th cent. A.D., until the plays of Bharavi, a Hindu Indian poet, the yatra, a mixture of music, dancing, song, and improvised dialogue, while unquestionably in some way connected with the origin of the drama, are nevertheless separate from it, a very Indian leap from the finished product of the nārāha as it appears in such works as the Sakuntalā of Kālidāsa, or the Mṛcchhakatikā, 'Clay Cart,' of Śudraka.

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LITHUANIANS AND LETTS

Designated 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 animal of the fable; he himself points the moral (see JĀTAKA). The two most important Sanskrit collections are the Pāñchakātantra, or 'Five Books,' the most celebrated Sanskrit book 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 Kuśa into the Sāmakaviyā of the Kāśyapa, or Pāñchakātantra, or 'Five Books,' is probably not original, but it took the place of 'Kāraṭaka and Damana,' or some similar title, derived from the names of the two jackals prominent in the first book. This may be surmised, because the title of the Syriac version is 'Kalīgārā and Damna,' of the Arabic version 'Kalīl and Dimnāl.' Both the Pāñchakātantra and the Hitopadesa, or 'Salutary Instruction,' were originally intended as manuals for the instruction of kings in domestic and foreign policy. The Hitopadesa, said to have been composed by Nārāyaṇa, states that it is an excerpt from the Pāñchakātantra, or some other books.

The most famous collection of fairy tales is the very extensive Kathāsāstra, or 'Ocean of Rivers of Stories,' composed by the Kashmirian poet Sunandara in the 1070. This is in verse, three much shorter collections are in prose. The Sambhavati, or 'Seventy Stories of the Parrot,' tells how a wise whose husband is away, and who is inclined to solace herself by treating other men in the same way, is cleverly entertained and deterred by the story-telling parrot, until her husband returns. The Veṣṭāda-pañchakātantra, or 'Twenty-five Tales of the Vampire,' is known as Englishmen under the name of Vikran and the Vampire. The fourth collection is the Sinhāsaṇa-dvāpārīnāśika, or 'Thirty-Two Stories of the Lion-Seat' ( throne ), in which the throne of king Vikramāditya is the subject 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 then adopted by the Persian and Arabic, the last popular version of the Arabian Nights. A few prose romances of more independent character may be mentioned in this connection. The Dālīkanika-chātra, or 'All the Princes,' a story of common life and a very corrupt society, reminds one of the Simplicissimus of Grimmelshausen. Its author is Daṇḍin, and it probably dates from the 6th cent. A.D. The Vīṣṇavapadāth by Subandhu, and the Kādambaṇi by Bāṇa, 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 Kādambabhi. 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 history, in our sense of the word, is every article in the Rājasthānīsī, 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 tolerably 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 scientit. knowledge, so that it is not easy to mark off from one another belles lettres and scientific literature. The ancient legal books of the Veda (see above) continue in the more modern poetic Dharmāṣṭras and Sāstras. Of these the Law Books of Manu and Vaiśaṅvalaya (see above) are the most famous examples; Manu especially enjoys great authority to this day. Rooted in the Upaniṣads are the sūtras, or rules, of the six systems of Hindu philosophy and their associated explanations. Grammar, etymology, lexicography, prosody, rhetoric, music, and architecture are all own a technical literature of wide scope and importance, and the treatment of most of these by the Hindus is not without a tendency to assure metrical form. The earliest works of an etymological and phonetic character are the Vedas, the Gītas of Yajna, the so-called Nāgārjūnakas, or the Nirukas, and the Pāṇiṅas, or phonetic treatises pertaining to the treatment of a Vedic text in a given school or śākha (see above). Later, but far more important, is the Grammā of Pāṇinī, one of the greatest grammarians and his commentators Kātyāyana and Patanjali. 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 beginning of the Christian era, for one of its chief authors, Charaka, was the head physician of king Kanasi in the 1st cent. A.D. The gīnas of Hindu medical science reach back to the Atharvaveda. The Bower Manuscript, one of the oldest of Sanskrit manuscripts (probably 5th cent. A.D.), contains passages which agree verbally with the works of Suśruta and Anātuka, the leading authorities on this subject.

LITERATURE.—The most convenient sketch for English readers is A. A. Macdonell's thoroughly competent translation of Sanskrit Literature, one of the volumes of 'Short Histories of the Literature of the World,' edited by Edmund Geisse (London, 1900). The Bibliographical notes at the end of the book are a guide to more extensive study. Readable and popular is any edition of Frazer's Literary History of India (London, 1870). Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (London, 1907) 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 L. Eichhorn, London, 1879) is a scientific and technical work, and is all adapted to the wants of the general reader; it represents the state of knowledge at the beginning of the century ago. The German work of L. v. Schroeder, Indian Literature and Culture (Leipzig, 1887), contains a fuller, very instructive, and readable account of Hindu literature; and the translations and digests of the texts themselves render this work very helpful. The more recent treaties are H. Oldenberg, Die Literatur des alten Indischen Orientes, Berlin, 1909; and Les Littératures de l'Inde (Paris, 1904), both excellent treatises, having in view more particularly modern literature. Still more recently there have appeared three parts of M. Winterbottom's Geschichte der indischen Literatur (Stuttgart, 1909-10), a masterly and informative book. The GLAF, commenced under the editorship of G. Bühler, and continued after his death by F. Kießling, contains, 1891-98, a sworn the entire domain of Indo-Aryan antiquity, and contains authoritative information concerning many points 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 Lithuanian race, had already ramified into its several divisions in its pre-historic period, and its unity is now seen only in certain common elements of popular tradition and in the nomenclature of the family, by which it regards itself. According to the Lithuanians exists a much more archaic type than the Letts. The original home of the Lithuanian or Balte race was probably the basin of the lower Lielupe, and, that district is now more or less determined with the Lithuanians of to-day, while the Letts are found in Courland, the adjacent Russian littoral, the southern half of Livonia, and the Polish province of Vistula, it would appear that the Lithuanian branch had reached its present location.

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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.

Numerically, neither member of the group is of great account, nor is it likely that either was ever important. The Lithuanian number some one and a half to two million; of these, 1,200,000 were in Prussia; the Letts less rather than more—the estimates varying from 1,200,000 to 2,000,000. In a physical respect both branches are mixed, though the Letts are less so than the Lithuanians, which gives rise to the belief, and justly founded in them, since many individual Lithuanians and Letts still exhibit all the distinctive 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 century, 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, Mindaugas, was recognized by Pope Innocent IV. as king of Lithuania, actually contemplated the founding of a united Lithuanian State. This design, however, was frustrated by Mindaugas’s death (1253) and by internal disorders. Nevertheless, it was at length brought to realization by the government of the Grand-duke Gediminas (†1341); he then, under the leadership of his son, Olgiard, (whom his brothers recognized as sovereign Grand-duke) and Keistat, the young nation succeeded in extending its sway from the Baltic to the Euxine, and from the Polish Bug to the Ugna and the Oka, though not including the western districts (Nadrum, Schlawangen, and Suadam), which the Teutonic Knights had brought under their control during the years 1274–83.

At the death of Olgiard, in 1377, his place was taken by his favourite son, Jagiello, who, however, soon quarrelled with Keistat (†1389) and with his son Witaut, the outcome of the dissension being that the latter became the real lord of Lithuania, afterwards solemnly the sovereignty of Jagiello was not thereby infringed. Jagiello had shortly before (1386) married Hedwig, queen of Poland, thus opening the way for a political alliance between the Lithuanian and Polish states which seriously threatened the independence of the former. Witaut strained every nerve and took all available measures to avert this danger. Not only did he seek to promote the independence of his country in a political sense, but he also endeavored, by working for a union between the Greek and Roman communions within its borders, to make it ecclesiastically self-dependent. While these endeavours proved to be in vain, they won him the confidence of the Utraquist Hussites in such measure that upon the death of King Wenceslaus they offered him the Bohemian crown, and it was only the unpropitious political conditions of that country which prevented his acceptance of it. He was 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 thrice offered him already. Here, again, however, Witaut was disappointed, as Poland intercepted the passage of the party which was conveying the crown to him, and he died shortly afterwards (1430)—four years before Jagiello, who, as Queen Hedwig’s consort, had at her death (1399) become king of Poland.

In the succeeding period the Lithuanians repeatedly took occasion to assert their independence in relation to Poland, but this did not prevent the principality of Olgiard from gradually becoming a Polish feudatory. Witaut himself had been repeatedly compelled by the necessities of war and by external troubles to make concessions, and his successors, under the increasing pressure of the steadily growing power and capacity of Moscow, were forced in even larger measure to purchase the help of Poland by ever closer union with that State. These rulers, moreover, almost without exception bore the name of Jagiello, and united in their individual persons the Grand-duke of Lithuania and the crown of Poland. The eventual result was the incorporation of the two countries in a single political organism whose fortunes were controlled by a common Diet. The incorporating union was effected at the Diet of Lublin in 1569.

(b) Lettish. — At the very outset of Lettish history we find the merchants of Liebeck taking steps to find an outlet for their commerce in the district of the Lower Divna, and they were followed by German missionaries, who there founded the earliest Christian settlements. While these attempts at colonization were not at once greatly successful, they had, nevertheless, the effect of making Livonia known to the West, and of directing against that heathen land the enthusiasm for war against unbelievers which in that period of the Crusades dominated the thought of Christendom. It was owned in Livonia. Nevertheless, it was all the more successful, as it was managed to subjugate the hitherto unconquered heathen districts, which were as far as the Lettish provinces, Livonia and Courland, were concerned, was virtually completed by 1599. The Order, nevertheless, did not thereby win possession, but had constantly to take the field against unfriendly neighbours, and, as the fortune of war was on the whole unfavourable to it, its powers were sapped by internal dissensions, and the secularization of its Russian territory in 1553 isolated its Livonian domain, its authority in the latter also was at length completely shattered. In 1562 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, Gotthardt Kettler. Finally, both provinces became subject to Russia.

3. Ecclesiastical history. — Thus, while the Western Lithuanian Church came under German control in the 13th century, the whole of Lithuania—now Russian—Lithuania was brought into close relations with Poland a century later, and, accordingly, as was to be expected, the two divisions came to diverge widely from each other, not only as regards their language, but also in the moral, and most of all in the religious sphere. Eastern Lithuania, which at the time of Keistat’s death was almost entirely pagan, was thrown open to Christianity by Jagiello, who, however, had hitherto maintained the orthodox 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 the Polish Court and the Polish State soon gained complete spiritual authority among them. In this way Russian Lithuania became a Roman Catholic country, except in the very small extent, it has always remained; its non-Catholic population consists only of a small number of Lutherans, who were won to that communion through efforts directed from Courland. After 40,000 adherents of the Reformed Confession, whose forefathers were induced to renounce Roman Catholicism under the influence of Prince Nicholas Czarny Radziwill. The ecclesiastical history of the Western Lithu-

anians and the Letts took a different course. As in the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Knights, which under the Grand-Master Margrave Albert of Brandenburg became a secular Protestant duchy in 1226, so in Livonia and Courland, the Lutheran teaching was enthusiastically welcomed, and, in fact, won universal acceptance in both provinces. Most of the inhabitants remained faithful to it, so that Protestantism is to-day almost universal among the Letts. The only exceptions are found in localities where Roman Catholicism was able to gain a footing under the protection of Poland, or where proselytes have been won by the Russian State Church.

4. Early religion.—The religion which prevailed among the Lithuanians and Letts prior to the introduction of Christianity was a development of nature-worship. Besides the worship of woods and waters, of trees, stones, 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 evidence of divine beings who control all created things. Pre-eminent among these divine beings was 'God,' designated by the primitive Aryan name Devasus (Lat. deus). He was regarded generally as the highest and commandant power, but sometimes, like Zeus in Homer, he was a distinct mythological figure, and as such probably identical with Perkūnas (Lett. Pērkołne), the thunder-god, who presided over the heavenly bodies, and was regarded as armed. An ancient folk-song tells that, when the moon was unfaithful to his wife, the sun, and became enwrapped of the morning star, Perkūnas cut her loose with a sword. According to Lithuanian belief, Perkūnas's aunt washed the weared and dust-covered son, who was once called the daughter of God, and who herself had sons and daughters; in popular songs those 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 mythical imagination did not distinguish between the latter and the 'children of the sun.'

The sun, nevertheless, was not regarded as the wife of devasus (or of Perkūnas), as appears not only from what has been said, but also from a Lettish 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 polygamist, and in another folk-song he is said to have as many wives 'as the oak has leaves,' though none of them plays an independent part in the mythology.

We need have no hesitation in assuming that the ancient religion of the Lithuanians and of the Letts alike recognized the existence of other divine beings, and the way in which these are associated shows that they entered into the observation of nature in human life. But, with the exception of Laine, the goddess of fortune, none of them come down to us under a common Lithuan-Lettish name, and we must be more cautious in connecting such beings with the ancient religion because many of the names of the Lithuan-Lettish mythology rest upon the misconceptions or fabrications of later times. There is adequate evidence, however, for an early belief in a number of demoniac beings, such as the fertas (Lith. ferteras) and the piekās ('goblin,' 'flying dragon'), and it is equally certain that the Lithuan-Lettish religion was dominated from primitive times by the conception of a devil (Lith. Velnias; Lett. Velniez). 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 (vėduva, 'sorcerer'), in the practice of casting lots (Lith. būris; Lett. burt), in notions regarding countless occurrences of daily life, and not least in the idea that the spirits of the dead (Lith. sedis; Lett. sedes) continue to move about among the living— an idea that is unassailably very ancient, as it is attested not only by direct historical evidence, but also by certain features in folk-song (as, e.g., the notion that disembodied spirits marry), and, above all, by great ages of the heathen times, which often contain the remains of both rider and horse, 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 after the death of the dead, and that they wore their clothes when they were incinerated. Sacrifices were common, and were offered not only by way of petition and thanksgiving, but also as propitiations; to judge from the Lettish designation ('blossoms'), the offerings would seem to have consisted originally of flowers and fruits, but we have historical evidence that there were from the first other kinds of sacrificial gifts, while, if not among the Letts, yet among the Lithuanians and Borussians, we find traces of the practice of human immolation.

5. Sociological features.—Our data regarding the political and social conditions, the prevailing sentiments and morals, of the ancient Lithuanians and Letts are not sufficiently adequate to give a full and clear account of their civilization. With varying degrees of certainty, however, we may make the following statements regarding their mode of life: they were efficient in war, and were divided into numerous clans or cantons governed by chieftains; they lived by tillage, cattle-rearing, and hunting, and practised all manner of handicraft and trading; they lived in separate homesteads, and their family life was of the patriarchal type; marriage was based upon the capture of brides, and, while the wife was subject to the husband, she held a place of high honour among her children; finally, both peoples had a remarkable liking for song, but did not possess the art of writing.

6. Literary development.—One result of the lack of writing is that the Lithuanians and Letts have absolutely no literary remains from healess
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, he was born at 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 in vogue at Oxford, and, although, after his election to a scholarship, he passed his time in study, he next turned his studies in Greek and Rhetoric, his interests eventually turned more to the study of sciences. His connexion with a medical practice had happened in 1656 to bring him into contact with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, who figured as the leading innovator in the political ideas of Charles 1's reign; and this meeting had an important influence on Locke's life. In the following year he was appointed to the small 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 in office in 1672, and in 1675 Locke had to go to France for his health. He remained abroad for four years, staying chiefly at Montpellier and Paris, but in 1679 returned to England to assist Shaftesbury once more. The two years that intervened before the statesman's fall and flight were, however, not idle; and, when he was restored, he was to do so in 1688. The two years 1689-90 saw the publication of the great 'Two Treatises of Government,' and in 1690 he visited a sort of literary sojourn in his life. From 1691 onwards he lived more in retirement, and chiefly in the family of Sir Francis Masham, at Oates, in Essex. After the revolution of 1688, he was appointed with the new government, and for four years (1696-1700) held the well-paid appointment of a Commissioner of Trade. Falling sick he resigned his appointment and took up his residence in Essex. In 1706 he died at his house at Oates on 28th October 1704.

2. Characteristics as a thinker and writer.—Perhaps no philosopher since Aristotle has represented the spirit and opinions of an age so completely as Locke represents philosophy and all that depends upon philosophy thought, in the 18th century.—especially in Britain and France (A. C. Fraser, Locke, Preface). Locke's claim to be regarded as thus representative may be based alike on the variety of the subjects on which he wrote, the philosophy, education, politics, and on the aims and qualities of his thinking. In all directions he exhibits the merit and the defects which are attributed to the period. He is impatient of authority and of 'the schools,' seeks to put aside preconceptions and see the truth of things clearly for himself, believes firmly that 'reason must be our last judge and guide in everything,' and desires sincerely to pursue truth only, and for its own sake, but he has no adequate knowledge or appreciation of the heritage of the past, accepts current assumptions, distinctions, and doctrines without seeing any need to test them, and this leads to a certain relative common sense, and is quite ready to acquiesce in a very humble estimate of his 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 canad, is fatally disordered both in its qualities of thoroughness and system. The deficiencies are partly explained, no doubt, by his occupation with practical affairs, which interfered with continuous philosophical pursuits, and partly, too, by the indirectly practical aims of much of his work; but, it is true, the practicality of his aims is itself characteristic. Locke's "discontinued way of writing" goes also to explain his great fault as a writer—the endless repetitions with which he wears his readers.

In the 'Epistle to the Reader' with which he introduced the Essay, he admits frankly that he has not been at great pains to correct the fault, and at times certainly seems to let his pen run on almost as it pleases. But his faults are not unconnected with real virtues—his intencness upon 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 force and real impressiveness. His failures are seen at his 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 impatient of criticism. He is too much taken up with his own ideas, with his own writings and misrepresentations of which his critics have been guilty to try to penetrate to the real motives of their criticisms. Hence his replies do not carry us much further, while even as polemics they have their day and are purely rhetorical.
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' is on the title-page of the first edition, 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 thinking 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 that body of work is subservient.  

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 at least, whatever else may be. If, then, we are to 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 knowledge 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. ii. 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 insufficient or misleading. If we then look to such innate ideas, we should 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 understand how important it was for Locke to teach on 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 himself was interested 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 summarised.  

He finds that all our ideas may be traced back to two great sources: sensation, which gives us the ideas involved in our knowledge of the external world, and 'reflection,' which is the perception of the operations of our own mind, and which gives us our ideas of thinking, believing, willing. The ideas derived from (or both of) these sources may be either simple—as such as the ideas of yellow, thinking, pleasure, unity—or complex. The complex ideas are subdivided. The term 'idea' is used by Locke in a very wide sense—for what we shall term the reducer, when a man thinks. The equivalent in modern psychology is a term like J. Ward's 'perception.'
man. The nominal essence, then, is for Locke nothing more than the statement of the meaning in which we intend to use a word, as the view which Locke gives of the idea of the real being or inner constitution of the thing itself. Now in Locke's system the idea is the abstract idea which we ourselves frame or put together at our own discretion. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, nominal and real essence coincide and are indistinguishable, unless the complexity or vagueness of the ideas in question, to prevent us from stating their essence exactly and completely, equals the number of substances or objects in dealing with things which have a real essence, and, since in Locke's view their real essence is not known to us, we have no case so guarantees that the distinctions which we draw by means of our abstract ideas or nominal essence will truly represent the reality behind the things themselves. In fact, by introducing the notion of essence at all we are assuming that the 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 resemblances 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 dependence of objects on one another, and repugnancy of any of our ideas'. And of such agreement and disagreement he distinguishes four sorts: (1) identity or diversity (e.g., 'blue is different from yellow'), (2) relation (e.g., 'manifestation of the intellectual ideas is a red division of tangible species'), (3) co-existence (attributes in a subject and substance), 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 not identical with knowledge, but at the most of probability. From these preliminary determinations Locke proceeds to a series of discussions in which three problems are intertwined in a way that makes the confusion the harder for the reader: (1) the problem how far we can have knowledge 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, and (3) the problem how far real 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 substances and of real existence, where our ideas refer to archetypes beyond themselves. In the former case our knowledge of reality among other things is constitutive (in the first sense) and general, because it makes no further claim to be a knowledge of real existence (of things) or co-existence (of attributes in things). In the latter case our knowledge must always be a claim to a real but far 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 be committed; but 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 be 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 demonstration of God's existence, and a sensitive knowledge of that of external things. But it is to be observed that this knowledge is a knowledge of existence and not of substance, for on Locke's account we do not know the intrinsic nature of spiritual or of material substance. In fact, he offered his orthodox readers by suggesting that, while we may believe, we cannot know, that the soul (of man) is immaterial. The intrinsic nature (or, real essence) of material bodies he assumes to consist in a certain atomic constitution; 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 ideas of 'the existence of a God' far less than his. Above all, we have to be more careful about the relation of 'ideas' to real existence and less ready to separate and unite them alternatively to our convenience. The weaknesses of Locke's compromise between common sense and philosophy have been made so abundantly evident by later criticism that it is hard to see what ground he had for his compromise. And yet it is to the strong resistance of his treatment of the problems 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 ethics the discussion of free will contained in the chapter on power (bk. ii. ch. xxxi.). Certainly 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 illusion, which can be explained only by his theoretical views about our knowledge of mixed modes. It certainly matches ill with his doctrine of moral obligation, which recognizes no higher motives than those of pleasure and pain, reward and punishment.

Nowhere are the features 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 English 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, and tacit consent of the individual to submit to the established government. In one and the same sentence (bk. ii. ch. xiii. § 146) he tells us that a constitutional monarchy 'there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative,' yet that 'the legislative being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in this farthing a power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find 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 whereof the community have it,' yet adds that, as a result of historical changes, the legislative
may cease to be representative and may therefore stand in urgent need of reform (xii. § 157). 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 at all events more historical than theoretical importance.

5. Toleration.—Locke’s writings upon toleration serve as a link between his political and his religious doctrines. In 1689 he published in Holland a Latin Epistola de Tolerantia, which was translated into English in the same year. Criticisms (attributed to one Jonas Provost of Queen’s College, Oxford) drew from Locke A Second Letter concerning Tolerating and A Third Letter for Tolerating 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 all his critic’s arguments, and it must indeed be admitted that the position which the critic had chosen to defend was a strange one—viz. that, in the case of those who will not embrace the true religion, the magistrate ought to employ force, in the shape of moderate penalties, to compel them to consider 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 disobedience and not ‘purification of profession’, 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 majority of religious dissent and makes compulsion futile, while the actual division among Christian sects make it presumptuous. Phosphorically these considerations were reinforced and explained by his view that in matters of religion there is no certain (or demonstrative) knowledge, and that we must be content with ‘a persuasion of our own minds, short of knowledge’ (Works, ii. 144). But he had also laid down earlier in the first letter that the religious grounds that it is ‘in the inward and full persuasion of the mind’ that ‘all the life and power of true religion consists’ (p. 11), ‘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 it difficult to see how they can be assimilated to the objections to compilers to themselves to a ‘foreign jurisdiction’ (p. 46). And this refusal does not square very well with that ‘absolute liberty, . . . equal and impartial liberty,’ which, the critic was wont to assert in the outset, ‘is the thing that we stand in need of’.

Thus Locke wants to separate sharply and completely the spheres of the civil power and the Church. As he denies to the magistrate any right to prescribe articles of faith or 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. 48). But it seems strange that, with his 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 sects, however moderate 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 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 for the Christian Religion (1684). The latitudinarian who seeks to show, by a great array of Scriptural evidence, that the one only gospel-article of faith is this, that Jesus is the Messiah, the promised Saviour. To believe this, to repent of one’s sins, to make this statement is the condition required to make one a Christian; these and these only are the true conditions of the Christian religion, viz. those ‘which are to be found in the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles.’ Locke anticipates the objection that belief, on the strength of repeated and repeated statements 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. 150, 151), but he does not seem 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 simple and grave, to form the right reasons, and on the consequent necessity for an authoritative religion and morality. ‘The greatest part cannot know, and therefore they must believe’ (p. 146). But whether such an appeal to authority would find its most natural satisfaction in Locke’s 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 unenforced, very few were willing to espouse her. The generally confessed that she would not place it was meant to the interest, or the benefit, or the reputation of mankind; but still left her backs on her, and forsok her, as a match not for their turn. But when she began to take to the scales on her side “an exceding and immortal weight of glory”; interest is come about to her, and virtue is now visibly the most enriching purchase, and by much the best bargain’ (p. 150).

It has to be remembered, however, that appeals to self-interest—the favourite weapon of such as Butler calleth it—were characteristic of the age.

7. Education.—Locke’s views on this subject are contained in his Thoughts concerning Education (1693) and in the Thoughts Concerning the Understanding. The latter connects directly with 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 to be elaborating truths of a sort not very obvious. Perhaps its main value, after all, lies in the ample illustration which it affords of Locke’s own intellectual attitude and temper of mind. The other work makes a much more direct contribution to the art of education. The limited and practical aim of the Thoughts is emphasized by Locke himself, viz. to set forth “how a young Gentleman should be brought up from infancy.” As a medical man he does not disdain to give detailed advice as to bodily health and training. The characteristic feature, however—and the conscious merit—of the book is the paramount importance which it gives to the training of character.

“...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” (§ 334).

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 education with instruction. So, too, in the case of intellectual education itself, Locke insists, in his Conduct of the Understanding, that the business of educating the young in the spirit of knowledge is, not as I think, to perfect a learner in all or any one of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits, that may enable him to make of himself a knowledge he shall apply himself to” (§ 12). A writer who goes carefully into details must, of course, expose himself to criticism. Locke’s advice as to bodily training is in some respects such as medical authority would now approve, 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, independent view of his subject, his steady insistence on character as all-important, his own kindness and affection for young people, and his practical common sense combined to make him an admirable exponent of the spirit in which the educator should go about his work.


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 civilization lived in shelters or huts, and one simple measure of which are quite open (Tas- manians, Senemoles, Indians of Guiana, etc.), and others live in a house only for occasional pur- poses—sleeping, birth, sickness, death, etc.—so that there is no particular interest in the matter. But in other instances, even where no doors exist, attempts

1 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.

2 Of course, the usual method of opening a door with a metal handle. On this see above, p. 132.

3 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.


5 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.


7 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.

8 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.

9 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.


16 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.

17 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.


30 B. Canals, La Bourse, Paris, 1859, p. 132.


LOCKS AND KEYS

(1) 1. Primitive locks and keys.—In some of the instances cited above a bar set against the movable door from within and held in place by various means in Israel 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 (De 3 17, Neh 4 7, Is 22 16), or with bars and holds (Neh 3 8, Babylonian, Egypt). In Homer, Ili. xii. 455 ff., there are two bars pulled out from square holes in the doorposts and meet in dovetailed fashion in the centre. A bolt or wedge keeps them in position. They are simple. The bolt, at first of wood, then of metal, slid into a staple on the doorpost. 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 backswards 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.

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 hook or stick-like rod. This was passed through a hole in the door and caught in a hole in 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 brass handle would be assumed with ring money, and known as the chief's door-key, in use in N. Nigeria. 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 lifted in different ways according to the type of lock. In the Lebanon two pegs fell into notches in the bolt when it was pushed forward and held it in place. To raise these a T-shaped key was used.

The bolt was pushed vertically through a hole in the door, giving 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. In the second instance, a number of small pegs dropped 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 fitted variously upon the shorter piece. When held by 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 'Lacoonian' with three teeth, the invention of which was attributed to the Lacoonians. Locks and keys of this type were used in Egypt, among the Romans (often

an elaborate pattern), Greeks, Scandinavians, and possibly the Celts. 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 the hollow of the bolt and raised the pegs, so that the bolt could be pulled back. In this case the key 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 was 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).

The first of these types is supposed to be the kind of lock which Penelope opens in Odysseus, xxi. 46 ff. Diels, however, regards the strap as fastening the bolt from outside. Penelope unlocks it (probably it was tied by a secret knot) through a hole in the door she inserts a bar of metal bent twice at a right angle and strikes on a knob fixed on the bolt and pushes 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 found on monuments as a hieratic survival, carried by priests.

It is akin to the stick-like key already described. In Benin a key and bolt working somewhat on this principle are used. The bolt has a knob; the key is a metal rod, to the end of which is attached another piece best twice at a right angle; at the other end is a ring-shaped handle. This key is inserted through the hole, 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. Locks and keys more or less of this type, but of 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 is not out of the bolt into place. Possibly these are of Portuguese origin. Original native locks are made by the Hausa, and are traded among other tribes. The Chaulla refers to native locks used for chests and doors in Gomiba, 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 Barongs and elsewhere in Africa.

2. Diels, p. 184 ff.; N. Macbain and A. Macbain, The Encyclopaedia, London, 1903, p. 450; on outside when owner is at work in the shape of a hook; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Jambas'; col. 657 (ornament, door); Perrot-Chipiez, vol. iii, 188, 187; Her. i. 224, 425, 647, etc.
4. See in the Passages and Notes, a key which fits into a hole set in the wall, which is then slipped in horizontally. The pegs are then raised vertically.
5. A. J. B. Brotton and A. J. B. Brotton, Exploring Greek and Roman Life, London, 1928, p. 165 ff.; H. Diels, Parnassides, Leipzig, 1887, p. 121. A key which fits into a hole in the bolt (which had no pegs), and which can then be pushed is either the same (A. H. L. F. Pfitz-Rivers, On the Development and Distribution of Primitive Locks and Keys, p. 14).
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 Asia Minor (of Persian origin). They were also used by the Romans, and are still extant in China and India (the so-called puzzle padlocks). The Romans had flat keys for locks in doors, as in modern lock-sets, and were in use by 1570. Both the Greeks and Romans knew the lock with wards through which the key passes, thus moving the bolt backwards or forwards. Keys of a simple type to slit locks have been represented on vases. More elaborate keys are often small and form 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 lock, was much used during the Middle Ages. The principle of the tubular lock was applied to locks during the 15th century. Roman keys terminated in a flat or perforated handle; others were of an open lozenge, oval, or round shape. Until the 15th cent., keys had little ornamentation. In the 13th to 15th centuries they terminated in a lozenge, trefoil. After this, and especially in the 16th cent., they had elaborate decoration and became works of art. The bows terminating the stems were filled with ornament, the stem itself ornamented or took the form of human or animal figures, or a coat of arms. It is probable that the form of a crucifix. Even the webs were sometimes ornamented. The key as symbol—the importance of the key has been emphasized by those guarding treasure, stores, etc., might be opened or closed, was marked in ancient times. This doublet originated in the period when keys 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 new married wife was given the keys of the store-rooms. The divorced wife had to surrender the keys; hence the formula in the Twelve Tables signifying divorce—dawar, to quit, exempt. The wife, who separated from her husband sent him back the keys. Among the Teutons and Scandinavians the bride was decked with keys at her girlhood. Hence the phrase that she had to give up the keys, and “taking away” or “giving up the keys” became a formula of divorce. Among the Gauls 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 would have no free obligation. Slaves carried keys of various parts of the house, and the janitor bore the key for the church-treasurer who carried the keys of the treasury as dasierger. In Is 52:21 lying the key of the house of David upon his shoulder signifies the assumption of the supremacy of the kingdom, and the imagery is taken from the large keys opening tubular locks carried on the shoulder in the East. In Equatorial Africa, as chests containing treasure are synonymous for property, and as they are kept locked with either native or American locks, the more keys 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 priesthoods (not usually their priests) also bore keys symbolically, signifying that the divine power was theirs, or that they were in charge of their treasures. The Spartan Apollo had the keys of the sanctuary of the gods. Priestsesses 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 gravestone signifies the burial-place of a priestess. Iphigenia is called κλειστής (‘key-bearer’) of Artemis, and ξέφωρ of Hera. Cassandra bore the keys of the House of Hecate, and in the mysteries of the goddess the priestess was κλειστής, while the priestess of Cerei κατακλείς 5’ γείλοντες.

(c) As has been shown in the art. Door (vol. iv. p. 864), heaven and the underworld were believed to be regions of abodes with doors and gates. These doors and gates had bars and bolts as well as locks. In Babylonian mythology Marduk made gates to the heavens and attached secure bolts to them. Samea is said to have fastened the bolt of the bright heaven, and to Itar’s supremacy is said to belong the opening of the lock of heaven. Hades with its seven gates has also bolts. Over the dust of Hades is scattered, and Itar is said to breach the bolts when she descends there. The gates of Pluto’s realm are closed with iron bars and keys. The Hebrews had similar conceptions. Sheol has bars (Job 17:16, cf. Ps 107:9). Hades and the Abyss have locks and keys (Rev 12:9; 19). These conceptions were still retained in Christian belief, and nothing is more dramatic in the legends or theology of the Descensus than Christ’s breaking the gates and bolts of Hades. Similarly in Manichean mythology the regions of the world have doors with gates and bolts and with locks and keys differing from all other lock and keys. So also in the sea, in heaven, in Hades. They are the keys of hell. Fairiland 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 or which was sacred to them, or that the key became a symbol of the power which was represented in the opening of the gates.
LOCKS AND KEYS

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Closing the doors of that region to allow or prevent entrance or egress. This was more especially marked in Greek and Roman mythology, in which certain of the divinities bear the title ἀκροβατής, claviator. Janus, as god of doors, is said to have been represented 'cum clavi et virgâ' in left and right hands—the key and the rod of the Roman doorkeeper. He sits guarding the gates of heaven with the Hours. At morning the doors of heaven are opened to let the gods and goddesses in, and they are shut again at night. Even more universally he was ἀκροβατής, since all things—heaven, sea, clouds, and earth—were opened by his hand. 1

Portunus, another god of doors, probably of Etruscan origin, was also called, and perhaps some ritual act was performed with keys on the Portunalia. 2 Divinities of towns carried the keys of the town—e.g., Athene is ἀκροβατής of the town of Athens. 3 According to Parmenides, Diok carries the keys of the doors or the sky at night, i.e., of heaven, and removes the bar from the door when necessary. So Helios, who comes forth from the doors of the sky, is said in the Hymn of Proclus (l. 2) to have keys. The same conceptions are found in Mithraic circles, perhaps partly taken over from these classical models. The Krones of Mithraic belief carries a key, and so does the lotus, a key and a rod. These are the keys of the doors of heaven, by which souls enter or pass out to birth. He was addressed as 'the lord who fastens the keys of heaven.'

Divinities associated with the underworld carry its keys. Hecate usually holds the keys of Hades on monuments or images of the goddess, and is also described as such. She is even called 'the Lady bearing the keys of the Universe.' 4 In Caria every fourth year the procession of the key (ἀκροβατής φοίνικις) was celebrated in her honour—a festival which lasted a day. 5 Pausanias (v. 1) describes Pluto as having keys of Hades, which is closed by him so that none can go out thence. In the magic papyri and elsewhere other divinities bear the keys of Hades—e.g., Hermes, Helios, etc., and here we enter the region of mingled classical, Oriental, and Egyptian beliefs which were popular after the decay of the Greek and Roman State religions.

(c) Generally speaking, possession of the keys signifies power over the regions, the locks, and the keys of these regions. As heaven and Hades were regarded as towns or States with walls and gates, so they were regarded as key-keepers. The keys are entrusted to their respective guardian divinities, who have the power of opening or closing the gates. To those who were worthy of heaven its door was opened; to those who merited hell its door was opened. Once in, there was generally no egress. In Jewish thought Michael is said to hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven (3 Bar 11, cf. 4 Bar 9, 9th. eth. version, where he holds open the gates of righteousness till the righteous enter in).

The power of the keys as associated with St. Peter is treated of in the art. BINDING AND LOOSING. Here it is sufficient to say that the idea of his having the keys, the keys of the kingdom of heaven is sufficiently obvious. The picture is still that of a State or town with gates. St. Peter, as ἀκροβατής, can open to those worthy of the kingdom and its rewards, and keep the door locked against the unworthy. It should be observed, while generally righteousness,

1 Ovid, Fasti, i, 66, 117 ff.; Macrobius, l. i. 7.
2 Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae, 1189.
4 Orph. Hymns, l. 7.
5 W. Köhler, A.W. viii. (1900) 1287f.
saying the prayer, the woman repeating it after her. If a witch was present at a wedding and smashed a padlock to the wedding party, and then locked it into water, the marriage would be unfruitful, until the padlock was recovered. This belief is found in Germany, and in a similar way, in Greece.

In all these we have instances of sympathetic magic—what is done to the lock is done to the living person. They correspond to the world-wide use of knots (g.) and bindings in magic.

(6) In many cases the key itself, probably as a symbol of power, is used as an amulet or has magical virtues. Already among the ancient Greeks and Etruscans this use of a key as an amulet is found (see E.E. vol. ii, pp. 486 ff.). In Italy small keys blessed by the priest are called 'keys of the Holy Spirit,' and are worn by infants as a protection against convulsions. As well as in Greece and the islands, Germany, and other places, the key is a frequent amulet against the evil eye. It may form one of the charms attached to the eleusine, a charm for driving out of a man a spirit of sorcery, or may be a single amulet elaborately worked. Sometimes it is phallic, the handle being so shaped. In Jerusalem necklaces from which charms depend are worn, and among the latter are the key and key. In China a common amulet given to an only son in order 'to look him to life' is a silver lock. The father collects cash from a hundred heads of families and exchanges it for silver; of this a native padlock is made, and is used to fasten a silver chain or ring round the boy's neck. 

In Korea the neck ring lock is also a charm. For a girl it is a real lock of silver with a bar across the top (the bolt), and the key at the side. For a woman it is a mere symbol of the lock. On it is the inscription, 'Longevity, riches, and all you wish.' With these practices may be compared an incident in a Danish Marchese, who got a key as a chrismening gift, and it brings him luck. In Norway a large old iron key is used against dwarf-struck cattle. It is hung over the stall, and is supposed to hold them. In Siberia it is supposed to have been forged by dwarfs (cf. the use of elf-shot, FAIRY, § 6). An ancient method of warding off hail from a field was to hang keys around it—perhaps by way of locking the field in from harm, or merely as charms against the hail. In Transylvania a lock is carried in the seed-bag in order to keep birds from the corn. A key, partly for its own virtues, partly because it is of iron, is commonly placed in a prudence to prevent fairies from changing the baby.  

In the island of Zacynthos a key is placed on the breast of a corpse, because, being of iron, it will square away evil spirits, though the popular explanation is that it will open the gate of paradise. According to a belief in Poitou, when a woman or child sleeps with a key, the demon eats part of the key, and the human form is changed. Another magical use is that of the Bible 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 holds itself 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 what is desired to be discovered. This has superseded earlier methods—e.g., with a sieve—but Regnold Scott 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 'anwielding a patient.' (2) It is also used, usually to discover a thief or a witch. The names of the suspected persons are repeated with the formula, 'Turn Bible, turn round the key, turn, turn, turn, and name the name to name.' 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. The Bible and key or (key or the key alone) are sometimes associated in England with divination, and also to help a vessel entering or leaving port. To assist it to enter port, the key is turned to oneself, and, to leave port, away from oneself.  

(c) The keyhole, as an opening by which fairies, spirits, and the like enter the house, is often magically protected. Thus in the Sporades it is stopped with a skein of flax to prevent vampires from entering. They would require to count all the threads in the skein before doing so. In Cyprus, on locking up, the cross is signed with the key over the keyhole. In Germany the keyhole is stopped up in order to oust the Mar (the 'tinker') which enters thereby. In Egypt it is customary to say, 'In the name of the God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,' when locking a door, as a protection against genii. The door cannot then be opened by them. In Ande a vase of water was placed before the keyhole to prevent visits from a spirit, and in Savoy a watch-glass. The spirit breaks the latter and then leaves 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. In Baby- lonia demons were said to slip into houses through locks, etc., 'gliming like snakes,' and it may have been to prevent this that lattibes were poured over these (§ 1; for other precautions see DOG, vol. iv. p. 849).
LOCUST

2. Introductory.—The Latin word locusta first denoted certain crustaceans—a, the lobster—and the English word ‘lobster’ is itself a corrupt adaptation of the Latin locusta. Dialectically, the English word ‘lobster’ is the offspring of the Dutch dwelling on the coast and the English word ‘lobster’ is itself a corrupt adaptation of the Latin locusta. Dialectically, ‘lobster’ denotes the cocklefish and the

(c) Keys were sometimes thrown into holy wells as a propitiatory offering to the spirit or guardian of the well, as at Crichton on Easter morning.

4. The key-flower.—Medieval legend and later story had much to say regarding certain mysterious

flowers which could either make locks fly open or cause a rock door in a mountain to swing open and so admit the seeker to obtain treasure hidden there. The flower was blue, red, white, and wondrous or ‘key-flower’ (Schlüsselblume); similar properties were also ascribed to the Springwreath, or ‘explosive root,’ usually obtained from a woodpecker whose nest had been closed up with a wooden beam. She flew off to seek the root, returns with it, and applies it to the beam, 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 tales.

The flower is known of this legend, but speak of a plant, and the other elsewhere refers to a herb by which all things closed can be opened. This is the Schlüssel of Rabbinic legend, a kind of wort or a stone in possession of a Moorish. In connexion with these stories of mountain treasures obtained by the wonder-flower, there are usually mysterious white ladies who guard the treasure, like the Hekseria, or the Henesras, who carry a bunch of keys which also give access to the treasure. There is a German belief that where the rainbow touches the earth a golden key falls, which will open the key-flower. In the story of Ali Baba, the rock door opens when the mysterious word Sana is spoken. The word may have stood in an earlier version for the herb saussurea, but in other instances the use of magical words makes locks and bars open—e.g., those of the Egyptian under world—while even in tales of enchantresses in New Guinea the use of the words, ‘Oh, rock be clut, and Oh, rock be open, and the Sana’ causes a rock door to open and shut. In the lives of saints a not uncommon miracle is to unlock a door when the key is lost. They touch the lock with the hand, or their mere presence makes the door to open. In other instances they pass through closed doors, as modern mediums have claimed to do. Probably the point d’appuie of these miracles is in Ac 12.

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LOCUST

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It is not unlikely that the "catterpillars" mentioned in this account are the locust larvae. The conciliatory methods of the Egyptians and Pharaoh are adumbrated by Frazer in his explanation of Greek deities as Locust Apollo, Locust Hercules, and Mouse Apollo.

Such worship was originally addressed, not to the gods as the protectors of mankind, but to the harmful things themselves, the mice, locusts, mules, and so forth, with the intention of flattering and soothing them, of disarming their malignity, and of persuading them to spare their worshippers. 1

In Hebrew literature, and thence to a certain extent in Europe, the locust is a symbol of destructive agencies. The OT also employs it to illustrate number and combination.

5. Locusts as food.—Since the time of Herodotus 2 the use of locusts as food has been known. Themson limits it to the Bedawin of the frontier, and observes.

Locusts are always spoken of as a very inferior article of food, and regarded with most disgust—to be eaten only by the very poorest people. 3

They are roasted and eaten with butter, after the head, legs, and wings have been removed. They are also dried and beaten into a powder, as a substitute for flour. 4 According to Burchhardt, they were roasted and eaten "as a matter of course, and no particular care was taken to preserve their appearance. A desire to explore manifests itself, and is a surprising manner. The whole company moves in a body in one particular direction. "They move in a straight line, or less in a straight line, as if by one common instinct, without apparently having any recognised leader or commander. 5

Marching thus over the country, they eat everything that comes in their way, even the bark of trees; they enter houses and "eat the very clothes and cedars of the windows. They even eat the wool off the sheep; and, "last stage of all that ends this strange, eventful history, they will eat one another. When the stoe buổis are on their way, they may be seen and received from the Beers the name of an army on the march. 6

Certificates and metaphor.—Among the Dravidians of Mirzapur, when locusts threaten the gardens, native women, one, decorate her head with red lead (in accordance with ceremonial custom), salama to it, and let it go. The whole swarm is then believed to depart.

When caterpillars invaded a vineyard or field, *the virgins were gathered, and one of the catterpillars was taken and a girl made its mother. Then they bewailed and buried it. Thereafter they conducted the "mother" to the place where the caterpillars were, consoling her, in order that all the caterpillars might eat of the plant.

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It is in this marching stage that the stoe buổis do enormous damage and eat every edible thing in their path, and completely destroy the work of the husbandman. They are unlike the flying company of locusts, which only lower itself here and there, but these, when they pass, leave nothing. "The black larva, says Post, referring to Palestine, "now spread like a pall over the land, eating every green thing, even stripping the bark of the trees.

The Syrians heat pans, shunt, and fire guns to drive them away. When they have settled, they are gathered in sacks. The government enforced a per capita contribution of eggs, or offers a prize for them by weight. When the larvae hatch out, in fifteen or twenty days, trenches are dug in their pathways, or fires are built. The only successful method of exterminating locusts was adopted in Cyprus in 1881. Since 1800 the island had been a wilderness. Matthei, conversant with the habits of the larva, erected an immovable wall of calico and leather round the main road. Unable to pass the smooth leather, the locusts fell into the trench dug beneath. At the same time 1300 tons of eggs were destroyed. The plague has been obsolete ever since.

4. Superstition and metaphor.—Among the Dravidians of Mirzapur, when locusts threaten the gardens, native women, one, decorate her head with red lead (in accordance with ceremonial custom), salama to it, and let it go. The whole swarm is then believed to depart.

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But Cheyne argues in favour of the ancient tradition that the ἄγαδε εἰς τὰς ἑνίοτες, and the latter is even applied to the similar bean of the cassia tree. This in a definite meaning of the words ἄγαδας and 'locusts,' 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 corbey beans are the 'husks' referred to as food for swine in the parable of the Prodigal Son, and they are sold still for food in Syria. In medieval literature these beans are St. John's broad. In ancient Palestine there was a proverb, "Israël needs corbie beans to keep repentance. They were a type of the food of the poor, and the connection between poverty and repentance, the white ant can destroy fleets and cities, and the locusts create a province."
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, since the subject is comparatively unimportant. In logic we merely "retrovert familiar ground, and survey it by unfamiliar processes. We do not, except accidentally, so much as widen our mental horizon by new and independent steps. The processes here are those of the common-sense, i.e., of the syllogism (sine domo), and of the same assurance as a knowledge of space, matter, organization, and history, or even beauty or goodness. Some writers have proposed an art of logic, a science of art, and others, a science of a special kind of mental process, or a philosophy reflecting on special relations of our personality to the universe. Manssel combines the fowling varied descriptions of the subject (Intro. to Aldrich, Artis Logicae Compendium, p. Ivii).

Logic is a part of philosophy (the Socratic). It is not a part, but an instrument (Peripatetic). It is both a part and an instrument (Academics). 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 (Aramaus and others). It is the science of argumentation (the Arabians), of the operations of the mind so far as they are clear and distinct (Aristotle, of the syllogism (sino domo), of the direction of the cognitive faculty to the knowledge of truth (C. Wolff), of the universal and necessary laws of thought without distinction (Kant), of the laws of the understanding concerning the causation of evidence (J. R. Mill). It is a science of discovery (J. Le Clerc, R. Wattely, and others), of the right use of reason (J. C. Cudbert, Watten), of dissertation (Lamaus), of teaching (Menapou, Cnet, or directing object (George Bailliam), of forming instruments for the direction of the mind (Verhulsh, R. Baudouin, Aldrich).

Underneath such summary phrases as "laws of thought" and "forms of knowledge," which have become common in the more modern definitions, there still lie varied suggestions as to scope and method. The following are influential examples:

'A collection of maxims or rules for thinking, grounded on a scientific investigation of the requisites of valid thought" (Mill, Essays of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, London, 1878, p. 462).

If we apply the mental processes 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 Normology of Mind... Pure Logic is a science of the laws of the possible modes in which, when the primary conditions of the possibility of valid thought are applied... the laws of thought as thought (Hamilton, Lectures, Edinburgh and London, 1833-36, 112, 124, 134).

The forms and laws of thought... are those subjective modes of thought... which are necessary to us if we are by thinking to know the objective truth (Lotse, Outlines of Logic, Eng. tr., Boston, 1833, p. 6).

The objects of pure thought... which thought can arrive at propositions which are certain and universally valid... the rules to be observed accordingly (G. van Swigt, Logic, Eng. tr., London, 1896, p. 41).

The doctrine of the negative laws, on whose observance rests the possibility of all theoretical, and the idee de l'existence of the idea of truth in the theoretical activity of man (Ueberweg, System of Logic and Hist. of Logical Doctrices, Eng. tr., London, 1873, p. 133).
other moments of cosmic existence, that 'the
as visible' which is the object of philosophical Logic.
logical reality and fact itself' (E. Croce, 18, p. 203). Logical consciousness reinforces this
finality, though the doctrine is essentially neither
description of the experience nor discrimination of
the faculty nor perspective of the event, but ex-
pression of the aim.

3. Independence.—In analogy with Kant's cele-
brated criticism of knowledge, that it all begins
with experience, but does not all spring from
it, or wait for a licence from it in the same way
that empirical sources of belief exist for its spec-
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 authoritative than the example, provided
it is understood discriminatively. 'If any man
stumbles at the fact that when we want to think
about thought we must, in so doing, already follow
the norm of right thinking—there is no arguing
with him' (Wendelband, loc. cit. 1. 25). All we
can do is to use the words of Kant, to 'make the rule
followed by the understanding a separate object of
thought' (Logic, Intro. § 1).

4. Theory.—Cognition gives us the control of
nature and the reflective faculty, the control of
self. But logic is the expression of the reflective
faculty so far, and so far only, as the self is
involuntary and there is consciousness in science.
It is the logical manifestation of personality in
feeling or action, and even in so much of cognition
as escape control.

5. Discipline.—Thus the motive of logic is not
furnished by the world, 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 solicitude 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 ceremo-
nial and delegation of responsibilities.

- From the Brahmanic decisions on disputed points arising in the
course of sacrifice., . . . collected in exegetical and philo-
sophical fashion, independently, perhaps later than the
5th cent. n.c. evolved a system (Bodas, Taraka-Sangraha of
Annamalaiy, Intro. p. 29).

And with Gotama the invariance of logical concern
has outworn its ceremonial form.

The end proposed is the escaping from liability to trans-
formation, and the attainment of tranquil and eternally un-
interrupted beatitude' (Apologetics, tr. J. E. Ballantyne, Intro.
p. 5).

In Greece it originated with canons of public debate and scientific instruction; the propa-
ganda of plausibility by the Sophists, the challenges to the
complacency of popular beliefs issued by
Socrates, the polemics of Zeno.

Socrates' predecessors, the archaic poets, had given
rhetorical, others interrogative, discourses to learn—since they
imparted to their thought not the logical art, but the effects of art' (Soph. Elekhi, ch. 34).

The art to which this is deeply connected, like Gotama's, is
purely reflexion and self-consciousness, for 'dialectic [the art of
discussion], being investigative, holds the way to the principles of
sodium' (Wendelband, loc. cit. 1. 1).

But in the Greek, unlike the Hindu, logical illu-
mination, reflection fastened upon conviction at the
point where personal intelligence merged in the
interpersonal harmony to establish the good of the individual
merges in that of the State. The Greek forms of proposition and
sylogism seem to symbolize a world of intellects,
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 ideal-
izes the inner coherence of such a record, whereby
it dominates the individual intellect, while the
Greek dialectic is the inner vitality of which
vitality, wending from the latter, streams into
the record.

The motive of logic being disciplinary, its effort
must be adjusted to the intellectual forms 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 in the relative forbids that it should. But it may gain
in respect of accuracy, definiteness and distinctness. . . ,
Alberti has omitted no essential point of the understanding; we
have only to become more accurate, methodical and orderly.'
(Logic, Intro. § 1).

Nevertheless, it must share the vicissitudes in 
fortunes of civilization as a whole. And the more
influential of these, since Aristotle, have been the
limit set on the range of free judgment during
medieval centuries, the value set upon personality
by modern religion and philosophy, and the accel-
 erating progress of physical sciences in the most
recent times—three influences which have some
connection with a certain exaggeration in value
which has fallen upon the three Aristotelian
departments of doctrine successive, and has functioned
in modern, and recent years, and has transformed
at least the dialectic almost beyond recognition.
For the contrats and controversies between the historic
schools are questions of emphasis and form 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 scientific 'controversy' have 'turned upon
the possible relations of Ideas, much more than upon the actual
relations of Facts' (Philosophy of Discovery, p. 266).

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 science—
'consists in refining the object W limit events of the universe to a conformity with ideas which we have in our own minds
the Ideas, for instance of Space, Freedom, Composition, and the like . . . the Idealisation of Facts' (6, p. 800).

We may expect for logic also that
an exhaustive solution of the great aggregate of logical problems
can only grow up out of the union of all the different
methods of treatment in which Logic has been subjected, in virtue of the inner essential manifolds of its nature.' (Wendel-
band, loc. cit. 1. 10).

But the different 'methods' must be such as are
grounded, if not 'in the systematic continuity of
a philosophical theory of knowledge,' as Wendel-
band 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 concep-
tions was that of explicitness. It is the prin-
cipal feature of the definite germinal organization within
our judgments or inferences, whenever occasion
arises to make them deliberate. Hamilton pro-
poses as 'the only possible state of Logic which requires an articulate announcement . . . to be allowed to state explicitly in language all that is implicitly
contained in thought' (Lectures, III. 114). And
Gotama inaugurated a faculty at large—the
by detailing sixteen conceptions for our guidance in the
analysis of this 'content,' as 'standards of
right notion.'

Footnote: [i.e. the faculty of right notion]; the object of a
right notion; dot; motive; familiar fact; scholastic tenet; syllogism; principle; conclusion; distinction; controversial wrangle; evil; semblance of a reason; perversion; the sense of, from knowing the truth in regard to these thirteen things, there is the attainment of supreme good' (Apologia, tr. Balantine, § 1: 3).

Many of the problems presented by the ethical system represent stages in dialectic or in the process of clearing up knowledge by discussion (Adrianson, History of Logic, p. 196; cf. Saint-Hilaire, p. xxx). But logic in the long course of its development has always been used by all speculative thought, which should not hide from us a more inward motive and significance. While it was as yet only tradition, no other method was practicable; and, even when it became literary, the practical utility of the method preserved it alongside of interpretations that were more spiritual. The alliance of the two methods was assumed in the reforms and elaborations made by Digges about A.D. 600.

Demonstration and refutation together with their fallacies are useful in arguing with others; and Perception and Intuition are useful for self-understanding; seeing this, I compile this Sutra (Nyāya-pravasa, quoted in Vidyābhṣaṇa, Hindi Meditative Logics, p. 69).

The Aristotelian exposition of the sameGalore was turned to forensic uses by Cicero, to academic uses by the scholastics, and to educational uses by the moderns and the new contemporary and it is this that makes the necessity of arguments, as the medium for an implied science of knowledge.

The conceptions of explicitness suggested to a modern mind by Gotama's sixteen standards and the explanations which he and his commentators append to them would be as such. In placing a logical value upon any given judgment, we must bring into consciousness (1) the extent to which our cognition of an object is committed to it, perceptually, intensionally, conceptually, or, for 'that I shall die is inferential, the 'recognition of a sign'; (2) the genus of truth or reality which is thus assumed as accessible to the faculty, or 'fit to supply a right notion'—a topic similar to that of the 'category' in modern logic, or, in Whewell, the 'ide'; (3) the question, or predetermination of a void in the system of our knowledge, which brings faculty and reality into the relation—the problematic phase in the development of a judgment, such as fails us in truisms or is inverted in paradox; (4) the emotive root which makes a thought or concept think or even give science worth 'true' creates in us a reference to purpose as well as to reality' (W. R. Boyce Gibson and A. Klein, Problem of Logic, London, 1908, p. 2); 'that I shall die' is significant only for the businesses of life for, as I shall not altogether die, for the conness of moral perfectness; (5) and (6) the sureness and definiteness which fact and dogmatic or conceptual principle bring with them to their function in inference; (7) the scheme of their co-operation in the inferential synthetics; there must be (a) the proabandum, defined by doubt and motive; (b) the reason, appealing to a sign; (c) the example, verifying a principle of signification; (d) the application, investing the reason with the significance of the example; and (e) the conclusion, establishing the proabandum as a significare.

The Logicians of the ancient Greeks, by the same 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 Aristotelian, or that underestimation of the application and conclusion from the reason and proabandum—a transition which disappears in all the Western spheres of explicitness, because it distinguishes the application from knowing the truth in regard to these thirteen things, there is the attainment of supreme good' (Apologia, tr. Balantine, § 1: 3).
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according to order of terms (Kant); and puerile 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 surmisation that the formalities of deduction should be limited to syllogistic, and to propositions with two terms only, entailed to terms that are

disparate, and that the logical relations only of inclusion and exclusion (L. Couturat, in Encyc. Philos. Sciences, i. 167-169).

(b) Conceptual. A vision of the creation in which every concept may be sought is the thought of the moment and an identity or permanency of personal knowledge, hardly distinguishable from meaning the same, as described in psychology, but that is not what we are looking for in classical logic. The conception of the logical relation of formal resemblance is the study of the logic of identity of objects. The only connection between the two is the fact that the concept of identity is the basis of logic. This is the study of the logical relation of formal resemblance, and it is the study of the concept of identity of objects.

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3. Relevance. The larger logic was inaugurated by Aristotle through the addition of his Posterior Analytics to the Prior.

The larger logic makes it possible to explain the concept of identity of objects in terms of the concept of identity of concepts. This is the study of the logical relation of formal resemblance, and it is the study of the concept of identity of objects. The only connection between the two is the fact that the concept of identity is the basis of logic. This is the study of the logical relation of formal resemblance, and it is the study of the concept of identity of objects.

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 principle of art and science. . . . Reason would seem to be the faculty which has the primary principles as its objects (Post. Anal. ii. 19).

The universal as a principle assures applications that might escape the 'secondary idea,' Man is mortal, therefore 'I, too, must be mortal,' as though men instinctively may think all men mortal but themselves. The invertibility 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, or a Unity outside the many individual things, but it does follow that some unity must be truly predictable of the many (Post. Anal. i. 11).

The predicative 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 'nature' 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 fiat of reason. The achievements of reason must themselves become conscious under the guidance of valid logical conceptions, and the 'laws of a rule' (Kant), 'laws of connexion' between attributes (Mill), 'coherence' of conceptual 'content' (Lotze), or 'identity of relational system' (Bosanquet). The twin operations of reason must be traced: that which explains the non-associative complexity of universals whose constituents are available at will, and that which explains the selection of constituents from the passive sequences of experience.

(c) Deductive. The definite logic of the first begins with Descartes, and that of the second with Bacon. The interest of modern mathematical
logicians can accept the canons of elimination as yielding expressions of the aspirations of thought, in such an intellectual nature as displays the 'categories of relation,' substantiality, causality, and reciprocity. But the rationalization of any given experiential sequence must be supposed to result, 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 is comprehensive.

4. System.—A conviction which cannot be a stable truth through sheer restrictions of internal relevance may have value through its membership of a world of other convictions—other convictions not defined by the same question, as in the Hindu system of standards, but by questions in all degrees of kinship to it.

(a) Diatocical.—Aristotle’s Topics marks out a sphere where such value may be traced by expressly excluding both the harmony of personal investigation with super-personal truth and the open vision of truth through reason.

'The purpose of this treatise is to find a method which will qualify us as disputants in regard to every kind of subject, where the start of the inference is from propositions, and which will instruct us how to avoid stultifying ourselves whenever we converse amongst ourselves or amongst men upon what appears true to all men, or to the major, or to the wise, and, among the wise, to all, to the greater number, or to the most distinguished and authoritative.' (Topics, 1. 13)

The wide ramifications of relationship of any conviction to the remainder of knowledge are suggested by a variety of incidental methods or 'auxiliary aids' to insight.

'the organs by which we find materials for syllogisms and inductions are, collection of opinion from various sources, resolution of ambiguities is meaning, discrimination between species and genera, assimilation of things to each other or in their relation to other things' (Topics, 1. 13).

(b) Methodological.—In the modern era a more systematic study of system was begun by the Novum Organum of Bacon, the methodological reflections of scientists themselves, and the theories of explanation, as distinguished from eliminative induction, and of approximation generally, probability, and operations subsidiary to induction, resumed in detail by Mill. But the methods so formulated seem to be episodes in the consciousness of a more comprehensive development in the organization of our ideas. We continuously reform and refine our tentative concepts to meet the exigence of newly experienced facts (see art. CONCEPT and INFERENCE).

And in this process we both accept limitations from, and contribute pulsations to, a progressive qualitative nature of life.

The logic of system frames conceptions of the limitation and the contribution, such as the colligation of facts by superinduction of conceptual schemata (Whewell), the depth to which concepts interpenetrate judgment or blur the purity of inferential synthesis (Lotze), the inversion of dependence in our thought between principle and application (Jevons), and the relation of approximation between science and final truth (F. Enriquez). In the dimension of system, ‘truth can only be tested by more of itself’ (Bosanquet, Logic, ii. 267).

LITERATURE.—No bibliography of logic with any approach to completeness appears to be in preparation. J. M. Baldwin, D.F.S., vol. iii. pt. 2 (New York, 1963), and the Catalogue of Text Collections, Univ. Lib., Cambridge, 1939, are the most useful. Reference is advisable to the following selection of influential authors, besides such as have been quoted.


2. India.—F. Max Müller, The Systems of Indian Philosophy, London, 1869; S. Sugiya, Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan, Philadelphia, 1890; J. R. Ballantyne,
LOGIC (Buddhist)

Buddhists have been called the real founders of the mediaval logic and logical literature of India, a position which they share to a great extent with the Jain. The latter began its own system of logic, long before the rise of Buddhism, having died out or before that time. Ujijaini in Malwa and Vaihali in Gujarat, the land of the Jains, were the principal schools of Jainist logical systems. The Nyāya-vādāra, by Bhaddaśrīnī, was published by the Mahāvīra, the 23rd Tirtha, in the 4th century. On the other hand, the earliest known instances of Buddhist logical systems are to be found in the works of the Mañjuśrī, the chief disciple of the Buddha, and the Sarvāstivāda, the 4th century. The earliest known instance of Buddhist logical systems is to be found in the works of the Mañjuśrī, the chief disciple of the Buddha, and the Sarvāstivāda, the 4th century.

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interlocutors is one of gentle 'reasonableness' (to adopt Matthew Arnold’s rendering of cēlebesa). And nyāya (śīyā), 'knowledge', 'science', which is the title-word in the oldest Indian logical works, is used synonymously with nyāya (sākñccha), 'truth', as formy, with dhema (right' or 'norm') and kṣulā ('good'), the threefold foundation on which the perfect man should be established. In the somewhat later collection called Abhidhamma Pitaka, the terms ad hominem in the Suttas, are more abstractly expounded by way of question and answer, logical method is more systematically applied. The import of a great number of terms as paticca, 'dependent', 'sustained', 'causal', 'sequential', are arguments in the distinctly Indian method of presenting the by us so-called Laws of Thought, thus: Is A B? If not, is A not B? If not, is A both B and not B? If not, is A neither B nor not B? (In other words, is A a chimera?) The expositions, again, are sometimes exercises in converted propositions, sometimes arguments in hypothetical propositions. The book entitled Tamaika and Kathādhatvā, respectively, consist entirely of these exercises and arguments. No definite exercise in, or allusion to, syllogism has been found in the Pitakas, although it figures promi-
nantly in the Jaina and Jain treatises on logic. Nor, indeed, do the paired words pamaṇa ('immediate knowledge', 'perception') and annanā ('mediate knowledge', 'inference') appear as independent logical terms which they subsequently became. Nevertheless, the Suttas and the Abhidhamma books taken together, with all the legendary and iconographical illustrations, present so varied an appeal to the intellect of their age that it is not surprising if one result of the paramountcy of Buddhist culture was to yield a harvest, not only of psychological, but also of logical, methods. 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 Suttas, which are extant, as well as (3) the orthodox Theravāda philosophical works in Sinhalese and Pālamit MSS. become accessible. A comparison of the conclusions gleaned from these sources, and filling up the gaps in our materials as yet accessible, with the concepts of European logic will prove of deeper philosophical importance than may appear likely to those who see in logic only an academic exercise. Indeed, according to the norms of which logic is the interpreter rather than the distator, the human mind has grasped the most general data of experience inductively and deductively. And that procedure has centered round certain concepts here, round other concepts there. The difference in emphasis thus produced tends to become absolute, hindering both mutual understand-

ing and also thereby a positive, general advance in philosophy. The system, for instance, of definition by genus and species, of division by dichotomy only, of subsuming the particular under the more general, admirable as it has proved in all expository analysis, may prove a hindrance in estimating qualitative values in aesthetic and spiritual inquiry. The Buddhist scriptures did not keep rigidly to those (peculiarly Buddhist) lines in their teaching. The formula of causation is repeatedly called Avyaya (i.e. Buddhist) śīyā.

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For attacks on PTS, 1913, 1911, 1914-17. The PTS is publishing a translation of the later work in 1912.

'Pamaṇa is used only for 'measure', 'estimate'; assumption apparently does not occur at all.

1 Vidabhūsana, p. l.
2 Cf. Santinatha Nāgāra, v. 39, with H. 189; Ryke Davids, Dīpikā, p. 116, note 5. In the present case the system is a.
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1 Vidabhūsana, p. l.
2 Vidabhūsana, p. l.

The earlier work is often called Seeing, Sown, Kraft, and finally decides upon That, so Latin theology worried over the verb, seeing that the word was not entirely agreed upon. C. A. F. Rhye Davids.

LOGIC (Indian).—See NYĀYA.

LOGOS.—The Greek word λόγος has no exact equivalent in any other language. Just as Goethe’s Finitus, when translating the first verse of the Fourth Gospel into German, they did not always, or emphatically, see things as decomposable substances, in wholes and particulars. Their founder disliked

C. A. F. Rhye Davids.

LOGOS (Indian).—See NYĀYA.

C. A. F. Rhye Davids.

C. A. F. Rhye Davids.
every man." Accordingly, he argues, 1 heathens like Heracleitus and Parmenides, in so far as they lived μετὰ 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 organic principle of the universe, which 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 effulgence of the Deity. Thus the "Word" is personified 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 κόσμος and προφορά, often used by Philo and the Greek Christian Fathers, is really identical with that drawn by Aristotle between τὸ τῶν λόγων and τὸ πρὸς γένος; 2 Christian writers found in the Stoic idea of the Stoic doctrine that, since the one Logos is present in many human souls, men may have communion with each other through their participation in the same Logos. 3

1 In Greek philosophy.—The history of the Logos-ideas begins with Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 535-475 B.C.), who, as M. F. Comford 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, whose life is manifested in the endless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. This cycle of change, decay, and renewal. There is one Logos, the same throughout the world, which is itself homogeneous and one. This wisdom we may win by searching within in us. We can know them and be wise. The divine soul is 'Nature,' the cosmic process: it is God; it is ψεύδη, the lie-principle; it is Logos, the divine law, or will of God, by which all things are made 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 existed without us, and all things are unaware of its power, 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 mediates the disorders and antagonisms of existence. There is no trace in Heraclitus of a transcendent God, whose reason or will the Logos could be. The system is rather a form of pantheism, with a strong mystical element. In Aristotle, however, the Logos, or ψεύδη (he preferred the latter term), is intermediate between God and the world, being the regulating principle of the universe, the divine intelligence. In Plato, though the Logos was the founder of a philosophy in which the Logos-idea was to find a congenial home, there is but little that bears directly upon our subject. The world, he says in the Timaeus (p. 20 f.), is created by a fusion of mind and necessity; it is itself a living and rational organism, the 'only begotten' of 'God,' itself a God, and the 'express image' of the Highest.

In Stoicism the philosophy of Heraclitus received a new life and fresh developments. Like Heraclitus, the Stoics regarded Fire as the primal substance, the material principle of the divine. Embraced with the more productive activity, it is the 'seminal Reason' (λόγος στερεωτός) of the world, which manifests itself in all the phenomena of nature. These phenomena, or, rather, the animate word has a history both in Greek philosophy and in Jewish Alexandria. From Religion to Philosophy, London, 1912, p. 194. 3


2 From Religion to Philosophy, London, 1912, p. 194. 3

3 For the Logos of the Stoics, when spoken of as a single Power, it is God Himself as the organic principle of the universe, which 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 effulgence of the Deity. Thus the Word is personified 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 κόσμος and προφορά, often used by Philo and the Greek Christian Fathers, is really identical with that drawn by Aristotle between τὸ τῶν λόγων and τὸ πρὸς γένος; 2 Christian writers found in the Stoic idea of the Stoic doctrine that, since the one Logos is present in many human souls, men may have communion with each other through their participation in the same Logos. 3

1 From Religion to Philosophy, London, 1912, p. 194. 3
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 theology.

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 Platonian ideas and Stoic universal causality. He takes over the main Stoical conception, but detaches it from materialism, and tries to harmonize it with the Platonist theory that invisible things are only different 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 actively creative. Philo found this conception useful, because he wished to conceive of the divine activity Hellenically, without ceasing to believe in the OT Jehovah. 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 them with the Logos Platonic. In opposition to the earlier Jewish idea of the Word, Philo's Logos is an intermediate between God and the world; He is the principle of revelation.

Philo is fertile in expression to create the relation of this principle of revelation to the Godhead and to man respectively. In the former aspect, the Logos is declared to be the first-born Son of God, the firstbourne of the Father. He is the Man who is the immediate image of God, the prototypical Man in whose image all other men are created. The Logos dwells with God as His vice-regent; He is the eldest son of God, and Wisdom is His mother. In other places He is identified with Wisdom. Again, He is the Idea of Ideas, the whole mind of God going out in itself creation. He represents the world before God created, as High Priest, Intercessor, Panaelete. He stands at the corners of the streets, and invites men to walk in His ways. God created or prepared her before the world was made; she was foreordained in the scheme of 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 fear of God. Eclectics and Eclesiastici, Philo and Solomon we find a further development of Jewish thought in the direction of Greek philosophy. Eclectics presents us with a pessimistic philosophy quite alien from Judaism and strongly influenced by Stoaicism, though the trend is masked by numerous interpolations. Eclesiastici is more Jewish in sentiment; ‘Wisdom’ has found her chief expression in the books of the Law. The book called Wisdom of Solomon is the work of an orthodox Jew, who has no sympathy with the views of Eclesiastes, and resents their attribution to Solomon; but his doctrine is strongly coloured by Stoical and Platonic ideas. Wisdom is immanent in God, belonging to the divine essence, and yet existing in quasi-independenee side by side with God. Wisdom was the agent in God's creation of the world, 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 growing more rapidly than any motion among them, without contracting any insipacy by her contact with matter. In the human spirit she is the teacher not only of every virtue and of all theological knowledge, but of all the human arts and sciences.

It is good, but they must not, neither do they bear, the universal law of God. But O God, giver of all things, who dwell in dark and holiness, rule over the thunder, deliver man from the Creator. Realize it from their souls, and grant them to obtain wisdom, for by wisdom thou dost rule all things; that, being honored, we may enter with honor, with joy, with song. Singing Thy works without ceasing, as we ought to do. For there is no greater thing than this, for all worketh or worketh for God, to honor the praise of universal law."

In fact, this conception of a germinative principle of Reason which manifests itself in the universe, and especially in the minds of human beings as 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 by the earlier system of Greek philosophy. The earlier books of the OT connect the operations of the Mebure 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 renews the face of the earth. The protecting care of God for the chosen people is attributed by the OT to the Shekinah, the Glory, and above all, the Wisdom of God. Similar language about the Word is found in the frequent phrase ‘the Word of the Lord came unto me’, and in such passages as Ps. 68:5, ‘It is the Lord’s_pc. Nevertheless, the personification is throughout poetical rather than metaphysical, except in writers completely under Greek influence.

On the whole, in the later books the conception of Wisdom and its adversary that of Word—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 His ways. God created or prepared her before the world was made; she was foreordained in the scheme of 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 fear of God. Eclectics and Eclesiastici, Philo and Solomon we find a further development of Jewish thought in the direction of Greek philosophy. Eclectics presents us with a pessimistic philosophy quite alien from Judaism and strongly influenced by Stoicism, though the trend is masked by numerous interpolations. Eclesiastici is more Jewish in sentiment; ‘Wisdom’ has found her chief expression in the books of the Law. The book called Wisdom of Solomon is the work of an orthodox Jew, who has no sympathy with the views of Eclectics, and resents their attribution to Solomon; but his doctrine is strongly coloured by Stoical and Platonic ideas. Wisdom is immanent in God, belonging to the divine essence, and yet existing in quasi-independence side by side with God. Wisdom was the agent in God's creation of the world, 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 growing more rapidly than any motion among them, without contracting any insipacy by her contact with matter. In the human spirit she is the teacher not only of every virtue and of all theological knowledge, but of all the human arts and sciences.
sacrificing love is an idea not to be found in Philo; it follows that the conception of ἁγιάσμα, 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? These questions, which writers here have often been magnified by orthodox critics, Philo believed in theosophies, and could have easily accepted a docetic theory of the Incarnation. The Fourth Evangelist is no docetic; but for him too the Incarnation is a revelation.

The Johannine Christ became flesh 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 with God. He is supra-temporal, not simply the Spirit of the World. He did not become personal either at the Creation or at the Incarnation. The Logos was 'turned toward' (προστάσεως) God. The proposition indicates the closest union, with a sort of transcendental subordination. The Father alone is the πατὴρ ἀγαθός.

The opening words of the Prologue do not (with Meyer, Weiss, etc.) refer to the Creation, but to His eternal relationship to the Father. Deification was to the Jews blasphemy, to the Greeks a light thing. The Evangelist shows that the transcendence of distinction of persons is in God Himself. 'All things came into being through the Logos, who is the mediator Agent in creation.' Apart from Him nothing came into being. That which has come in His name was, in Bossuet, 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 men as ἀγαθόν; 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 the 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 (it) not.'

'This is the genuine light, which lighteth every man as it cometh into the world.' He was (always) with the world, and the world knew Him not. He was also (always) 'in the world' and the world knew Him not. Yet 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 (τὰς υπό τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ἁγιάσματος), 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'; but 3:1 and 6:1 (cf. 1 Jn 15) suggest that he did. It is certainly in accordance with Johannine ideas to hold that the Incarnation, and the Passion as the sacrament of the divine self-sacrifice, were part of the counsels of God from all eternity. The Logos is the Incarnation was, according to this thought, Μεταμορφωθησθαι, though not προφυλακτικά. The Prologue thus leads up to the Incarnation of the Logos.

There was nothing strange in this doctrine. The book of Proverbs (29) had asserted the same of Wisdom: 'I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.'

2 This is also Philonic: cf. de Cherub. 39: οὐκ εἶδον γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴν αἰώνιον [καὶ οὐ] τὸν θάνατον, λόγος τε ἄγιος, ἀληθινὸς ἄγιος, ἄγιος δὲ ἀληθινός, διὰ τοῦτο ἀληθινὴ λάθειον, ἄγιος δὲ σωτήρθεν διὰ τῆς ἁγιασμοῦ.

3 The Origin took ζωότης, probably rightly.

4 This is exactly what Basilidians also say about the Logos.
which is the theme of the whole Gospel, though the historical form precedes any further discussion of the subject on its philosophical side. The incidents are selected for their symbolical and illustrative value, and the whole tendency of the treatise is quietly to transmute logos ideas about the incarnation into a more universal and spiritual form. The highest form of faith, he more than hints, is that which can dispense with ecclesiastic evidence. The ascended Christ can be understood more readily than was possible when the Logos had his tabernacle among men.

3. In Christian theology. The doctrine of the Logos has a very important place in the theology of the early centuries. They were the deposit of orthodox Catholicism to various theories of the Person of Christ which at that time seemed plausible—those which made Jesus a phantom, or a demi-god, or an emanation, or a god-man. Historical thought, extension to and including Arianism, tended to rank Christ with the imaginary intermediate Spirit which formed a hierarchy between the supreme God and humanity. The Johannine Logos doctrine was a barrier against all such theories. The Apostolic Fathers do not supply much material. Ignatius calls Christ Logos ζωῆς σειρήνος, which has a Gnostic ring; since Valentinus was sojourning in Rome, Ignatius may have heard things from Valentinian circles. Hermas identifies the Son with the Law of God, just as Philo identifies Law and Logos. In the Acts of John the Logos-conception is separated from the Person of the Son, so that Christ with his Disciples can sing the praises of the Logos and the Son. In ch. 13 the Voice teaches: 'This cross of light is sometimes called by me Logos, sometimes Jesus Christ, sometimes God, etc.' In Montanism (q.e.) this notion of the Logos as θεόπνοος of divine attributes was maintained. The anti-Montanist Athanasius represented a reaction against this tendency. The Logos was the source of the Logos (οῖς αὐτὸς τὸν άφιετον), according to Epiphanius. This was a time of unreasoned theosophical speculation, in which an attempt was made to throw into the Logos-conception a mass of heterogeneous elements—Jewish, Greek, and Oriental. The Fourth Gospel had a very steady effect, when it was accepted as canonical; and so had the writings of the Apologists—Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, and Athenæus. The Apologists were theological conservatives. They wished to preserve traditional Christianity, with its doctrine of revelation and its reverence for the OT. They do not philosophize for their co-religionists; they talk about the Logos to show the pagans that Christianity is in agreement with the 'best thought of our time,' just as our clergy talk about evolution.

The philosophy which the Apologists mainly wished to conciliate was Stoicism, which in the 2nd cent. was much stronger than Platonism. So Justin argues that Christ is the 'Spermatikos Logos,' the Reason of God, at first immaterial in the bosom of his bosom, then sent forth as the spoken word for creation and revelation. All men are made in the image of the Logos; and those who believe in Christ are men in whom the divine seed, which is the Logos, dwells.' 

4. The Stoic-Christian cosmology. The Logos was first ὁ λόγος, ἡ ἐνεργεία, residing in the bosom of the Father. Then, by the will of the Father, He came forth as the image of God (τὸ Λόγος ἐκ τούτου). The Logos is the ψυχή in relation to the creatures. Theophilus employs the Stoic terms ἑκδότης and φύσις, and gives us a Stoic outline of a systematic Logos doctrine.

Theologians maintain that the Logos did not first acquire a personal existence in connexion with creation. Minucius Felix equates the Christian Trinity with Mente, Ratio, Spiritus. This is to be noted, because later, under Platonic influence, a principle above Nous (Mente) was asserted, and that, with Christian speculative mystics, was naturally identified with the Father, with the result that Nous was now equated with the Logos, and Ratio (the will and thought of God transmitted into vital law) had to be awkwardly assigned to the Holy Ghost. This led to confusion. The Alexandrians continued to call the Father Nous, feeling probably that the Neo-Platonic Absolute in no way corresponded to the Christian God the Father. Thus they introduced a distinction resembling that between the Godhead and God in Eckhart; a sublimated conception of Nous was introduced between the Absolute and the Logos.

In Clement of Alexandria the Logos-doctrine is a doctrine of Inmanence. 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 prepared for His visible advent. Hence the prophecies of the Incarnation enter into the organic process of human history. The history of man's redemption is, for Clement, the development of a human capacity, under its divine 'Instructor.' As Instructor, the Logos has always been present in the world; He spoke 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.

1. He is the Saviour of all, some with the consciousness of what he is to them, others not as yet; some as friends, others as faithful servants, others hardly even as servants (Strom. vi. 7).

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 possible from the work of redemption. The Incarnation is in itself the Atonement by which God reconciles the world to Himself. For Clement, as for other Greek theologians, there is properly only one dogma—the Incarnation.

For Origen's Logos-doctrine see art. ALLENDRIAN THEOLOGY, vol. 1, p. 318.

There were two schools which opposed the Logos-doctrine—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 Neoplatonism as their mistress in philosophy (see, further, art. MONARCHIANISM). The Monarchian and Sabellian treatises show the line of argument used by the orthodox—a position which was later regarded as not wholly satisfactory. Methodius, a Platonist but not an Origenist, argued that the Incarnation was the necessary complement of the Creation, the perfection of Adam being natural. There is a double development—in the race and in the individual, both due to the immaterial Logos. The σώμα is perpetually re-enacted in spiritual experience. Macarius teaches the same doctrine: in each believer a Christ is born.
The Arian controversy drove orthodoxy into something like a compromise with modalism. The tendency for Arians, as for those who followed the Logos, does not add anything significant to the doctrine. It was, in fact, no longer thoroughly acceptable to the Catholics. The word λόγος was not used so as to mean the necessary symbol; and the Synod of Sirmium (A.D. 431) condemned the doctrine of the λόγος εἰκόνα and προφθαρμήν. 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 immannence. 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 permanent and very important type of religious thought, and can never lose its value, though there are many who (like Max Muller) are ardent supporters of the Logos-idea 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. VAC/comments.


Lokáyata. — This word, which denotes properly 'belonging to the world of sense,' is the Indian name for the materialistic system whose adherents are termed Lokáyatikas or Lokáyantikas, or more usually Chárvakas, 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 panmaterialism; and undoubted theories have had numerous adherents in India from that period onwards to the present day.

These two authorities bear witness to the former existence of text-books of materialism, viz. the Bhágavat and the Sūtras of Bhāspati, 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 Mahábháráta, to the polemic which was carried on against materialism in the text-books of the other philosophical schools, and to the doctrines of King Error in the philosophical drama Prabhodhahandodbodhaka. This last was composed in the 11th or 12th cent. A.D., and aims at setting forth in allegorical style the superiority of Brahmanical orthodoxy to all other theories of the universe. The principal source of our knowledge, however, is the first chapter of the Sūtra of the Path of Results, a compendium of all the philosophical systems of India, composed in the 15th cent. of our era by Mahábháráka, the celebrated teacher of the Vaisnavas, in which the doctrines of Indian materialism are set forth in the greatest detail. Mahábháráka begins his exposition with an expression of regret that the majority of the men of his day follow the materialism represented by Chárvaka.

The Lokáyata allows only perception as a means of knowledge, and refuses inference. It recognizes as the sole reality the four elements, i.e. 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 plus the attribute of intelligence. The existence of a soul distinct from the body cannot be established by perception. Supernatural 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 details, has no existence for the Lokáyátakas, because this conception is possible only by inference. To the objection of an orthodox philosopher, that these who reject this controlling force in the universe leave the various phenomena of the latter without explanation, 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, as these are always mingled with more or less pain, is met by the remark that it is for us to secure by prudent enjoyment as little alloyed as possible with pain, and to shun as far as is in our power the suffering inseparably connected with pleasures. The man who would have fish must take their skin and bones, and he who wants rice cannot exclude the husks from his bargain. Let him not then from fear of the pain renounce the pleasantness, for he will 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, internal contradiction, and useless repetition; and the professors of Vedic science deceivers, whose doctrines are mutually destructive. To the Chárvakas the ritual of the Bráhmans is a fraud, and the costly and laborious sacrifices are useless only for providing with a livelihood the cunning followers who carry them out. 'If an animal sacrificed at the Jyotiṣoma (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 Hindu the doctrine of the Chárvaka is the worst of all heresies.

It is natural to conjecture that the Lokáyata 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.

Lokáyatā. — See Bodhisattva.

Lollards. — See Wycliff.
LONGSUFRERG.—Longsuffering is alike a divine attribute and a human virtue. In both its meaning is well represented by 'long-anxiety,' formerly a word of frequent occurrence, and not altogether obsolete.

The closest parallel of 'long-suffering,' quoted in the GED, (v. 417) is from a 1560 tr. of the DeMittalee, R. XIII, 14: "Thou shalt overcome them [temporal] better bred and blessed by patience and long-suffering; the most recent citation of the word is from the Spectator, 11th Jan. 1698: 'His longsuffering unites him to the pure and graceful.'

The literal meaning of the Greek word (μακροθυμία) of which 'long-suffering' is the translation is 'long-tempered,' the opposite of our familiar expression 'short-tempered' (cf. Germ. Langhausigkeit).

In three OT passages (Ex 34, Nu 14, Ps 86) the RV substitutes a more literal rendering of the Hebrew phrase (פָּסַק וְקֵינָה; length of face) —"slow to anger" —for the AV 'long-suffering.' In many passages (Neh 9, Ps 103, 145, Jer 15, 24, Jon 4) the two translations are interchangeable.

Longsuffering or slowness to anger is the glory of man as it is revealed in the character of Christ (R. C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament, London, 1859, p. 349).

That the two expressions are synonymous in many contexts is evident from the translation in the RV of 'long-suffering' in Jer 15:15, 'Avenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy longsuffering.' The former sentence seems decisive in favour of the reading of the RV. RV regards the divine longsuffering as displayed towards the persecutors and not towards the prophet.

The difference is in the interpretation of Luke 6:37, 'Love your enemies.' The AV renders 'bear well with them,' but the RV 'and longsuffering over them.' A. Plummer (ICC, Edinburgh, 1895, in loc.) grants that 'έχριστος 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 set for them?' But the analogy of Jer 15:15 (cf. Sir 50:37) suggests that the main thought is of God's patient forbearance with 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? I tell you, he will quickly see justice done to his elect!' (The New Testament: A New Translation, London, 1913).

The uncertainty in regard to the interpretation of the above and other passages may serve to emphasize what Plummer rightly insists upon, namely, that, although πασχάζων usually means 'is slow to anger,' yet it sometimes means 'to be slow, be backward, tarry,' and is almost synonymous with βαπτίζω. So also πασχάζων may mean 'slow persistence' as well as 'slowness to anger,' (G. D. F. Macrorius, I.e. (CD, p. 414).

The RV recognizes this wider meaning, and regards 'long-suffering' as equivalent to 'patience' in Heb 6 and 1 Pet 3. The corresponding verb is applied in Ja 5:17 to the husbandman's patient waiting for the harvest. But 'patience' is more frequently the translation of (υπομονή), the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering, which it is the wisest want which does not hastily retaliate a wrong' (J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, London, 1879, col 11).

Longsuffering of God's reference is made in Lk 18, Ro 2:4, 1 P 3:9, 2 P 3:12, and to the 'long-suffering' of Jesus Christ in 1 Ti 1:17 and probably in Ro 2:4. 'Forbearance' (λατρεύει) is linked with 'long-suffering.'

The distinction between these two words is that 'the λατρεύει is temporary, transient: we may say that, like our word 'trace,' it asserts its own temporary, transient character...: This may be used, it is true, of a πασχάζων so its thought of it does not lie in the word; we may conceive of a πασχάζων, though it would be worthy of little honour, which should never be exhausted; while ὑπομονή implies its own merely provisional character.' (G. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament, London, 1859, p. 195,

As a moral attribute of God, 'long-suffering' is a manifestation of His grace. In 'the riches of His goodness' He waits long and patiently for the sinner's repentance (Ro 9:22), and in loving 'patience' He tolerates those who deserve His wrath (Ro 9:22).

Yet patience and long-suffering point not merely to the suspension of punishment, but to the profound theology behind it. To the contrast between the apparent impotence of long-suffering, and supreme moral omnipotence, this is an attribute which exercises a special reverence (T. Haring, The Christian Faith, London, 1912, f. 271, r. 3).

'Longsuffering,' as a Christian grace, is a 'fruit of the Spirit' (Gal 5:22). Though a passive virtue, it is the manifestation in 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, 12)

In his earnest prayers that Christians may be adorned with this grace, St. Paul asks that they may have the mind of Christ, for he obtained mercy, wherefore he was made meet for that which God intended, to show forth all his longsuffering, for an example of them which should hereafter believe on him unto eternal life' (1 Ti 1:16).

In 1 Co 13:4 'long-suffering' is said to be an attribute of the 'love' which we are made partakers of the divine nature. Tertullian (De Patientia, 19) and other Fathers explain it to mean greatness of soul or magnanimity, but πασχάζων differs from ὑπομονή, the 'height-mindedness' of Aristotle: 'First, it is not a consciousness of greatness, but a largeness of conception. Second, it is not the love which spirit tires but it has exhausted its last resources. Owing to the contrast between the apparent impotence of long-suffering, and supreme moral omnipotence, this is anattribute which exercises a special reverence. Third, it is not a noble pride that stands aloof, but an intelligent patience of long-suffering, though not an active combat in the strife' (T. C. Edwards, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, London, 1859, p. 343).

In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1913), interweave the following instructive examples of the use of 'long-suffering' are found:

Test. Dan 3: 'Unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.'

Test. Gad 4: 'The spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in longsuffering unto the salvation of men.'

Test. Jas 1:17: 'With longsuffering hides ye one another's faults.'

For further information:

Who is mighty? He who controlleth his evil disposition; as it is said: 'Better is the longsuffering than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.'

LITERATURE.—The word 'longsuffering' is best studied with the aid of commentaries on the passages in which it occurs. There is an instructive and comprehensive article in Exeg. Tlp. (1900-01) 250 ff.; the following bibliography is given: H. C. H. Cremer, Bibl. Theol. Lexicon, Edinburg, 1875, p. 268 ff.; J. Taylor, Works, London, 1846, iv. 481 ff.; R. W. Dale, Year-Book Semen, 1885, p. 28 ff.; J. Temple, Syllog Semen, 1881, III. 173 ff.; C. J. Verv劃mann, University and Other Semen, 1897, p. 250 ff.; A. Mazar, Ancient Greek and Other Semen, 1898, p. 217 ff. See also J. Hastings, art. 'Longsuffering' in BDs Ill. 136; H. C. Lees, art. 'Longsuffering.' In DJD Ill. 5 ff.

J. G. Tasker.

LORD'S DAY.—See SUNDAY.

LORD'S PRAYER.—See PRAYER (Christian).

LORD'S SUPPER.—See EUCHARIST.

LORETO.—For many centuries the little town of Loreto, situated some 15 miles from Ancona on a hill commanding a view of the Adriatic, has been a notable place of pilgrimage. No visitant, who visited it in 1560, and who apparently believed
in the miracles of healing supposed to be wrought there, describes the town as "containing few inhabitants except those who serve the needs of the worshipers." (Journal of Travels, Eng. ed., London, 1893, ii. 196-209.) The great basilica, the dome of which is visible from afar, was begun in 1468, completed in 1538, and has since received many additions and modifications. Of its artistic interest an excellent account is given in A. Colasanti (Loreto, Bergamo, 1910). But the basilica was built only to enclose and enshrine a tiny edifice known as 'La Santa Casa,' which is the 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 13, 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. An ancient statue of wood, of Byzantine origin, the representation of the Madonna and Child, now voluminously draped and also crowned, occupies a niche inside the little house at some height from the floor, and beneath it is a seat in which Mary sat, said. Countless votive offerings are suspended all around, these probably represent only a small part of the rich gifts which belonged to the shrine before Napoleon riled it in 1798. The statue itself was carried off and taken to Paris, but in 1801 the First Consul returned it to the niche that it had formerly occupied. The words 'Hic Verbum caro factum est' sculptured above it indicate the shrine's traditional claim to the veneration of the faithful, but the story is more fully told in a Latin inscription set up in the basilica by Pope Clement VIII. in 1598, 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 Divine mysteries accomplished in it and the holy miracles herein wrought. It is here that the most holy Mary, Mother of God, was born; here that she was betrothed to the angel; here that the Eternal Word of God was made men. Angels conveyed this house from Palestine to the town of Tarsus in Liura in the year of salvation 1291 in the presence of Nicholas IV. Three years later, in the beginning of the pontificate of Boniface VIII, it was solemnly blessed by the ministry of Renacinata in the Marches of Ancona, where, having changed its station three times in the course of a year, at length, by the will of God, it took up its permanent position on this spot three hundred years ago. Ever since, standing on the site of the event having called forth the admirable wonders of the neighbouring people, and the fame of the miracles which B. John XXII caused to be published, the church having spread far and wide, the Holy House, whose walls do not rest on any foundation and yet remain firm, has been, from the time it was consecrated so many centuries, has been held in reverence by all nations.'

This statement lays little stress upon what is perhaps the most surprising feature of the legend, viz., the triple change of the after the arrival of the Holy House upon the shores of the Adriatic. Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, best known, from his native town of Teramo, as 'Teramans,' who between 1405 and 1410 published the earliest version of the translation story that has been preserved to us (the document has been discussed with great critical acumen by Huffer in his Loreto, i. 33-66), explains that, because the Santa Casa was not situated at the point of land where it was first deposited, near Fiume in Illyria, it was carried thence by angels across the Adriatic to a wood at Recanati belonging to the Lady Loreto; hence the name 'di Loreto.' The wood was later abandoned, and the church ('inde accepta tunc ista ecclesia nomen 'sancta Maria de Loretha' ab illa domina qua erat illis silve dominis et patronis'). Here, however, there was such a concourse of pilgrims that the wood was infested with robbers and murderers.

For this reason, the 'Relatio Teramans' says, '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 the same mount by the hands of angels it was set down again. The which brothers, on account of the immense revenue and gain of money and other things, fell straightway into great discord and strife. Wherefore the angels, in the same manner as before, carried it away from the said place, and brought it to a spot in the public ground and there they made it fast.'

The legend also relates how the Blessed Virgin in 1296 appeared in a dream to a certain man who was devout to her, and in this way made known the whole story. Thereupon 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 venerated there. Furthermore, in the time of Teresa, himself two old men came forward and each testified that his grandfather's grandfather had confirmed from personal knowledge the account of the translation.

This was the story which, with further amplifications, added in the 18th cent., was believed from about the year 1740 to the present day. Although such antecedents of the legend are feeble, we must not overrate the importance of the later elaboration of C. G. Vogel of the Missions, Father Miller, and A. G. Vogel; they did not venture to throw doubts upon the substantial truth of the narrative. It was only in 1908 that L. Crespi, in his "La Santa Casa," and A. R. Vogel betrayed their misgivings, that the event was exaggerated and the mission of the Virgin Mary in the events of the 19th century.

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other hand, the first papal document which gives any indication of the special sanctity attaching to the shrine of Loreto is the bull of Paul II. in 1470, which speaks thus:

"Desiring to show our veneration for the church of Blessed Mary of Loreto, miraculously founded in honour of the same Most Holy Virgin outside the walls of Roccamonfina, in which, as the said person is worthy of credit and esteem, and as all the faithful may ascertain for themselves, an image of the glorious Virgin, through the wonderful adoption of God, has been deposited, attended by a troop of angels, and to which church by reason of the countless stupendous miracles which the same Virgin has wrought, and the benefactions that our pontifical intercession has worked for all who devoutly have recourse to her and humbly implore her protection," etc.

Here again not the least suggestion is conveyed that the building, which enjoyed but such faint foundations, was the actual house of the Holy Family of Nazareth. On the other hand, the terms of this notice lead great probability to the opinion, supported by Hufner and others, and it was serious and critical antiquity, 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 further development that the whole building had been made, partly at least, by people from the East. And, finally, a reason was found for this exceptional providence by assuming that the building was none other than the actual Holy House of Nazareth. Considered in itself, the hypothesis of a gradual evolution of the legend by a curious parallel in the case of a chapel not far from Siena. The story is told first by A. Fortuni in his Cronichetta del Monte Sacro, 1570 (see p. 21), and in the year 1518 Leo X. identifies himself with the whole marvellous story "ut fide dignorum comprobatum est testimonio," and it must have been shortly after this that Thomas Duchate or Duchette of Museburg 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 that the frescos of Sixtus V. and in modern times Pius IX. and Leo XIII., adopted the tradition without any question, and Innocent XII. sanctioned the celebration of a special feast of the translation of the "Holy House" in the "Sacred Treasury". In the latter part of the 18th cent. the story of the miraculous appearance was everywhere accepted, and the local traditions of Nazareth itself were modified to suit it. It should also be remembered that none of these papal bulls or other similar acts of ecclesiastical authority is regarded in the Roman Church as having any dogmatic force, and consequently all Roman Catholics are free to disregard the legend according to their own judgment of the historical evidence. The defenders of the tradition still lay stress upon an alleged scientific examination of the materials, particularly the stone of which the Holy Casa is built, and it is claimed that experts have declared that such materials are not found in Italy, but only in the neighbourhood of Nazareth (see D. Bertini, Suprema et sola sanctissima Casa del Loredo, Rome, 1861). But these experiments were carried out in 1837, and it may be doubted whether their conclusions can be regarded as rigidly scientific. Let us also notice that the Holy House of 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 afford of necessity to be a part of the Loreto legend. It is clear from the early date of S. Maria de Loretto chronicled above that there was at least one rival tradition of the same kind in circulation. These frescos, then, cannot be appealed to as an argument in favour of the early date of the Loreto story in particular.

LITERATURE.—The vast bibliography of the subject has been very fully, though not quite exhaustively, dealt with by F. Hufner, "Bibliotheca Sacra," vol. xxi. 1918, and also by J. Fauers, "Bibliotheca Sacra," Tournai, 1918, and by F. Hufner, "Loreto" (see below), vol. ii. 5-8, only a selection of the books and articles can be mentioned here. The text of the early writers who elaborated the legend into the form which ultimately prevailed, viz. Terrasinos, Jerome Angeles, Raphia Perins, and Horazio Turselli, will be found printed at length in the voluminous work of P. V. Martorelli, Teatro storico della S. Casa Nazarena, vol. iv., Rome, 1783-85. Besides this, we may note, among other works, the Imperial Frontini of G. A. Vogel, de sancta sanctissima et lustrata arca borei aepignos commentarios, 2 vols., Roccamonfina, published in 1656, though written in 1608, and M. Leopoldi, La Sacra Casa di Loreto, Legnano, 1841. Both these works give proof of much research among municipal archives and other records of the modern controversy, after U. Chevalier, Notre-Dame de Loreto, Paris, 1906, by far the most important contribution to the subject is that of G. Hufner, "Loreto: eine geschichtskritische Untersuchung der Frage des heiligen Hauses, München, 1913," for so far only one book dose a second examination. See also A. Brandt, "La Question de Loreto," Paris, 1910; C. Beaufort, "La Véracité sur le fait de Loreto," de 1919, and the "Millennium," 1919.

LOTUS.—See DIVINATION.

LOTUS (Egyptian).—1. Name.—First we must dismiss entirely the modern botanical name ‘lotus’, for the ancient Egyptian lotus plant resembling a vetch ('Proc. Roy. Soc. Sect. XVII. 1899, p. 235).

As plants more or less confused together, being all water-lilies, and popularly called ‘lotus’, there may be specified (1) rose lotus (Nelumbium speciosum), distinguished by imbricated petals on the bud; (2) white lotus (Nymphea lotus), distinguished by ribbed petals on the bud, rounded when opened; and (3) blue lotus (Nymphea caerulea), distinguished by smooth, pointed petals. The two Nymphea lotuses cross, and any intermediate form may occur naturally.

(1) This is at present an Indian plant unknown in Egypt, but as a cultivated rarity. It was known in Roman times, being found in the cemetery at Hawara (W. M. F. Petrie, Hawara, London, 1890, p. 52), and described by Athenaeus.

'Lotus grows in the marshes... one like that of the rose, and it bears a garland of flowers of this colour which are properly called the garlands of Anubis; but the other kind is called the lotus garland, being of a blue colour' (iv. 23).

It was known earlier to Herodotus:

'There are also other lilies like roses that grow in the river, the fruit of which is contained in a separate pod... in this there is a garland of flowers, which fit to be eaten' (ii. 92).

There does not seem to be any proof that this plant was indigenous, nor that 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 it to be on the head of Nefertum; but that flower appears rather to be a Nymphe. He agrees that it is not shown on monuments. The capital foundation at Memphis (Petrie, Palace of Apries, London, 1899, 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 the most usual of the different scenes of the early kingdom; as a capital at Memphis (Petrie, Palace of Apries, xvii.); as figures of capitals (Zowyet el-Meyiyat, IV dyn.; El-Bersheh, XIXth dyn.; see E. Prisse d'Avennes, Hist. de l'art égyptien, Paris, 1857); as a garland (F. E. Newberry and F. Ll. Griffith, El Bersheh, London, 1895) it was placed upon the mummies of Anubis, Amenemhet I., and Khafre II. It is represented as the flower upon which Horus is seated, shown by the strong ribbing of the sepals (R. V. Langoz, Dizionario di scrittori greci, Turin, 1806, cxvii. 1). This figure is entirely of late date, 5th cent. B.C. and onward. Loret attributes this to the rose lotus; but J. G. Wilkinson emphatically states that it is the blue lotus (Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians, London, 1832, iii. 132 l.); 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, for long periods, with straight-edged pointed petals. It is the most common in the tombs, and is the origin of the regular lotus-capitals. The Egyptian names of these flowers are variously equated. Loret puts the nesheb, neshkheb, or neshkheb 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 IVth dynasty (Papyrus, l. c. 40). The later Loret gives Arab authority for the neshheb being a blue flower (L. P. g. 116), and the khassam (which in the Scales = neshheb) being also blue. It seems probable that neshheb is the blue lotus, though the seeds of all three lotus-plants were eaten (Herod. II. 92), and neshheb was gathered in the Ind dyn. (see a seal in Petrie, Royal Tombs, London, 1901, pl. xvi. 171). If it is probably the commonest name neshheb is the white lotus, the name serpet is more fully spelled out like a Syrian word, as serpeta. It seems obviously connected with serpat of Is 56, 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 connexion 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 never associated with any early god. Nefertum, who wears the flower on his head, is a late deity, the figure first occurring in the XIXth dyn. (A. E. Sayce, Abydos, Paris, 1889-90, i. 380), where also it is the principal 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 so represented only in the Egyptian and later ages (G. Colinna-Ceccelli, Monuments antiques de Chypre, etc., Paris, 1882, pl. viii.; G. A. Hoskins, Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert, London, 1887, pl. vi. base). As Wilkinson says of the lotus, there is no evidence of its having been sacred, much less an object of worship (iii. 133).

3. Literature.—The principal books are V. Loret, La Flora pharaonique, Paris, 1892, for the lotus; G. Fonkam, Histoire de l'art égyptien, 1877, for Egyptian architecture; W. H. Goodyear, Grammar of the Lotus, London, 1911, for general art connections, but over-stated.

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Later, Vejrai, 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 ladle, presumably on account of resemblance in shape; it is certainly so applied in the Alattaya Brahmanas. The word in Pali also is early used for personal adornment is shown by the fact that the Asvins, the youthful twin gods of the morning, are described (X, cxxxiv. 4) as wearing a garland of blue lotuses (pupakka-purna), and the lotus, in the Samudra, is mentioned, together with its various edible parts, in the Atharvaveda (XV. xxxiv. 3). The flower is doubtless the white edible lotus (Nymphaea esculenta), denoted by this name in later times.

In the Brahmanas the lotus first appears associated with the Creator Prajapati in cosmogonic myths. Thus the Taittirya Brahmana (I. i. 5. 5ff) tells how Prajapati, desiring to evolve the universe, which in the beginning was fluid, saw a lotus leaf (pupakka-purna) standing cleft 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, breaks off a fragment, rose with it to the surface, and spread it out on the leaf. Again, the Taittirya Aranyaka (I. xxii. 1) relates that, when the universe was still fluid, Prajapati was in the lotus a Central Indian lotus-leaf. Later, in the epic poetry of the Mahabharata, the Creator, under the name of Brhami, is described as having sprung from the lotus that grew out of Vigna and the canopy of the archway of Vigna. The lotus is mentioned in contexts of meditation. Hence one of the epithets of Brhami is lotus-born (aja-ja, aja-vams, etc.). The lotus is also connected with Vigna, one of whose names is Madana-Hanu ('lotus-naveled'). It is further associated with Vigna's wife Laksmi, goddess of fortune and beauty, in the Mahabharata, where the myth is related of Vigna's forebear sprang a lotus, out of which came Sri (another name of the goddess), and where one of Laksmi's epithets is padma, 'lotus-necked'. The Mahabharata, in its account of Mount Kailas, the abode of Kailas, the god of wealth, describes his lake Nalini and his river Mandakini as covered with golden lotuses.

2. In art.—As regards its application in religious art, the lotus figures, with the rise of that act in India, in all the great divinities, which came into being in different parts of the country from about 500 B.C. onwards. In its simplest form the expanded lotus is very frequent as a circular crenated motif. It occurs in sculpture, and Laksmi, as well as Agni, god of fire, Pavana, god of wind, Ganesa, god of wisdom, Vigna's incarnation Rama, and the demon Ravana, are all found represented on such sculptures, and the regular holds a lotus in one of his four hands. A lotus pedestal also serves as a standard for the images of the god Indra, of Vigna and nearly all his incarnations, and of the sun-god Surya; in Ceylon also of Siva and Parvati, as well as of Kailas, god of wealth, and in Tibet of Saravasti, goddess of learning.

Similarly, in the ancient Jain sculptures found at Mathurah the lotus constantly occurs as a medalion or in more elaborate floral decoration. It also appears as the symbol of the sixth Jina, or Saint. At the present day it is worshipped generally by the Hindus in India, and even by low caste Mugahari brahmins in some as in a sitting or standing posture.

The oldest and most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Laksmi in the Buddhist sculptures at Mathura, and in the sculptures of Sainali, Bhairat, Amaravati, and Bodh Gay, as well as in the rock-cut Buddhist temples of Western India, being introduced as a medallion on pillars, panels, and ceilings. Very elaborately carved half-lotuses sometimes appear thus, or, in Ceylon, as so-called moonstones—semi-circular stone slabs at the foot of staircases. Lotuses growing on stalks also occur in the sculptures of Gandhara and of Mathura, and often figure in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of Sainali or the panels of Amaravati.

The lotus is further found from the earliest times, conventionalized either as a seated or as a pedestal on the divinity or god, seated in a sitting or standing posture. The oldest and most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Laksmi in the Buddhist sculptures at Mathura, and in the sculptures of Sainali, Bhairat, Amaravati, and Bodh Gay, as well as in the rock-cut Buddhist temples of Western India, being introduced as a medallion on pillars, panels, and ceilings. Very elaborately carved half-lotuses sometimes appear thus, or, in Ceylon, as so-called moonstones—semi-circular stone slabs at the foot of staircases. Lotuses growing on stalks also occur in the sculptures of Gandhara and of Mathura, and often figure in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of Sainali or the panels of Amaravati.

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 Rājār in Behrā, in the Kamheri caves near Bombay, and often in the Gandhāra monuments of the North-West. From the latter region this type spread beyond the confines of India, re-appearing in Nāgar, Turhā, and Ceylon. Even when the seat is not actually the flower itself, two, three, or four lotuses are, in the Gandhāra sculptures, carved on its front. Such lotuses are even found delineated on a footstool on which Gautama rests his feet instead of sitting cross-legged. The number of the petals of such lotuses varies from four to six.

The use of the lotus seat has been extended to images of bodhisattvas not only in India, but in Buddhist countries beyond its borders. Thus Mājūrī is represented sitting in this way not only at Sarnāth, near Benares, but also in Java and Tibet. In a modern Tibetan picture Mahāyāna is depicted on a lotus seat, and the figure of a Persian bodhisattva sitting on a seat adorned with lotuses and painted on a wooden panel was discovered by M. A. Stein during his first expedition in Central Asia (bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara occurs sitting on a lotus seat, and in Nepal also as sitting on a lotus pedestal. The lotus is otherwise intimately connected with this bodhisattva; for it is laid absentmindedly on the lap of a lotus, and he regularly holds a lotus in his hand, whence is derived his epithet of Padmapani, 'lotus-handed'. To him, moreover, refers the Buddhist formula "ôta nasā samadhi ("Vajra" in the lotus! Amen"), which at the present day is the most sacred prayer of the Buddhists in Tibet (see art. JEWEL [Buddhist], § 7). The persistence of this application through the centuries is a remarkable fact that it often appears not only in modern Indian brass images of Hindu gods, but even in seated portraits of Mahāyānas of the 19th century.

The lotus seat and pedestal have a direct universal application in connexion with the figures of Hindu mythology. Thus Brhami appears seated on Vigna's beautiful lotus. The three great gods of the Hindu triad, Brahma, Siva, and Vigna, with their respective consorts, Laksmi, as well as Agni, god of fire, Pavana, god of wind, Ganesa, god of wisdom, Vigna's incarnation Rama, and the demon Ravana, are all found represented on such sculptures, and the regular holds a lotus in one of his four hands. A lotus pedestal also serves as a standard for the images of the god Indra, of Vigna and nearly all his incarnations, and of the sun-god Surya; in Ceylon also of Siva and Parvati, as well as of Kailas, god of wealth, and in Tibet of Saravasti, goddess of learning.

Similarly, in the ancient Jain sculptures found at Mathurah the lotus constantly occurs as a medalion or in more elaborate floral decoration. It also appears as the symbol of the sixth Jina, or Saint. At the present day it is worshipped generally by the Hindus in India, and even by low caste Muhammadan brahmins in some as in a sitting or standing posture. See also art. FLOWERS, vol. vi. p. 54.

3. In Buddhism.—The symbolism of the lotus-flower (padma, pundarika, stupa) was borrowed by the Buddhists directly from the parent religion Brahmanism. Primarily, the lotus-flower appears to have symbolized for the Aryans from very remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth; and, secondarily, the creative force and immortality. The traditional Indian and Buddhist explanation of it is that the glorious lotus-flower appears to spring not from the sordid earth but from the surface of the water, and is always pure and unsullied, no matter how impure may be the water of the lake. It thus expresses the idea of spontaneous birth, and the emergence of the first created object from the primordial waters of chaos; hence also the flower was regarded as the matrix of the Hindu creator himself, Narayana, and his later form, the god Brahma, who are respectively figured and described as reclining and seated upon a lotus-flower. As an emblem of divine purity, the lotus-flower is instanced in the pre-Buddhist Vedic hymns (e.g., RV. x. 131. 5, s.xxvi. [1894] 180); and this was possibly its significance when it first applied to the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni.

As an emblem of divine birth, the lotus is the commonest of motifs in Buddhist art and literature, as has been noted above (§ 2). In the Buddhist paradise of Sukhavati, the goal of popular Mahāyāna-Buddhists, wherein women exist, every one is born as a god upon a lotus-flower (Saddharma-pundarika [SBE xxii. (1884) 389, xlvi. (1894) pt. ii. pp. x. 62]), and there are lotus-flowers of many-gems (SBE xlvi. p. 87). We have no notion of the beam of lotus-eating, possibly a memory of this old tradition of divine existence.

A form of this myth of divine lotus-birth is probably the myth which invests Buddha with the marvelous power of impressing the image of a lotus-flower on the earth at every step that he took. The references to this are innumerable in the Pāli canon; but in the book which the present writer has shown to be the earliest of all the books of that canon, the Mahāpadāna Sutta (J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 603 f.), the account of the infant Buddha’s first seven steps makes no mention of the lotus-flower imprints which appear in the later versions.

The lotus was especially identified with the sun. This association rested doubtless upon the natural observation that the flower opened when the sun rose and closed at sunset, so as to suggest to the primitive mind the idea that the flower might be the residence of the sun during its nocturnal passage through the underworld, or that it might be the re-victor, reagent of the regenerator of the fresh or refreshed sun of the next day. Its very large multi-rayed flowers would also contribute to this association. It is probably from its association with the sun that the lotus-flower appears on the Gandhāra sculptures, and often subsequently, taking the place on Buddha’s footprints of the wheeled disk of the sun with its thousand spokes. This possibly was the source of the lotus-marked footprints.

The device of a lotus-flower in the hand seems to have symbolized not merely divine birth but the possession of life everlasting, and the preservation and procreation of life. Such was it with the Aryan queen of heaven, the Brahmāni goddess Śrī, and her derivative, the Buddhist Tāra, both of whom have the title ‘Garlanded by Lotus’ (T. Tan. B. 44.4). In the mystical Vedic, pre-Buddhist Satapatha Brahmān the lotus was a symbol of the void (śūnya), and we have seen, it appears to have this sense in the famous Oṁ maṅgaḥ pādaḥ Huṁ formula (see J. B. 4.7). Probably, therefore, such a meaning may be in part involved in the lotus held in the hand of Avalokita, the consort of Tāra, to whom formula is now specially 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 a symbol of the law that we find that a lotus-flower adorns the hands of many of the images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas who do not specially 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 Tāra, Avalokita, Padmapāni, and, occasionally, Maitreya. The lotus surmounted by a sword is an attribute of Anoghamīpa, Khaṭgarīva, Sinhānanda, Tāra, Padmapānapalvotika, and Maitreya; surmounted by a thunderbolt (vajra), it is an attribute of Śānti-prajñā, and mild Vajrānī (Śānta); surmounted by a book, it is an attribute of Mañjuśrī and Prajñā Pūrabhāmitā; surmounted by a jewel, it denotes Kṣitigarbha and Eka-jata; by a sun, Samanta-bhadra. Among Tibetan saints the lotus is the especial emblem of the founder of the Order of Lamas, Padmakara, ‘the Lotus-born’; and Tsongkha-pa, the founder of the Yellow-Hat reformed sect, the Gelug, has two, one of the lotus and one of the seven treasures (see J. B. 7.15). Images of divine symbols, such as the seven treasures, are figured usually upon lotus-flowers.

In Buddhist mythology the lotus’ gives its name to two out of the twenty-four ‘previous’ Buddhas of the Pāli canon, namely Padma (properly Padma) and Puddumțara, and to several nida demigods, Padma, Padmottara, and Padmaraka; also to several of the Buddhist halls, namely Padma, Mahāpadma, and Pupādarika (Sutta Nipāta [SBE x. p. ii. 121]); these appear to be named from the flower-shaped bells which torment the inmates therein. It is also used to denominate the highest number known to Buddhist computators, namely 10,000,000, or 1 followed by 119 eipher, which is called a pāda or, in Pāli, padma, whilst the white lotus represents Śakyamuni as the supreme god of the universe and the possessor of everlasting life. See following article.

Literature.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout.

L. A. WADDELL.
LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.

No book gives a more accurate idea of the literature of the Great Vehic le or Mahāyāna (q.v.) than the Sākyamunīvvesāvatara. It is not only a most important pamphlet, nor does it give a better impression of the character of the changes undergone by Buddhists in certain surroundings, from its beginnings down to the earliest age of the Christian era.

7. The Buddha in the Lotus.—In the ancient Pali documents Sākyamuni is a man, a simple mortal, and he moves in a historical background. In the Lotus he is a sublime being, eternal or almost eternal, who utilizes a phantasmagoric setting the divinity, i.e. the divine splendor 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 immortality. Such a being has no history; therefore, as Kern says (SBE xxii. p. ix), the Lotus is a sort of dramatic performance, an undeveloped mystery play... It consists of a series of dialogues, brightened by the magic effects which would be supernatural in scenery.

Among the most characteristic episodes we may mention the silence which Sākyamuni maintains for thousands of centuries, lengthening out his divinity into this vast distance, until the appearance of the stūpa of a deceased Buddha, who had been in Nirvāṇa for a long time, but who wished to hear the Lotus (xi.); the appearance of immemorable 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 ‘sphinxes’ and the ‘supernatural’ attributed by the authors to the story of the Vehicule 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 providence. In order to save human beings and to lead them to Nirvāna he appears in a human form which is illusory; he is born, teaches, and enters Nirvāna—stages which ordinary men can see; but in reality, while illusory Sākyamunis are appearing in this world, the true Sākyamuni reigns on a ‘Mountain of Vultures,’ surrounded by future Buddhas, and imparting to them the true teachings of the true Buddha.

It is this true Sākyamuni that the Lotus shows.

Nevertheless, as we said, this god is not God. There is not a single word in the Lotus which is not capable of an orthodox, i.e. ‘atheistic,’ interpretation. Sākyamuni may be styled Swayamabhū,5 who is by himself,5 because, like all the Buddhas, he becomes 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, at the same time, Brahmagupta himself

5. The development of the tongue, capable of covering the whole face, is one of the signs of the ‘great man’ in the ancient sources.

6. Contrary, evidently, to all Buddhist dogmas, the being ‘who has adoration’ (Nirvāṇa) is divisible 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 case of the magical or deceptive power (māyā) of Sākyamuni.

7. A friend of Sākyamuni, who was turned by the non-Buddhists into a heavenly mountain.

8. See art. BODHISATVA.


10. Of this expression with the one described in art. Māra’s, Makara is the symbol of the beginning, the middle, and the end, and hence the External and also the Absolute—quite different from Sākyamuni in the Lotus.

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is not, properly speaking, eternal. Besides, Sākyamuni is not the only Buddha; other Buddhas reign and teach at the same time as he, in different countries, in nature, although not necessarily in merit, glory, or activity as a saviour; every Buddha has his own ‘field.’ If he is the father of the world, it is not because he creates human beings; it is because of his teaching era. So much for speculation. In practice, in 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. ARAHAT) or, Hsin-hua, in the Chinese, the saint 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 this means, and only by faith in Buddha; and for that purpose it is necessary to enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas (see art. BODHISATVA). 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 beheld himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man, the other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood he comes to know all directions and goes to some place, where he may come to remove 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 (nāraka, etc.), he sees his son, poor and tattered. The son thinks, ‘Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a son in foreign parts. People like me have nothing to do here; I shall 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 labor 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 menial kind, and then at the most important. And the father treats his son with paternal kindness, but the son, although he manages all his father’s property, lives in a tattered 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 had no idea of our dignity, of our mission as future Buddhas. The Buddha has made us reflect on inferior doctrines; we have appreciated the value of knowledge and have found that it is a great misfortune not to possess it. And, through the Buddha, we possess knowledge and we are now undertaking to make others possess it. If the Buddha has revealed to us that this knowledge is to be ours, and that we are to become Buddhas like him.

Episodes.—Although the formal part of the book (see below, § 4) is almost entirely devoted to Sākyamuni, chs. xxi.—xxvi. glorify several Bodhisattvas. We may mention the Astapāda of Avalokiteśvara (xxvii.), which is one of the most widely read works in China (see art. AVALOKITESVARA); the myth of the ‘healer king,’ Bhajājasāraja (xxvii.), a Bodhisattva who sets fire to his gigantic body for the salvation of human beings, and who, like one of the gods, is not subject to death. 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 duty of self-sacrifice incumbent on future Buddhas (cf. J. M. de Groot, Code du Mahāyāna en Chine, pp. 50, 217, 227). The history of Sadāparamita, ‘the always subdued one,’ ‘the always despised one’ (xxxix.), exemplifies the transcendent purity of the soul; the supreme purity and pure-heartedness to worldly wisdom and scepticism (Kern, in SBE xxii. p. xxxi). We should not have a right idea of the Lotus if we did not mention the glorification of the dharmas, or moral.

1. See art. MĀRA for the plurality of Buddhas and AVARĀMA for the stages in the divinization of the Buddhas.

2. With this idea is one middle and the end. Therefore the External and also the Absolute—quite different from Sākyamuni in the Lotus.
LOTZE.—I. 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. learnt a great deal from Hegel, but in his thinking and construction of an all-encompassing theory of the universe which does not fall short of the claims of modern science, and at the same time assigns a real value to the results of the great idealistic movements of German philosophy in the preceding period, Lotze, in fact, who first directed those results to the true path. To him belong, moreover, the distinction of having stated and discussed the problem 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 labor 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 the general mind.

2. Life and works.—Lotze’s early life falls within the period dominated by the thought and sentiment of Romanticism, followed by his entry into the institutional church. In May 1817 at Bautzen in Lusatia, he was grounded in classical study at the gymnasium of Zittau. Even as a boy he displayed that combination of creative talent and great analytical thought which characterized his ripening years, and in a number of poems composed when he was about sixteen, and given to the public among his posthumous works, we see 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 experimental methods of 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 Chr. Weisse. What he won from his University studies 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 uncritical doctrine of vitalism must be abandoned, and from the scientific field (cf. his dissertation, De futura biologiae 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 practicing for a time as a doctor in Zittau, Lotze qualified as a Doctor 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 labored successfully as an academic teacher (he had become a Professor Extraordinarius in 1839) and achieved remarkable fertility as an author. In 1841 he published the first of his greater 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 he adhered to the impetus which he had received from Hegel and Herbart is clearly traceable in the work. The distinctive feature of the *Metaphysik* is its constant presentation of the idea of the Good, that is, the ultimate root of reality—it is to be found only in what virtue by its unconditional value deserves to exist in this supreme sense. This line of thought, reminding us of Fichte 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 work, viz. that the beginning of metaphysics lies not in itself, but in ethics. In 1849 Lotze issued a second work of importance, his *Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften*. Here he made a frank and bold admission of the mechanical theory of things to the field of organic life, where the scientifically inadequate and, indeed, inadmissible idea of vital force had so long been held. To him belongs, likewise devoted a special article entitled ‘Leben, Lebenskraft,’ in R. Wagner’s *Handwörterbuch der Physiologie* (Göttingen, 1843). In 1848 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. ‘Seelen- und Seelendasein’ (1846), the most notable features of which were its doctrine of the substantial unity of the soul as a real entity and its unemotional opposition to the materialistic views then forcing their way into psychology. His opinions in the field of aesthetics he set forth in a treatise entitled *Über den Begriff der Schönheit* (1845), which was soon followed by *Ueber die Begriffe der Kunst- und Schönheit* (1847)—both appearing in the *Göttinger Studien*.

His *Allgemeine Physiologie des körperlichen Lebens* (1851) and *Das Leben* (1852) develop the fundamental ideas of the *Pathologie*, seeking to examine more closely the validity of the procedure by which the mechanical method is extended to the organic sphere, as well as the psychological, and to define the necessary elements of that application. It is worthy of note that here
Lozze, in opposition to the parallelistic theory, quite definitely champions the hypothesis of a causal connexion between the physical organism and the soul, and to this he adhered all his life. As regards the relation between the physical organism and the soul, in fact, he holds that the former is simply a system by which the external stimuli are enabled to make a due impression upon the latter, whereupon, again, the impulses of the soul are brought to bear upon the external world. The life of the soul is thus by no means a mere copy of the bodily life; the latter is merely the vehicle of the former, and makes it subservient to its own higher ends.

From 1856 to 1864 appeared the three volumes of Lozze's great work, *Mikrokosmus* (Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1888), 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 *Mikrokosmus* as a whole is dominated by the purpose in which Lozze'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 subordinate in its significance, is the function performed by the metaphysical concepts of the world. It is in reality the philosophical problem of the age that Lozze undertakes to solve; he makes it his task to refute the assumption that the metaphysical concepts of the world depend on any necessary consequence a materialistic conception of the world; and his conclusion is that mechanism is simply the aggregate of the means by which the highest end is realized by itself, and thus must not be allowed to rank as the ultimate reality. Hence, in particular, such mechanism does not conflict with that freedom of individual volition on which the stability of the moral ground, the case is rather that it is to be conceived as simply the necessary condition of the efficient action of the autonomous will—as the mode of its self-realization by a free and independent act. This mechanism implies that the real world is partly automorphic, having its action fixed as by clock-work; on the contrary, the essential ground of the concatenation and process of the world is found in Lozze's Infinite, the world, or as he conceives it, only as a living and all-embracing deity.

Lozze's next work of importance was his *Ge- schichte der Ästhetik in Deutschland* (1886). This work comprises (1) a history of the general points of view, dealing in the main with the aesthetics of Kant and of German idealism, but also treating of Herbart's views, and making reference to the fresh perspectives opened by the experimental method of Fechner; (2) a history of the fundamental aesthetic conceptions—"the agreeable in sensation," "the pleasing element in intuition," and "the beautiful in reflection"; and, finally, (3) a history of the theories of art as developed in the various provinces of aesthetics.

In 1874 and 1879 respectively he published his last philosophical work, *Metaphysik* (Eng. tr., of both, ed. B. Bosanquet, 2 vols., Oxford, 1887; *Metaphysics*, 2 vols., do. 1887, *Logies*, 2 vols., do. 1888) as the first two volumes of the *System der Philosophie with which he hoped to crown his life-work. The third part, which was to be devoted to ethics, aesthetics, and the philosophy of religion, was never completed. Lozze died in July 1881, shortly after taking up work in the University of Berlin, to which he had been called by the veneration shown him by the students of the last year. For the aspects of his final theory of the world, the composition of which in system he could not finish, we are therefore dependent upon his earlier works, especially the *Mikrokosmum*. Much valuable additional material on many points is to be obtained from the dictated portions of his lectures, edited by E. Reichsle (2 vols., Lozzei, 1881 ff., Eng. tr., ed. G. T. Ladd, *Lotze's Outlines of Philosophy*, 6 parts, Boston, 1884-87).

3. Philosophical teaching. — The scientific foundation of Lotze's philosophy is that of an immanent universal law of causation, and the fundamental postulate of all natural science, viz., the assumption of a universal law of causal connexion operative among the elements of reality; or, to speak more precisely, he is concerned with the problem of "transitive action" (transtransition Wirken), i.e., the question how a change that occurs in an object A can be connected by a universal law with a change that takes place in a separately existing object B. In Lotze's view the fact of such connexion leaves us no option but to discard the theory that separate objects have an independent existence, and to regard all elements of reality as comprehended in a unity, in an "infinite" world, in the Infinite, so that what was at first conceived as a "transitive action" between separate substances passes into the conception of an immanent operation within a unitary substance, or world-ground. This Infinite, if it is to supply a real basis for the facts in question, cannot in the last resort be thought 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 dealt with 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 automorphic, determined from the connexions of the Infinite; at a later period Lozze preferred to call them its "actions." Such actions of the Infinite he divides into two classes: first, the actions which, in its life, produces the parts of the world, or as he conceives it, the world-ground; and, secondly, the actions always maintained in uniformity by it; and, indeed, these two actions are 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 "internalization" (*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 itself—a self-identity 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 of existence," 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 brought out his doctrine of the Infinite, the divine world, his hypothesis of the animistic nature of reality was more and more dispensed with, becoming ever the less necessary as what it had been intended to supply was equally 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 elements of reality as the mere 'actions of the Infinite,' maintained in a condition of equilibrium 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 out-flowing life (Met. p. 601 f.). 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 superficial resemblance between that theory and his own. Obviously, therefore, Lotze himself did not believe that his conception of souls as actions of the Infinite in any way implied the suspension of personal freedom; but it is nevertheless true that he refers to the subject only in certain religious-philosophical reflections, 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 is 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.

LITERATURE.—Of the more important works dealing with the life and philosophy of Lotze, the following may be named: E. Pfeiffer, Lotze's philosophische Weihnachtsrede nach ihren Grundlagen, Berlin, 1884; O. Caspari, Hermann Lotze in seiner Stellung zu der durch Kant begründeten neueren Geschichtsbegriff, Breslau, 1894; E. von Hartmann, Lotze's Philosophie, Leipzig, 1898; E. Rehnisch, Zur Biographie Hermann Lotze's (see in Lotze's Grundlagen des Anschauens, at the beginning), and 'Hermann Lotze' in Neues Lausitzer Magazin, xvii. [1901]; R. Faustenberg, Hermann Lotze (in Biographie Klassiker der Philosophie, vol. xii.), and art. 'Lotze' in Allgemeine deutsches Biographie, vol. viii. [1897]; W. W. M. Westenholz, Hermann Lotze, J. Heidelberg, 1913. For further St. cf. D.A.P. II. [1905] 347-500.

M. WESTENHOLZ.

LOURDES.—Lourdes, a small town in the extreme south of France (diocese of Tarbes, department of Hautes Pyrées), 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 the credulity of the masses in the interest of the then newly defined dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it is important while to point out that in 1858 and for some years afterwards Lourdes was one of the least accessible spots in the country. The railway which was at Bayonne 80 miles off, and the road through Lourdes led nowhere except to some little-frequented health-resorts in the Pyrenees. If there were any question of an impostor in the 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, a careful study of the evidence regarding it at first brought that the shrine into notice tends unmistakably to establish the good faith of all the persons primarily concerned. 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 and who then could neither read nor write, was left behind by her companions. She wandered far away on a narrow strip of ground between the river and a low cliff known as the Massabielle, in which there was a shallow cave or grotto with a sort of niche in the rock above it. For uniformity of practice, I say until some 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 visitor. Joan of Arc recognized her 'voices'—St. Michael, St. Catherine, etc.—from the first, but this was not the case here. 'A girl in white no bigger than myself was her first impression; but, on the third apparition (Cros, Notre-Dame de Lourdes, p. 16). The townsfolk, when they heard the tale, conjectured that she might have seen a soul from Purgatory who came to ask for prayers, and accordingly 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 mind of the lady only smiled. Even after the sixth apparition Bernadette described her mysterious visitant in her patio as aqua, i.e. 'it' [cf. Spanish aquello = cosa alla], and sometimes also as un petit demilune (une petite demilune); cf. Cros, p. 62, 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 Marguerite Bérenger Le Pontin in the Dordogne in 1889 (see L. Marillier, Proc. Soc. for Psychological Research, vii. [1891] 100 ff.) or that of Knock in Ireland in 1879-80 (see M. P. Cusack, The Apparitions of Knock, London, 1880). On the other hand, the child herself usually fell into a state of trance in which her features were completely transfigured, and Dr. Dousans, 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 roused 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 commission 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. Hives, the Juge d'Instruction, her proceedings at the grotto were closely watched by gendarmes, and she met with a severe rebuff more than once 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 unbecoming boldness or eagerness of a hysterical temperament. There is a large amount of contemporary evidence upon the point in the works of Cros, Estrade, and Dousans. As
early as 27th March 1858, three physicians, appointed by the Prefect of the Department, who were present at the manifestations, 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 eighteen times—the 13th and the 14th of February, each day with two exceptions from Feb. 18th until March 4th, and on March 20th—out of the 18 apparitions of the Blessed Virgin said to the child of Feb. 18th: "Will you do me the favour (me faire la grâce) of coming here daily for a fortnight ?" "I do not promise to make you see me in the next," I want many people to come." The Virgin added to her during the apparition: "If you come, you will kiss the earth for sinners. Penitence, Penitence, Penitence." "Go tell the priests to cleanse a chapel to be built." "I wish to have people 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 Virgin on the 2nd 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 point in favour of the genuineness 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. It was in the spring on the 26th March, when the Virgin said that the child should drink three times of the water of the grotto and that if it was pure the spring would become famous. The child obeyed and the spring was found to be rich in healing virtues. It was situated on the site of the apparition, but it was not known to the inhabitants of Lourdes. A rivulet was found to come from the grotto and it was named 'The Virgin's Spring.' This spring became famous and is still used by pilgrims. The discovery of the spring was a major event in the history of Lourdes and it has continued to be a source of healing for many people.
apparitions of the Blessed Virgin have all the characteristics of truth and that the faithful are justified in believing. Since these apparitions were formed and approved by the authority of the Holy See and the approbation of the ecclesiastical establishment of the marvellous cures which take place at Lourdes must raise the whole question of the possibility of miracles. For Roman Catholics both the possibility and the necessity of the phenomenon by which the Divine Omnipotence suspends at times the operation of natural causes are fundamental dogmas of the faith. Given the hypothesis that miracles may occur and do occur, it is difficult to imagine any facts more wonderful, either from the inverterate and organic nature of the diseases healed or from the abundance of the evidence with which the cures are attested, than the miracles worked at Lourdes. For those who wish to examine the subject for themselves no better or more convincing examples offer than the cures with which Emile 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.

Clemenceau Trouvé (collected in the novel Sophie Couture) was cured instantaneously of a periodic fever which had lasted six months; he felt suddenly well, and such was his state of health at the moment of his balloting in the piscina, was suppurating freely. Marie Lesseure (niece Etienne Rousset) was also instantly healed. This was a most repulsive case of lupus, in which the face had been so eaten away that the semblance of a human countenance was lost. The evidence quoted by Bertrand in his last edition (Histoire, p. 252 f.) shows that seventeen years after the cure Mme. Roussier was a healthy woman with healthy children. Mme. Gerdet (in the novel Mlle. de Guerriole) had been a case of the most desperate of neuralgias, and after a temporary relapse, owing to the excitement of the pilgrimage, relapsed soon after and fell a victim to the old disease which had never really relented. In point of fact, the real Marie Lebrun was in the enjoyment of vigorous health in 1902, fourteen years after the date of her cure, and in a fine figure for these cases, if ever. Zola (who in his last edition has followed these cases up to the latest available date).

But examples of such cures are almost innumerable, and they may perhaps best be illustrated by a very typical one, especially as they were brought, in the case of Grandmaison's Vingt Gourdeurs à Lourdes, who gives an admirable account of specially selected cases. It is not, of course, for one moment denied that nervous states, and from this, most especially suggestion, have accomplished many marvels, but the instantaneousness of the cure, as witnessed more particularly in such cases as that of Pierre de Rudder, Mme. Roussier, Gabriel Gargant, 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. Aumassie de Nantes, born with a club-foot and instantaneously cured at Lourdes, of which a remarkable account is given in her posthumous work (1887, p. 358 f.). It may be confidently affirmed that the more carefully the evidence is studied, the more certain it becomes that the words 'suggestion' and, more particularly, 'hysteria,' are not capable of accounting for the phenomenon witnessed at Lourdes. In the preface to a booklet on Lourdes published by R. H. Benson a few months before his death, the writer describes his meeting with a famous French writer, in which he learnt that he (Benson) was 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 a present a preachers (Catholic), were formed and approved by the authority of the Holy See, and the approbation of the ecclesiastical establishment of the phenomenon by which the Divine Omnipotence suspends at times the operation of natural causes are fundamental dogmas of the faith. Given the hypothesis that miracles may occur and do occur, it is difficult to imagine any facts more wonderful, either from the inverterate and organic nature of the diseases healed or from the abundance of the evidence with which the cures are attested, than the miracles worked at Lourdes. For those who wish to examine the subject for themselves no better or more convincing examples offer than the cures with which Emile 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.

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LOVE (Psychological and Ethical).

Psychological and Ethical (W. R. Boyce Gibson), p. 151.


American (A. E. Crawley), p. 158.

Buddhist (C. A. F. Rhys Davids), p. 159.

Celtic (J. L. Gerig), p. 162.


LOVE (Psychological and Ethical).—1. The psychology of love. — Love, as a complex psychical experience, may be classified 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 call love a sentiment or a passion will depend on the point of view from which we regard it. 'Sentiment' and 'passion' stand alike for stable and complex organizations of the emotional life, but whereas the term 'sentiment' implies a higher intellectual development and greater refinement and subtlety of emotional feeling, the 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 exercise some mutual restraint: 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 joy. But such restraint is external 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.

2 In every passion there is a system of self-control regulating more or less efficiently the intensity and behaviour of its emotions.

A mother loves her child. She may tend to be jealous if an aunt or a nurse wins too much of the child's affection. But, if her love for the child is genuine, she is grateful for the kindness shown to the child, and the jealousy is inwardly controlled. Or she may yawn to shield him from every danger, but will surrender him despite her fears to the inevitable perils of harshly growning. Here emotions of anxiety, an inner assurance, like those of jealousy and gratitude on the former supposition, all feel the dominance of the steady, disinhanced...

1 See art. 'M. Bibot's Theory of the Passions,' in Mind, new ser. v. [1885] 480.
2 P. 488.
emotions and desires which, by very reason of its systematic character and the principle which unifies it, is stable, regulative, inclusive, and instinct with a profound rationality.

Our normal development of love the fundamental condition is that there shall be joy in the object.1 If there is this, the rest will follow; if there is not this, love is doomed from the outset.

The emotion of joy is characteristically spontaneous, expansive, vital. Its very expression bears witness to this.

'The joy of the beast dieth; the eye of the weary are filled; the heart of the NoSuch is not satisfied.

The joy of the youth is full of gladness; the heart of the elderly is full of sorrow and their respective impulses. It is the inclusive passion and, in this supreme sense, the master-passion.

Love and belief. — Belief, following W. James's famous definition, is the sense of reality; or, if we 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. Peirce, in his Illustrations of the Logic of Science' (Popular Science Monthly, 1, [1877], 95) has expressed this 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 raced 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 oneself, to be ready to set one's own 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 is the relationship of the two, we shall find this: that what we mean by love is to believe in the existence of another human being. No doubt there is pleasure in love, for our emotions are toned by pleasure or pain, but such pleasure is but the pleasure of the joy. There is also a self-enlargement in joy, but this is not the same sort of self-enlargement as in love, for in love the self attaches not to the object but to the object, and to have joy in an object is to value it for its own sake. Joy is thus an active disinterestedness, and its impulses are not only to maintain the object, but to surrender itself to it and rest freely in it as something of intrinsic value and promise.

To have joy in an object is to respect its individuality. This is the very idea of delighting in it for its own sake. To have joy in what is real is to subordinate individual opinion wholeheartedly to the truth of the matter; to have joy in what is beautiful is to trust to the inspiration of beauty and not to the contrivance of artificers.

The interests of the object dictate at each step the line of advance. And vice versa: what is essential to joy is its development of love, what is not is the whole of love, for love includes not only joy, but sorrow, and it includes these as co-operative and interpenetrative emotions. The joy of presence is followed by the sorrow of absence, and this sorrow at absence, possessing the imagination, has a selective and idealizing influence. We remember and dwell on those aspects of the object that tend to endear it and make it appear still more worthy of our joy and devotion, so that, when the object is restored, our joy in it is deepened and strengthened by these new insights won through sorrow. Thus sorrow and joy co-operate in the strengthening of the passion of love. But of the two emotions joy is dominant, sorrow recessive.

For sorrow is ever a search for a lost joy, whereas joy is not a search for a lost sorrow. Moreover, whereas joy is joy in retrospect and prospect which is operative in and through sorrow, sorrow would have a contracting and depressing influence over life.

Love, then, is more than our dominant emotion joy; it is more than any mere synthesis of joy and sorrow.
1. The ethics of love.—We have spoken of love as a sentiment or passion. We have spoken of it also as a power. We might go one step further back and speak of it as an instinctive power or an instinct, as a deep-rooted conative tendency shaped and determined in connection with the supreme end of the preservation of life, i.e., of natural or spiritual existence whether in the individual or in the race. There is indeed good ground for claiming love as an instinct, provided we do not forget the fundamentally conative character of instinctive behaviour, or insist that instinct shall from the outset have its disposal some mechanism through which it operates. There is no such mechanism in the passion for the ideal, and yet this passion has the originality and fundamental force of an instinct. But this is not the place to attempt a systematic vindication of the independence of the spiritual life. It will be enough if we assume as the fundamental postulate of ethical science that the love animating by the ideals of truth, beauty, and right is not a mere derivative from the natural life of the body, but, as a poet once said, and not an earthly plant—has independent instincts of its own, instincts of spiritual self-preservation, self-ideal, and self-heroism, and that the instinctive passion por excellente is love.

2. Virtue is love.—When love is conceived in this ultimate way as the love of a new life, it is legitimate to look upon it as the supreme virtue. By virtue we understand the special power (δύναμις) and special excellence (δόξα) which enable us to live the best life. Now the question 'What is virtue?' is the central problem of the postulate and the core of the whole, the fundamental problem of the ethical theory. The three answers, properly interpreted, is not only the maturest, but also the most inclusive answer of the three. Of these three solutions—(1) Virtue is knowledge (Socrates), (2) Virtue is the habit of right willing (Aristotle), (3) Virtue is love (the solution of Christian ethics)—the second superseded and includes the first, and the third succeeds and subordinates the second. Aristotle virtue is primarily a matter of habit and not of mere rational insight; none the less the habit of right choosing, in which virtue essentially consists, is produced 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 services. 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 both we must look deeper than the habit. Moral habits grow organically from the foundations, not automatically, but through the enthusiasm which we put into the task of their formation. Hence, when we say 'Virtue is love,' we mean it. We should not deny that it involves the 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 we love has a right to express itself in decisions and habits, it is no virtue; it is no more than the capacity for virtue. But it is especially in relation to the varied emotions and impulses, to 'whatever stirs this mortal frame,' that love stands out as the great transforming and inclusive agency, and there appear 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; and just as that of fear, it makes the object loved the object whose hurt is feared. It regenerates the self-regarding sentiments, transferring their affection from the atomic, unselfish, to a higher, more 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 ill will. 'There is no remedy but love,' writes Goethe, 'against great superiorities of others.'

3. 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 love, 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's positive aspect, but the inclusiveness does not mean loss of distinction between self and not-self. Intimacy with a friend through love means increased respect for his or her personality. There is 1 all love an element of reverence which guarantees that as we grow more intimate with a person, we also respect more the sense of his own 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 essential to love, and this sense of personal reality. Once again—and this is a central point—love is the source and also the very substance of moral vocation. For 'will' we mean the whole harmony of vocation, decision, and resolute conduct. 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 seem justified in affirming that the love which vitalizes such activity, and the moral excellence which characterizes it—in a word, its virtue—is love. Finally, love is essential to knowledge, so that, if virtue is knowledge, it is for that very reason, and still more fundamentally, love. Love, at the root of our thinking, inspires the tendency to abandon ourselves to our object and identify ourselves with it. This has the effect of facilitating concentration and whole-hearted interest; the power of cleaving to a problem through thick and thin comes with the devotion of love. The best reason is love's reason, the reason born of sympathetic insight.

'Sympathy' is the general principle of moral knowledge, and the reason is that 'it furnishes the most reliable and efficacious intellectual standpoint.' 'Quickened sympathy means liberality of intelligence and enlightened understanding.' Or again, 'genuine moral knowledge involves that love which the result will as well as the intelligence. We cannot know the varied elements of value in the lives of others and in the possess

1 Cf. W. McDougall, An Introduction to Social Psychology, p. 73.
4 J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, Ethics, London, 1909, p. 335; cf. also G. Stanley Hall, Adolescence, ii, 190; 'Even knowledge at its best is a form of love. Interest is intellectual love, and one of the best tests of education is the number, intensity, and distribution of interests. Even philosophy is not the possession, but the love and wishing of wisdom.'
5 Dewey-Tufts, p. 388.
L O V E (Primitive)—The passion or emotion of love is as difficult to define as life itself, and probably for the same reasons. The following statements are useful:

1. Simple love is when one has no desire for anything else.

1 Dewey-Tuttta, p. 423.
4 Ibid., p. 2.
5 "ix. moral evil, or sin, not suffering, sorrow, or pain.
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 this case that the animal would to preserve the race and render it efficient.

The accounts available vary from pessimistic denial of anything but reproductive impulse to fulsome praise of the physical attractiveness of the bride. The contrasts illustrate the difficulties of penetrating to the psychical processes or even the social feelings of the lower races. The Australian bride is generally dragged from home to the man to whom she is allotted. But 'love' may come after marriage from kind treatment. It is pointed out that 'love' must be assumed in Australian marriages, and a sentiment, which was a recognized form of marriage.

The Papuan language possesses no word for 'love.' The Hoes have no word for it; but 'they feel it all the same.' The Tahitians are said to form 'romantic' attachments. An observer remarks even of the Arabs that 'the passion of love is, indeed, much talked of by the inhabitants of towns; but I doubt whether anything is meant by them more than the grossest animal desire.'

The statement is probably too sweeping, as also is the statement that the Bible contains no reference to romantic love. Love-songs are rare among the lower races, probably a mere result of the imperfect development of literature. The 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 other 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 running about together in their favourite mark of affection, with an air of tenderness.'

Suicide, which is fairly frequent among the lower races, is often prompted by unrequited 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 tribes marriage 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 a basis of permanent marriage arrangement is probable; 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 youths and maidens when marriage is to be undertaken. This segregation sometimes extends to married life; in other words, there is a development of sex-separation, due either to natural inclination or to a certain subjection of women. Hence it is not surprising that among peoples like those of Eastern Africa it is regarded as disgraceful in a wife to show affection for her husband. Among most rude races the natural sentiment of affection towards a woman with more or less roughness. This is to some extent the case in barbarian and among the lower classes of civilized society. The ancient Greeks, Chinese, Hindus, and Muslims represent that stage of culture in which woman is a slave, a prisoner, or both. Notions of female inferiority combine with a sense of property and of proprietary jealousy, and polygamy in some cases is a contributory factor.

The conditions indicated above show that love in 'primitive' society had little chance of development except in and after marriage. 'Love comes after marriage' is a proverb used by Plutarch and by the Eskimo savage; it is common all over the world. What is termed 'romantic' love is rare, even in the highest societies, when the marriage state has been established for some time. Conjugal love is more affection than passion, and affection depends on intellectual and moral sympathy; community of interests, habitual association, and mutual care of children constitute the habitual characteristic of the emotion. These factors also are sufficient to produce permanence in marriage and to bind the family together. It is therefore unnecessary to call in the aid of teleology in general, or natural selection in particular, to explain the origin of the family. Nor is it possible to argue that 'love has played little or no part in the institution of the family.' Even in the cannibal Niam-niam are said by a good observer to show an affection for their wives which is 'unparalleled,' and similar statements have been made of many savage peoples.

It is a justifiable conclusion that conjugal love was real, though elementary. Combined with occasional rough treatment, it was still genuine affection, based on sympathy as well as on the sexual impulse. Similarly, in general it may be concluded that it possessed the same elements, in a less developed state and capacity, as modern love in its best manifestations. We need not accept either the frequency or the nature of any form of love or the attribution of 'chivalrous' love to Bushmen and Congo savages. Lastly, in estimating the evidence of observers, it must be remembered that their diagnoses of love are not based on one invariable scientific definition of the emotion.

1. Development of conjugal love.—The extension of the elementary sexual impulse into conjugal affection with its complex associations should be regarded as, sociologically, the most important feature in the natural history of love. This emotion seems to have developed sufficiently in the primitive society to assist in breaking down collective methods of mating, which apparently (as in Central Australia) were often liable to be induced by the hard conditions of savage life. The hypothesis is frequently put forward that conjugal and social organization are essentially antagonistic. But the pacific way in which they work together in existing races, both civilized and barbarous, and
LOVE (Primitive)

also the fact that crude types of social organization have been broken up by the family, strongly oppose this view.

It is right to notice that a time came 
when the conditions of life became favourable to an expansion of the early family, when the chief obstacle to a gregarious life—scarcity of food—was overcome. 

But before that there was a different type of gregariousness, which, so far as it went, did possess elements antagonistic 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:

1 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 prolonged union of the sexes, nor can I conceive any other egotistic notion that would 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 ties which join them seem, 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 . . . is undoubtedly at the bottom of this instinct. Such a feeling may originally have induced the sexes to remain united and the male to protect the female after the young were born; and perhaps giving great advantage to the species in the struggle for existence, conjugal attachment would naturally have developed into a specific characteristic. 

This is an important statement and calls for consideration. In the first place, the assumption that in the case of these early paleolithic men were capable only of periodic impulse is insecurely based. That a more or less regular capacity did ultimately develop from a periodic is a different 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 natural selection is, when analyzed, a fallacy. Westermarck admits that the sexual impulse is at the bottom conjugal affection and prolonged union, but he here ignores improved environment. Neither of these factors can, except by a metaphor, be identified with the natural machinery of natural selection. 

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 misappication 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 submissive. 

It is true to trace a tendency to inflict pain, or the simulacrum of pain, on the women they love; it is still easier to trace in woman a delight in experiencing physical pain when inflicted by a lover, and an eagerness to accept infliction to his will. Such a tendency is certainly normal.

In love various aspects of marriage, life and of courtship:

1 Among the Slavs of the lower class the wives feel hurt if they are not called by their husbands; the peasant women in

1 M r. L. 112. 
2 Fr. l. 111, citing also Hum. Marr. ii, ch. 11. 
3 Ellis, Sexual Impulse, p. 74.

some parts of Hungary do not think they are loved by their husbands until they have received the kiss. 

Among the Indian Camorrista a wife is not beard by her husband regards him as a fool. 

In courtship animal man, the male plays the more active part, the female the more passive part. During the season of love the males even of the most timid animals engage in desperate struggles with each other for the possession of the females, and there can be no doubt that our primate human ancestors lived 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 purrs and tries to capture the female. She, after some resistance, finally surrenders herself to him. The sexual impulse of the male is one of the most powerful of his tools, the female, and the sexual impulse of the female with a desire to be pursued and won by the male. In the female sex there is consequently an instinctive appreciation of manly strength and courage. 

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 exerted by passion.

The intimate psychology of love reveals not only an impulse for union, but an association in the male psychosis 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 the love of the male and in reining it. 'La pudeur', says Guyau, 'a civilised instinct.' 

Connected with these is the diffusion of the male to the relative slowness of the growth of love in woman; it proceeds by long circuiting. In men its growth is relatively rapid, and its duration generally less. Love, again, is 'only an episode in a man's life, whereas for a woman it is the whole of her life.'

Biologically, courtship is a stimulus of love, a means of producing tamescence. Owing to the differences of secondary characters in the love, the love of the male is expressed chiefly in act of courtship, that of the female in receiving them. If the preservation of love in a permanent union is analysed, 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锅炉 or romantic exploitation of love to which the custom led (as is shown by the literature) was perhaps the only sociological result. It is possible that this became a tradition and the realisation of the medieval valuation and practice of chivalrous love. 'For a medieval knight the chief object of life was love.' It became a formal cult, and theoretically was defined as the union of two hearts by virtue wrought. 

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. Love 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 somewhere, a certain class-division has been made love between members of different social classes more rare.

A gentleman to-day seldom falls in love with a peasant.
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girl, or an artisan with a "lady." Again, to a cultivated mind youth and beauty are by no means the only attractions of a mate; and civilization has made female beauty more durable. 1

Meanwhile, the importance in marriage of compatibility, physical and physiological, is becoming more and more recognized by the law.

3. Social habits. — (a) Restrictions on love. — The majority of primitive peoples impose restrictions on the physical gratification of love except in the marriage relation. This tendency thus harmonizes with the biological law that mating is the final cause of love. But an errant tendency is inevitable, and many peoples have permitted it, with a peculiar stress on the idea that one should see nothing immoral in free love, provided only that nobody suffers material loss by it. 2 In many of these cases the temporary possession of a lover is regarded as a test of his manliness, and in most of them the practice actually serves as a kind of trial marriage. The case is very different in civilization.

(b) The law of parity. — A social and a biological tendency act as complementary factors, the one discouraging and the other encouraging love between biologically similar. The one tendency is expressed in the remarkable laws of exogamy; the other, which may or may not be connected, is the tendency for those persons to be mutually attracted who are of the same grade of pigmentation. It has long been a geographical law of mankind that persons are attracted by dark, and vice versa; even that short persons are attracted by tall, and vice versa.

A. Bain speaks of the charm of disparity.

Modern investigations have established this conclusion. 3

One of these began from the popular notion that married people are not as exciting as single people. An explanation was that they began by so doing. On the other hand, persons are not attracted to members of the opposite sex 'who are strikingly unlike themselves in pigmentary character.' 4 With this feeling may perhaps be associated the feeling, certainly very widely felt, that one would not like to marry a person of foreign, even though closely allied, race. 5 But the barriers between widely differing races are occasionally broken by love.

4. Seasonal love. — Among primitive peoples there is a constant practice of what may be termed the periodic love-feast. Types of these are to be found among the Central Australians and the Hawaiians of India. Various festivals or classes of marriage are the same category, with little foundation. 6 A prevalent deduction from these 'periods of licence' was that the morals of savages were degraded and licentious. But a closer study of savages makes it certain that their existence is 'just as little a prolonged debauch as a prolonged idyll' (as was the still earlier view, instituted by Rousseau). 7 A more recent deduction was that among the earliest men and the lowest modern savages pairing took place only in spring and at harvest. 8 The festivals in question would be 'survivals' of a primitive pairing-season. Among mammal and other animals (though not domestic), a periodic rut is general, though not universal. A doubtful statement has been made of so relatively a high type of people as the Cambodians that they exhibit a rut twice a year. 9 It is a fact that spring and harvest are among savages, barbarians, and modern peasants regular seasons both for general fertility and 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, under the conditions being favourable for any sort of expansion and perhaps specially so for amorous expression—an increase in the sexual impulse during these periods is established for modern peoples—the opportunity is taken by societies, which express themselves only socially, to stimulate their normally feeble sexuality and to obtain organic relief.

The principle of dramatization, which is at the root of magical ceremony, may be noted in love-verses, 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-verses. The connexion between love and religion is of the same nature as the connexion between love and art and life generally. 10

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. — (a) 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 affection, though less intense, and often defective, is normal in the human race. 11

According to Aristotle, parents love their children as beings portions of themselves. 12 Equus regards this love as a modified love of self or property. 13 A. Bain, however, derived parental love from the 'intense pleasure in the children's affection for the young.' 14 But, as Westermarck notes, 'if the satisfaction in animal contact were at the bottom of the maternal feeling, conjugal affection ought to have been the most intense, but yet, among the lower races at least, the case is exactly the reverse: conjugal affection being usually the least intense degree of mother's love of her child.' 15 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 touch them. According to Herbert Spencer, parental love is 'essentially love of the weak or helpless.' 16 Westermarck observes that when the young are born in a state of utter helplessness nobody 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 fittest, to the natural selection of useful spontaneous variations. 17 But, as stated above, it is unnecessary to regard these instincts as cases of natural selection.

5. Filial love. — Children's love of their parents is generally much weaker than the parents' love of their children. 18 No individual is born with filial love. But 'under normal circumstances the infant from an early age displays some attachment to 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.' 19

1 Ellis, Sex in Relation to Society ("The Orgy"), pp. 127 ff., 147, 151 ff.
3 Stanley Hall, In JAPA, p. 22.
5 Ibid., p. 200.
6 Ellis, "Sexics in Relation to Society," p. 216; Spencer-Gillenbc, ch. xii.
7 Ellis, Sexual Impulse, p. 209.
8 The hypothesis of Max I beans, Sex VIII, (1890) 205 ff.
10 Ellis, Sex in Relation to Society, pp. 127 ff., (1895).
11 Ibid., p. 197, 198, 1001.
12 Ibid., p. 197, 198, 1001.
14 Ibid., p. 197, 198, 1001.
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 a development of the fraternal type, binding together children of the same parents, relatives more remotely allied, and, generally, members of the same social unit. In primitive tribes social organization often develops into a real 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 ahimsa of Hindu religions.

The philosophical literature which exploits the idea of love is enormous. Plato developed the view that beauty was in the creator of beauty, that the beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and medieval thinkers developed the connexion between love and beauty, love of God, and of human beings. The beauty, though beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and medieval thinkers developed the connexion between love and beauty, love of God, and of human beings. The beauty, though

The idea of love is enormous. Plato developed the view that beauty was in the creator of beauty, that the beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and medieval thinkers developed the connexion between love and beauty, love of God, and of human beings. The beauty, though beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and medieval thinkers developed the connexion between love and beauty, love of God, and of human beings. The beauty, though behooved to the origin of love, and demons take the serpent-form in order to prosecute amours, or change from the human to the serpent-form in discovery. The ancient idea of beauty, and poetry, seem to be due to an obvious analogy from the incidence of the emotion. Metaphor, throughout the world, speaks of the effect of love as a wound.

LOVE (American).—The psychology and social habits of the aboriginal American peoples are, on the whole, in line with those of other races at equivalent stages of development. But they do not exhibit one or two distinctive features. As an instance of the usual conflicting results of observations, there is Morgan's statement that the 'refined passion of love is unknown to the North American,' and that of Catlin, that the North American is not 'behind us' in conjugal, filial, and parental affection. An accidental case of difference, not due to observers, is the remarkable fact that the Nahum possessed no word for love, while Quichua, the ancient language of Peru, had six hundred combinations of the word meaning 'to love.' Observation of this fact has led to an interesting analysis by Brinton of the expression of the eidos in N. American dialects. He distinguishes four methods of linguistic reaction to the emotion of love: (1) inarticulate cries, (2) assertions of identity and union, (3) assertions of sympathy, and (4) assertions of a desire. It is noted that the Mayas possessed a radical word for the joy of love, which was purely psychical in significance, while the American affection is predicated, as usual, by certain observers. It is clear that the Americans compared favourably with other races in the combination of love with female chastity, and in the filial and social forms of altruism.

2. D. J. P. Hendel, De zielo, vol. i.
LOVE (Buddhist).

The way in which early Buddhist literature takes account of the emotion of love is many-sided. It cannot adequately be set down, as some have tried to settle it, by a treatment that is too abstract or, again, too specialized. The hunger for unity or simplification leads some historians to design to every departure in religious or philosophical thought one fundamental or leading idea—a view that may be attained by closing the vision to all but a few considerations. No great teacher ever disregarded the land of contemporaneous races. In short, they exhibit a slightly more highly developed stage of the social form of affections. It is worth noting that all observers attribute to the Northern Indians a measure of clavichordous feeling. One abnormality, namely, homosexual love between individuals of the male sex, was curiously prevalent; it is sufficient to refer to the remarkable list of authorities addressed to Western mariners. It is possible that the military tone of N. American life—and the practice was chiefly characteristic of the Northern aborigines—was a predominant factor, as in the cases of the Fijians and ancient Greeks. The personification of love in the figure of a deity and the worship of erotic forces are perhaps less conspicuous, as might be expected, than in other societies. The Nahua peoples celebrated, it is said, 'a month of love,' during which many young girls were sacrificed in honour of the goddesses Xochiquetzal, Xochitlacatl, and Tlazolteotl, who was identified with Aphrodite. But the Central American deities, with the exception of the leading members of the pantheon, were extremely vague personalities; it is generally doubtful whether any deity was ever invoked by the Aztecs, and it is still more problematical what forces or properties the divine names represented. But the name Tlazolteotl seems to have a definite connexion with love, though we cannot, with Camargo, regard her absolutely as the Mexican deity of love.

Her home, he states, 'was in the ninth heaven, in a pleasant garden with innumerable fountains, where she passed her time spinning and weaving rich stuffs, in the midst of delightful songs and dances. . . . She was the sweetest of all women in the world, as equal to her . . . whatever had been touched by one of the flowers that grew in the beautiful garden of Xochiquetzal (she) loved to the end, and should love faithfully.' She not only inspired and provoked acts of love, but was able to hear confessions and to give absolution.

The last detail has been emphasized by Spence, in connexion with the meaning of her name, to reduce the goddess to the status of a Mexican Cleopatra. But, in spite of the priestly rhetoric of her description, there is enough in its latter portion to establish her as a deity of love, though probably illicit. Brasseur de Bourbourg regarded her as a volcanic symbol and Boturini Badenot the high god Tencatilpoca, as deities of love, without any foundation. Equally unfounded, except in the sense of indirect connexion, are the cases of the moon (especially among the most northerly peoples) and of fire. The N. Americans are slightly behind their contemporaries in the development of deities of love.

Literature.—This is given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LOVE (Buddhist).—The way in which early Buddhist literature takes account of the emotion of love is many-sided. It cannot adequately be set down, as some have tried to settle it, by a treatment that is too abstract or, again, too specialized. The hunger for unity or simplification leads some historians to design to every departure in religious
to servant and conversely, and that of layman to Brähman and conversely. The practical forms which these several usages of devotion or worship should take are simply and concretely described. For our present purpose it is chiefly interesting to note that they are prescribed not as mere cases or moral rules, 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 ('ana-kampanti, lit. 'vibrate towards or after') 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 other five ways, should take compassion on their friends; parents in yet other five ways should take compassion on their master, and in yet other six ways should Brähman 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 'waiting upon.' Thus these two Pāli words, differing as they do from those that we should find in a similar European catalogue, is interesting. The former word is 'kampati'; the latter, 'soman.' 1 While this is here applied, for instance, to the devotion of the good servant, is very often used in the *Sutta* for the supreme instance of the reciprocal devotion—that is, of a slave, who, to wit, the compassion moving a Buddha to spend himself 'for the welfare, the happiness of many folk, for the good . . . of gods and men; 2 and to live perpetually moved to do the welfare of all that lives and breeres. 3 It was this spirit that he prescribed for those whom he sent forth as missionaries. 4 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, Singāla's railway beliefs, is exaggerated by 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 present-day 'love,' shows only that there is no 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 all of these forms as met with in the five Nikayas.

1. Parental love.—The typical form of intense and self-sacrificing devotion is that of motherlove, 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. 5 And not only to his friends:

- 'Even as a mother watcheth over her child, So let us for all creatures, great or small, Develop such a boundless heart and mind, And let us practice the vows, upward and downward, yea, before, behind, speaks, free from ill-will and annoy.' 6

This simile is quite in keeping with the chosen term 'being moved, or vibrating towards,' or 'compassion,' since mother-love contains so large an element of passionate, protecting pity.

2. Sex love.—No case is found of a woman seeking death or religion through the death not of her child, but of her husband. 7 Sex love 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 from snake-bite. 8 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 fully acknowledged, 9 as is that of sex-repulsion. 10 But there was no one ancient and moving 'Canticle of sex-love calling for spiritualized annexation to the Buddhist books, such as we possess in the legacy left by Hebrew Scriptures to the Christian apostles. No allegory of the 'compassion' of a Buddha for his adherents is found in the pretty love-song of the *Sutta* called 'The Questions of Sakka.' 11 Conjugal love—a blend of sex-feeling, parent-feeling, and companionship—finds beautiful expression in old Indian literature, but in poems that are younger than early Buddhist books. This is possibly the outcome of a social evolution—an evolution which a century or two of Buddhist ethics as to the right devotion in husband and wife may have done much to bring about. It may be noted in this connection that the Abakāh rock and pillar elicits, alms-passage, 12 while the point of view, so often taken on family relations, are silent as to conjugal life. Again, it is perhaps a pathetic touch in the Anthologies that shows woman at her best ready for the companionship, but not for the sex love of the Kassapa, who led the Order at the Buddha's death, and Bhaddā Kapilāma, famed as a preacher, were, by commentarial tradition, husband and wife, and not in their final birth only. They left the world in the by-laws of natural agreement, having no one ancient and the form of marriage to please their kin. She was, in the poems attributed to her, glories in her husband's gifts and in their 'spiritual friendship' and common vision of the truth. The larger poem reveals him as the only anchorite and the friend of mankind, even of the outcast, but has no word concerning her. 13 It is conceivable that the larger, more heterogeneous group composing the family in ancient India may have hindered the evolution of the conjugal relation. According to the sidelights thrown by the *Sutta* on domestic life, a girl left her home to enter the house not of her husband, but of her father-in-law. 14 She became more or less the servant of him and his wife as well as of her husband. Reference also is occasionally found to a second wife:

'Woeful when sharing house with hostile wife.' 15

3. 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. 16 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 as a father or a teacher. 17 Here, 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, faith or confidence, even the term *pavanā*, which may be rendered 'resting in,'

1 Bhava, *Pāli*, iii, 388.
2 *Abhigantu* Nikāya, iv, 323, etc.
3 *Mūla-saddhānta*, l. 10 (SBE xii, 1881) 129; cf. *Abhigantu* Nikāya, i. 158.
5 *Abhigantu* Nikāya, iii, 380.
6 *Bhagavata* Nikāya, iii, 382.
8 *Buddhism*, p. 182.
9 *Abhigantu* Nikāya, i. 132.
10 *Abhigantu* Nikāya, i. 132.
11 *Abhigantu* Nikāya, i. 132.
12 *Abhigantu* Nikāya, i. 132.
15 *Nakāya*, i, 138; *Bhava, Pāli*, i, 138.
16 *Bhava, Pāli*, i, 138.
17 *Bhava, Pāli*, i, 138.
18 *Bhava, Pāli*, ii, 182, 183.
19 *Bhava, Pāli*, ii, 182, 183.
20 *Bhava, Pāli*, ii, 182, 183.
LOVE (Buddhist)

'satisfied with'-such are the expressions for the emotion felt, but not 'love.' The Indian words for love were not sufficiently plastic to cover this relation—a relation which was not the less deep and genuine, whether it was expressed in terms of the self-surrendering devotion of a believing and adopting heart, or of the intellectual love of the philosophic mind:

'I see him with my mind as I were mine eyes,
But as an image, waxing ever,
I reverence him while waiting for the morrow.
And thus methinks I'm with him dwelling.'

'Verily, my mind with him is joined, O Brahman.'

The emanipating force of his teaching drew the imagination:

'So I, leaving the men of vision cramped,
Come as the swan flies to the mighty sea.
And the majesty or majesty of his presence drew by way of sense:

'O wondrous fair the All-enlightened ones
Like a great storm-cloud in the summer sky
Then on thy followers pour great rain
Of noble, aspect, whose skin
Resembles gold, say, what is Rāma's life
To them with presence so supremely fair.'

This adoration for his person is usually accepted, but not always:

'Long have I wished, lord,' said the devoted Yakshali on his deathbed, 'to draw near to behold the Exalted One, but now is there no hour for me to breathe, in poverty and homelessness.

'Now have I harboured conscious wish or plan
On Arjuna or linked with anyone

'Have I ever seen the face of the Lord?
Never the least glimpse of the Lord.

'Let us unite our fellow-creatures, let us all,
Let them be brought to pain and misery!'

'Nay, love I do not, even infinite,
Well trained, by ordinary persons grown,
As even as the Buddha l'il learnt.
With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and patient;
A heart of amity I cultivate,
And ever in goodwill is my delight.
A heart that cannot drift or fluctuate
The one that none can make to die.'

If, as certain writers think, we should refrain from applying so warm-blooded a term as 'love' to mettā, '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 lukewarmness in the exordiums to practise mettā and sympathy with pain or joy or by singleness in the carrying out of these virtues by leading Buddhists.

It would be hard to find in ancient literature any exordium so agreeable to 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 endowments, educated in other nether or less adjacent worlds or spheres. On earth they are nature-spirits or fairies, usually termed devatā (lit. 'deity'). All were to be treated with goodwill and friendliness, but nothing more. They were believed to have the power of communicating with man, and are found rebuking and admonishing the lax or lazy recluse. But in the case of the chosen few—a Buddha and his Arhants—it is the deva 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 appears as associated with the whole of that cosmology which, for the more intellectual Buddhist, takes the place of a theology. Devotion bestowed on a 'cosmic mechanism,' not planned by divine wisdom, and involving for each and all so much unspeakable suffering, was not to be ministered unto with honour or to be taken compassion upon in that spirit of grave tenaciousness for the burden of ill on earth—and in the heavens 600—which is Buddhism at its emotional best.

'Conquer the wretched by much goodness in the Naur; as doctrine and a part of that cosmos, in Pali dhāmanas and dhāmanatis, constituted for the intelligent adherent a source of satori affection (raja).

Admiration for dhāmanas is in a refrain in the Dhammapada, and the expression 'love for the Norm' (dharmagga rāta) is met with; e.g. (here called 'the Ideal'):

'In his love set on the Ideal,'

Other loves that love surpasseth.'

The same emotion is aroused by the idea of Nirvāṇa (nibbānābhārati, a stronger form of rāta): 'All my heart's love is to Nirvāṇa given,' and by that of the Sāsana, or 'religion,' 'rule' (adstreamodati).

6. Friendship.—'Goodwill and friendliness' (sukhāpādo, ador, mettā) 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 (cāti), pity, sympathetic gladness, and equanimity formed a sort of sublimated or higher sīla, 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 these that the Elder Revata refers in defending himself against the charge that he lived in the woods to receive stolen goods:

'Since I went forth from thine holy life,
Never have I harboured conscious wish or plan
To do good or evil, or to be little or great;

Or, again, as that of the emanicipation of mind through 'amity':

'All the means that can be used as basis for right doing,
Are outshine in radiance and glory by this, which takes all those up into itself.'

If this amity only, we can let love stand aside.

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 as such. It would be 'ministered unto' with honour or to be taken compassion upon in that spirit of grave tenaciousness for the burden of ill on earth—and in the heavens 600—which is Buddhism at its emotional best.
LOVE (Celtic)

worldly, and the giving of spiritual, goods, Buddhist missionary labour from the earliest days are well known, and, from Asoka's days, are mentioned in the Sutta describing a conversation between the Master and Pātāna of the Sunāparante—a bhikkhu whose labours were crowned with martyrdom—is typical of the incorruptible missionary spirit. 1 Of the other kind of giving, while dāna, 'liberality,' is recommended, especially as a pious and profitable return to the dispensers of spiritual goods, the ideal of 'charity,' or poor relief, is noticeable. There were poor folk and beggars, for the ideal king is described as giving largely to such. 2 But the fact that the religious term, almsdonation (bhikkhātā), and took his place as a beggar among begging (save that he never ' begged,' but only passed by), seems to indicate that the practice of charity at the door and in kind was a matter of common sense calling for special exertion. Royal donors gave their charity in almshalls at each city gate.

A noteworthy feature in the developments of ascetic Buddhism is the expansion, in eschatological hypotheses, of the altruistic spirit so strongly fostered, for life on earth, by the original teaching. In the early Dhamma concentrative self-training, there is a relatively more emphasis than any exercise in the expansion of emotional imagination. But in the altruistic patience and faith of the Bodhisattva ideal we see the mother- term reaching a sublimity unattained in the post-idealism of any other creed.


C. A. F. KIHS DAVIDS.

LOVE (Celtic).—1. Gauls.—The Celts do not appear to have had at any time in their history any special god or goddess of love. In later times the numerous goddesses of fertility often possess the attributes of love-patrons; and it is, therefore, probable that this conception was identified with them, if at any time it formed a special subject of worship among the Celts. We have, for example, among the goddesses of ancient Gaul one who is equated with Diana, but who possesses at the same time some of the characteristics of Venus (G. Grupp, Kultur der alten Kelten und Germanen, Munich, 1905, p. 190). It is possible, then, that there was a goddess among the primitive Celts to assign love-attributes to some of their deities. Thus, we are not yet certain of the form of cult addressed to the Matres, who were the special patrons of women, presiding at child-birth; but it was without doubt a kind of love-worship, especially that of motherhood, since these goddesses are usually represented with a child in their arms. In Christian times these wooden figures, blackened with age, were often mistaken for those of the Virgin, and, under the name of Vierges noires, were given a place of honour in the churches (J. A. MacCulloch, The Bel. of the Anc. Celts, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 45 f.; cf. Alberti, Dianae, but who possesses at the same time some of the characteristics of Venus (G. Grupp, Kultur der alten Kelten und Germanen, Munich, 1905, p. 190). It is possible, then, that there was a goddess among the primitive Celts to assign love-attributes to some of their deities. Thus, we are not yet certain of the form of cult addressed to the Matres, who were the special patrons of women, presiding at child-birth; but it was without doubt a kind of love-worship, especially that of motherhood, since these goddesses are usually represented with a child in their arms. In Christian times these wooden figures, blackened with age, were often mistaken for those of the Virgin, and, under the name of Vierges noires, were given a place of honour in the churches (J. A. MacCulloch, The Bel. of the Anc. Celts, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 45 f.; cf. Alberti, Dianae).

2. Irish.—In his well-known hymn St. Patrick prayed against the ' spells of women, smiths, and druids' (W. O. E. Windisch, Irische Texte, Leipzig, 1880 ff., i. 56). The women to whom the saint refers were probably those of the sib, who rejoiced in eternal youth and beauty, and whose capacity for love was so great that they would go forth themselves to woo and win mortals. Once the spell was cast, not even the greatest hero could resist. The important rôle played by these divine women in Irish society is a striking commentary on the adventures of Conmna, where even the powerful magic of druidism fails to remove the spell.

Conna walking on the hills of Uenach in roes with his father Conn, who was supreme king of Ireland from A.D. 122 to 157, saw a beautiful damsel approaching. The lady was attired in a strange garb; and, when Connas asked her whence she came, she replied: 'We are the great sib, hence we are called the people of the sib, i.e. of the usual or folkless. The father wished to know with whom his son was speaking; so the damsel informed him that she had come to invite Conna, whom she loved, to the Mag Mell, 'Pain of Delight,' where dwelt King Bohud. 'Come with me,' she cried, 'Connas the Red, at the sprinkled neck, flame-red, a yellow crown awaits thee; by figure shall not wither, nor wither nor its beauty till the dreadful judgment.' Conna then had Conna the druid, who, like the others, heard but did not see the damsel, chant a magic song against her. She departed, but not before throwing Connas an apple, which was the sole sustenance for a month, and yet nothing diminished from it. After a while longing seized Conna for the damsel, and this is the end of a north Irish love story (2). When she addressed him thus: 'It is no lofty seat on which Conna sits among the short-lived mortals awaiting fearful death. The everliving beings (bei bhido) invite thee. The sib was a favourite of the men of Tethra, for they see thee every day in the assemblies of thy father's house among the ladies of the sib. Again the king urged the druid to chant against her, but she made answer: 'Oh Connas of the Hundred Battles, druidism is not loved, little has it progressed on the earth. A just man (probably an almsman to St. Patrick; inserted in the saga) will come with a great following; and he will destroy the incantations of druids from passing the lips of black, lying demons.' She then told Conna of another land, in which was no race save only women and maidens. When Conna heard, Conna gave a bound into her ship of glass, and they sailed away. From that day to this they have never been seen again. The following note is added: 'The poets know whether they went (for the text of this saga see Windisch, Irish Grammar, tr. N. Moore, Cambridge, 1882, pp.
In his analysis of the Tain, the great epic of Ireland—which depicts to a great extent the morals of Connacht—Zimmer has pointed out that Medbh, the heroine of the expedition, was the wife of Conchobar, but, having abandoned him, married in succession two chiefs of the same name, Ailill, the second of whom is her husband at the beginning of the account. Her title, 'Maighdeach, Hinderpart' in the Ershlannan of the arla irshin Heldenlege', SBA W, 1911, pp. 174–227).

An idea of the unusual prominence of the love-motive in the early Irish saga can be formed from the list of titles given in d'Arbois de Jubainville's Essai d'un catalog de la littérature épique de l'Irlande (Paris, 1833).

Thus on pp. 34–37 there are twelve stories bearing the title aithed, or 'love-song', among the more important of which are Aithed Blainnaithe, Bláthnaid, mála Thadhgh, na Céithlenn, or 'Love-song of Blainnaithe, daughter of Páil, son of Fíadh, to Céithlenn' (ed. G. Keating, Hist. of Ireland, tr. J. O'Keefe, New York, 1866, pp. 222–254); Aithed Dairinnne na nAinig, or 'Love-song of Dairinnne to the sons of Uisnech', identical with Lompr met n-Ainig, or 'I. Celtic love-song of Dairinnne' (ed. Windisch, l. 67–83); and Aithed Grainne do Diarmait, or 'Love-song of Grainne to Diarmait' (Book of Leinster, l. 281; and tr. M. M. H. Mee, 1905, p. 253). However, to the title aithed it is necessary to add the six sagas bearing the title cromait, or 'conception' (92–94), of which the most famous are Conchait Peadair, or 'Conception of Conchait' (LL 100), and Conchait Céithlenn, or 'Conception of Céithlenn' (Windisch, pp. 134–145, 284 f.).

In the whole of the sagas connected in any way with the Enchanted Palace (d'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 124), there is concern entirely with love, as in so many of the Celtic love-songs, or 'Single Jealousy of Ailill'. There are five stories with the title aithed, of which Sere Fhionn go Ciobróid, or 'Love of Fionn' in Newgrange, is the best known (Boy, tr. A. A., Ossianic MS, 1878–1880). As for those with the title of cromait, or 'conception', there are at least twenty (831–281). Of these, mention may be made of Tenthir Bófin, or 'M. O'Looney, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, l. 20, 1920, p. 49). There are many others of the title cromait, or 'Demand in Marriage by Emer of Céithlenn' (Windisch, p. 224 f.).

3. Welsh.—In Brythonic mythology the naturalism common to the Irish sages has been greatly refined, and magic, especially in the form of the love-potion, assumes a more important part.

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 northern sea' (C. L. Elton, H. I. and H. M., London, 1899, p. 291). She was in all probability a goddess of fertility, but reappears as Brânwên in romance, giving a love-potion to Tristran, which in itself is perhaps a reminiscence of the former attributes as a goddess of love. Don, the Welsh equivalent of Danu, was also perhaps a goddess of fertility, and had for her children Gilleveth, Gilleveth, Amestan, Gorrowan, and Arianrhod (MacCulloch, p. 106). All these divinities play a more or less important part in the story of the beautiful love of Gilleveth's illicit love for Goevin, the 'foot-holder' of Math in the Mabinogion.

Regarding to magic, Gwydion succeeded in obtaining from Math the court of Fyrfryr certain swine sent him by Arawn, king of Annwn, for the purpose of siding him in his love affair. The trick was discovered, and a battle ensued, in which Gwydion saw Fyrfryr by enchantment. Having discovered that Gilleveth and seduced Goevin, Math transformed him and Gwydion successively into deer, swine, and wolves. It is also implied that Gwydion was the lover of her own sister Arianrhod, by whom he had two children. MacCulloch suggests (p. 109) that these are mythical reflections of a time when such unions, perhaps even in royal houses, were permissible, but not part, while being the mistress of her brother, pretends to be a virgin and refuses to acknowledge the child born of this union was the 7th cent. King Mongán, of whom the annalist says: 'Every one knows that his royal ancestor Mananann' (Leathar na Uadhro, facsimile reprint, Dublin, 1970, p. 19).

In the Céithlenn cycle the love-motive is usually one of wild lust; and, as these stories tell us little, the condition of society at the beginning of the Christian era, we can form no idea of the status of women at that period.
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 (yu), Confucius replied: "It is to love all men" (Analects, xii. 27). "In is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is to love relatives" (Doctr. of Mean, xx. 9). "The benevolent embrace all in their love; but what they consider of the greatest importance is to be kind to their relatives and domestics" (Mencius, vi. 4.5).

From these passages it appears that the general nature of love is modified in accordance with the claims of kinship and virtue. The ethical nature of true love is further brought out in such sayings as these:

"The Master said: 'It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others'" (Analects, iv. 3). "The Master said: 'Can there be love which does not lead to wickedness with its object?'" (O. xiv. 8).

The importance of love as an ethical principle may also be seen in what is said of 'resonspite' (chi). This is 'that which leads to action, to put oneself in another's place.' Primacy is given to it as the rule of life (Analects, xx, 23). It is not merely 'Not to do 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' (Doctr. of Mean, xiii. 3). In the Confucian ethic, however, the exercises of love is limited by retributive justice.

"Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be reciprocated with kindness?'" The Master said: 'With what then will you reciprocate kindness? Recompense injury with injury, justice, and recompense kindness with kindness' (Analects, xiv. 36).

Specially interesting in connexion with the place of love in Chinese ethics is the philosopher Micius and his doctrine of a perfect social state. The Confucian ethic has its religious counterpart in the classical representation of Shang-ti as benevolent and righteous (cf. art. GOD [Chinese]).

"Of love in the narrower sense as between the sexes, neither its more romantic aspects nor its deprivations are unaffected in Chinese literature from the Shu King and Shi King down to present-day novels. In view of the evident grossness of thought and life, one is surprised to find the religious sphere so clean. There is, e.g., polytheistic superstitition, but no grossness in the religious worship 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 maidens and call them to the other world to be their wives. Prostitutes may worship a goddess of their own.

According to R. H. Parker (Studies in Chinese Religion, London, 1897, p. 12) there is a considerable amount of disdained links worship, especially in the south of China. He adds, 'In any case prayer of this sort is offered up by women, are common in every province.'

Such prayers are in themselves innocent, but in some cases the accompanying ritual worship of the idol involves, in actuality, the human beings.

Still it is substantially true that there is in China no defilement of vice or any public practice of immoral rites.

LITERATURE.—In the classical religious and ethics, see the relevant vola of SFE; and E. Faber, Mencius, Shanghai, 1897.


F. J. MACLAGAN.

LOVE (Christian and New Testament).—Divine love.—The highest and most satisfying faith which the human mind has attained, or can attain, is formulated in the sublime simply conception, 'God is love' (1 Jn 4th). 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 like Himself as possible' (Plato, Legg. 29 B). 'The Lord is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works' (Ps 145). 'For thou lovest all things that are; and shunrest not any of the things which thou dost make; for never wouldst thou have formed anything if thou didst hate it.' (Ps 115). 'And we know that to them that love God all things work together for good' (Rom 8). 'O tender God, if Thou art so loving in Thy creatures, how fair and lovely must Thy face be seen!' (Francis Bacon, quoted by W. B. Inge, Christian Mysticism, London, 1913, p. 303.)

For lovers of Nature Wordsworth expresses the conviction that nothing

'Small e'er prevail against us, or disturb
Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
Is full of blessings' (Tintern Abbey, 132 ff.).

There is no deity in R. C. Trench's large universe:

'... We and all men move
Under a canopy of love, as bread the bees may savour above' (The Kingdom of God, 4-9).

or in Browning's 's o iu, o suer: (The Kingdom of God, 4-9;)

'God! Thou art love! I build my faith on that'

And in Carlyle's words there is at least a wilder longing to believe:

'O Nature! ... Art not thou the 'Living Garment of God? ... Is it, in very deed, He, then, that ever speaks through these; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?' (Sartor Resartus, 'The Everlasting Yes').

It is common knowledge, however, that this splendid creed of three syllables is not only severely tested but acrimoniously contested—a contest which love is the ultimate reality of things—that transcendent love is Creator and Lord of the world, and immanent love the life which pulsates through it, the Spirit of all goodness 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:

'What God is love is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true' (E. Blatchford, God and My Neighbour, London, 1897, p. 23).

One of the leaders of philosophic thought confesses that in the loss of this faith 'we are confronted by one of the great tragedies of life' (J. M. E. MacTaggart, Some Dogmas of Religion, London, 1906, p. 297). So manifest and repellent is the blending of good and evil in human lives that Schleiermacher makes the chorus of one of his dramas sing:

'The high gods
Wrought with weeping and laughter.
And fashioned with loathing and love . . .
The holy spirit of man'

(Altitude in Caelum). (London, 1904, p. 289.)

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 Hardy's pessimistic dictum, 'The President of the Immortals (in Aeschylean phrase) had ended his sport with Tess.' Some critics of the world-order do not hesitate to agree. 'And man, wherewith the Face of Man is blackened!' God needs to take as well as give man's forgiveness (Omar Khayyam, quatrains iv). Worst of all,
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To the heart of the human, God is love. The belief so dear to the heart of the human, that the phenomenon 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 the man.

*The loved God was love indeed*

Adam's desire for Eve's body

*The* Nature, red in tooth and claw

With ravine, shrub, and hedge in creed.*

(Tennyson, In Memoriam, iv.)

Confident assertions on the one side and the other help at least to make the issue clear, while they may also suggest that strong feeling is 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, for which all the world go on (H. Spencer, Ethical Inquiries, London, 1888, p. 242). 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 and extinction of the unfit, has characterized the completion of the animal and vegetable kingdoms 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 believe in love ordaining and witnessing that secular conflict. But do they fairly interpret the struggle? The indictment against Nature which was frequently heard in the early and emotional days of the evolution doctrines is now generally admitted to have been based upon half truths. Unqualified assertions that 'natures are one with rapines,' that 'any little wood is a world of panders' (Tennyson, Maud, iv. iv.), that 'the cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends' (T. H. Huxley, Collected Essays, London, 1885, 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 intellectual activities of all living things are 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. The greatest factor of evolution is concerned with self-sacrifice, 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 rest, of the living."* A. Thompson, The Bible of Nature, Edinburgh, 1908, 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 the very fabric of a romantic civilization. It is a notion of the universe. Its roots began to grow with the first cell of life that bulged 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 and noblest life—love' (H. Spencer, Social, the Evolution of Man, London, 1894, pp. 247-251). 'The principles of morality have their roots in the deepest foundations of the universe, and the cosmic process is ethical in the profoundest sense' (H. Spencer, Social, p. 192)."

If, then, creative evolution is God's theophany—

His method of unfolding His purpose and revealing Himself—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 exclaims, 'I feel a gust of enthusiasm towards God' (Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life, London, 1877, p. 70). 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 sentiments, 'All's 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 conspicuous 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 tigresses and the tamarills are no less real than the fawna and the dove. It is impossible to forget Nature's ruthlessness to the unit or her savage outbreeks of fire and flood and tempest. Over against Nature Benjamin we have always to set Nature Maligina, 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, especially those who are victims to the conclusion that God, whether personal or impersonal, is no more than an irresistible and inexorable Force, indifferent to pain, regardless of life and therefore not loved, hated, or scorned, rather than trusted and loved. This is the view which lends a tragic pathos to the Prometheus Vinctus, the book of Job, and other literature of religious doubt.

With the best 'will to believe,' many a man cannot wholeheartedly affirm that 'the Variety of Creatures . . . is so many sounds and Voices, Prenches and Cryings, giving Glory and Praise and Thanksgiving to that Deity of Love, which gives Life to all Nature and Creatures' (William Law, The Spirit of Love, Works, London, 1692-93, p. 115). 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 Nature's infinite book of secrecy only a little has been read, and acknowledge that there is no religion without mystery, yet the inquiring spirit of man is troubled. Do not open-eyed spectators of the world-drama are sometimes 'perplexed in the extreme.' They feel as if Nature were betraying the heart that truly loves her.

*God is love, transcendent, all-pervading! We do not get this faith from Nature or the world. If we look at Nature alone, full of perfection and imperfection, we feel that God is distant, murder and rapine' (H. T. Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, London, 1897, p. 314).

And, if 'to be with thee is love and nothing else 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 'in the mind of man' (Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey, 99). Here it must not be forgotten that the isolation of the human heart cannot be said to be indifferent to ethical ends; rather it may be held to exist for the sake of such ends. Why? It is not right enough in maintaining (L. Huxley, Life and Letters of Thomas
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Henry Huxley, London, 1900, ii. 298) 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, development of the arts of life or real happiness, the rise of the human conscience, these are Nature’s most highly wrought products, later in coming, later in development, later in manifestation, though the earlier prophecy has pointed them out. (P. 130)

Now, these constitutive elements of the moral life are the root and ground of that assurance of Divine and lost which must be regarded in the first instance as an instinct or intuition of loving hearts. ‘The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord’ (Pr. 20, 27). The prophet had made wise by a patient love outworking the moral sin in his own soul, had the truth flashed upon his mind 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 ideal conduct in the supreme moral crisis of his life sensitized his mind to receive a new and true image of the Absolute. His forgiving, pitying, patient love, his confidence in the ultimate triumph of good, gave him an unerring insight into the controlling principle of the Divine character. Love, he sees, is paramount in heaven and earth, and is the key to its instrument. Love is therefore the Leitmotiv of his prophecy, his master-key to the mysteries of religion and history. He dares to make his own confessio amantis the preface to a stupendous tale, of which the scene is the world and the hero is God. He represents Israel’s patient Divine Friend as saying, ‘I delight in love, and not in sacrifice. When Israel was a child, then I loved them with cords of a man, with bands of love’ (6:11-14; cf. 3:14).

Later prophets and lawgivers reiterate Hosea’s teaching in many beautiful forms—‘I have loved them that love me, and they return my love; therefore have I continued loving-kindness unto thee’ (Jer 21).

‘He will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing’ (Zeph. 3:17; cf. De 4:7-10; Is. 45:6).

‘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, Chicago, 1899, p. 59).

(c) Jesus linked His gospel with the prophecy of Hosea by repeatedly quoting the words ‘I will have mercy and not (ritual) sacrifice’ (Mt 9:13). No one was so swift as He to discover the evidences of Divine love in Nature. The beauty of flowers, the ways of birds, the beneficence of the rain, the glory of clouds, and the splendour of the sun in its strength spoke to Him of a goodness that was over all and in all and should be the religious union of all Nature. He assumed that God is omnipresent in the external world. But that was not His whole message. Nature’s goodness was not His evangel. Least of all did He propose to substitute that for the word and work of God. And it is the spirit of the ideal Man—His personal expression 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 vindicated, His yearning to bring back the lost, His forgiveness of those who ‘know not what they do,’ He is the Bearer of God. He changes Israel’s Lord of hosts into mankind’s Father. ‘The Father’ is the title of the Fourth Gospel represents Him as saying, ‘He that hath seen me hath seen the Father’ (Jn 14, ), and the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord in a face which science must reverence and accept. Christ is indeed the crown of evolution, fulfilling not only the spiritual ideals of Israel, but the esonial 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 proofs to us of this fact, which simply is the kernel of Christianity. If Christianity is true, God is Love (J. H. Hitchens, Christian Character, London, 1904, p. 87).

The apostles always interpret Divine love in the light of Christ’s sacrifice. The love which inspired the early Church was a living, loving, a Father who makes His Son to shine on the evil and on the good. 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 sin of the world. In the NT the identification of Divine love with atonement is axiomatic. ‘Herein is love’—in a Divine initiative which provided a propitiation for sin (I Jn 4:8). Personal faith centres in ‘him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood’ (Rev 1, in ‘the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me’ (Gal 2:9). It was His Spirit of sacrifice that conquered 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 ‘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. He is the fairest of the gods, who rules over the minds and councils of gods and men, the great uniting power, who brings order and harmony among the conflicting elements of Chaos. To the mind of Plato love is the sympathy of affinities, the instinctive rushing together of kindred souls, the harmony of spirits, not 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 Cleante, ‘are Thine offspring, sons of mortal things that live and walk the earth moulded in the image of the All (cf. Ac 17:26).

But Christianity raises love to a higher mood, unites it with a new ardour, purifies it by the touch of God, making the natural love of man and woman sacramentally holy, and changing the lustful lust for 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 love, real and impetuous enough, but consecrated now to the highest uses, have superadded to them the intimate communion of heart and soul. The genius of love in so to be sacrificial, which was its source and sanction in God’s eternal self-giving.
Only of such lives can it be safely said that 'love is an unerring light, and joy its own security' (Wordsworth, Ode to Duty, 19.1). The strongest affection is not the same as the purest, the strongest friendship is not the same as the Christian. The house of love cannot be built on the shifting sand of passion. Love faints and fails unless it is traced by the sense of duty. Love's elusive, home, going to the wars, says to Loewes: 'I could not love thee, dear, so much.'

'I loved thee not honour more.'

It is also a higher love—patriotism, the passion for liberty, the enthusiasm of humanity, the zeal for God's Kingdom, any one of which may claim love's final sacrifice—that gives the affections of the home a purity and an intensity never dreamed of in the life of 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 whatever things are pure and lovely and of good report. 'We need must love the highest which we see it' (Tennyson, Guinevere, ad fin.).

The truth is that the heart's deepest instinct is passionate 'amour desdierum'—cannot be satisfied with an earthly affection. The Hebrew poet speaks for the human race when he says that, as the hart panted for the water brokes, so his soul panteth after God, thirsts for the living God (Ps. 42:1). 'The most philosophical students of love from Plato and Aristotle to Aquinas and Aquinas have felt that it demands in the last resort an infinite object and an infinite response' (Illingworth, p. 88).

Modern science has immeasurably widened man's mental horizon, and the vaster the material world becomes the greater is the spirit's unrest in its cage of sense. It suffers from 'the malady of the ideal,' and the reason is that it still rests in God. The deepest thoughts of a nation are expressed by its artists and poets. Rossetti painted human love languishing for fullness of life, but evermore fearing death. We painted divine love leading life per ad altas, ad astras. Tennyson protests that his love would be half-dead to know that it must die (In Memoriam, xxxvii.), while his faith in immortality stays itself on his deathless love of a friend.

'I loved thee, and love him for ever: the dead are not dead but asleep' (Fortnum, ad fin.).

At the close of life his supreme wish was to 'learn that Love is Like and was My Father, and my Brother, and my God.'

(Demost and Prayor, 71.)

Browning repeats in a hundred forms his reasoned conviction that:

'No: love which is, on earth, amid all the shows of it, has ever been the sole good of life in it. The love, ever growing there, spite of the strife is it. Shall arise, made perfect, from death's repose of it.'

(Christinas nurse, 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.

(c) True intercourse with God Himself is a fellowship of love. To be right with Him is to have the heart of a lamb or a child. Though the child is filled with many passionate longings for such an intercourse, the NT alone exemplifies it in its perfection. The bare notion of such a divine fellowship is estrange 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. They were to keep themselves 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).

The knowledge of God can be attained only through love. In love's lore a 'dry light' helps but little. Theology at its best, like 'divine philosophy,' is always charged with feeling. 'Poets live in islands of solitude, and the saint in the cell, we neither enter the cell, unless it sits snail-like, so neither could the soul behold God if it were not Godlike' (Emed, vi. 9). Not to sympathize is not to understand. Love is the chief hierophant of the mystery of the soul. Jesus that will eth to do the will of God shall not do his highest teaching (Jn 7:19); but that he love not his brother whom he hath seen, and therefore cannot love God whom he hath not seen (Jn 4:10), has lost 'the key of knowledge' (Li 123).

(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 3:14). Human associations, 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 men below, and saints above; For love is heaven, and heaven loves love.'

(Scott. Lay of the Last Minstrel, m. ii. 5–7.)

(d) As man's chief good, love is a task as well as a gift—an Auspizio as well as a Gaze. It is not a passive sentiment or an involuntary mood. The verb 'to love' has an imperative mood, which the greatest lawyer—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' (Illingworth, 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 'inmost 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 deceitful; it is a good-will—what according to Kant, is the one absolutely good thing in the universe.

(e) All duties spring ultimately from the one duty of love. It is more than a poetic 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—'Virtus est orto amoris—'and in reference to the cardinal virtues he says: I would not hesitate to define these four virtues which make such an impression upon our minds that they are in every man's 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. 15:15).

The law of love is called the royal law (pepos Baralix, Jn 20), because, being supreme in dignity and power among the principles which control human action, it brings all the others into subjectee to itself.

'All thoughts, all passions, all delights, Whatever aims this mortal frame, All are but ministers of Love, And feed his sacred flame' (Cotterige, Eve, 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 be done through hours of gloom' (Mill, Moral sentiments, ch. [Poet. 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 impera-
tive and too little of the aesthetic side of morality — that both of these is, infinity is not perfect-
done unless a great love makes the yoke easy and
the burden light. Under this potent influence,
each of a thousand thoughtful deeds becomes a
'labour of love' (Agape). St Paul, in the 1st
Thessalonians (II, 8) says that the
'servants of God' must do it in the
Temple' (II. 1). 7) says that the
mistrust whom he serves makes his 'labours
pleasures,' and Jacob's seven years seemed to him
for many days because of his love (Gen. 29:20).
Moral education advances rapidly when a man can
say from the heart, 'To do Thy will, O 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.

'No heart is pure that is not passionate; no virtue is
that is not enthusiastic' (J. R. Seeley,Essai Homo, London,
1864, p. 64).

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 4:7). That which is natural, the self-
life, is first, and afterwards that which is spiritual,
the life of self-renewance. And nothing changes
the natural into the spiritual like the contempla-
tion of the sacrifice of Christ.

'Thou hast no power nor mayst conceive of Mine,
but love I give thee, with Myself to love,'
(Roy, p. 187). To cherish a
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 4:19),
which may be rightly interpreted, '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 13:34). Judaism supplied the law of love (Lv 19:18);
Christianity supplies the power — the grace
which came by Jesus Christ (Jn 17). It seems
a priori impossible to love the world that hates us,
but it is morally impossible not to love the world
which has so great a Faith works by love
(Gal 5), and works miracles.

'The gospel... desires the best 'Love thy neighbour as
thyself' — a simple sentiment quite literally,
'In, then, this demand reasonable, and is its fulfillment possible? The soully reason-
ing, common-sense intellect answers 'So,' a thousand
times over; and in this Ye with a decided, quiet
Yes' (W. Bouquet, The Faith of a Modern Protestant,
London, 1889, p. 77).

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 'Abou 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 name stands first among
those whom love of God has blessed. And it is
explained in another authoritatively in Mt 25, where
our Lord proclaims that deeds done in love to
the least of His brethren are accepted as done to Him-
self. Those who do them are unconscious Christians
but in whose heart there is, real, and their reward, which they never
sought, is sure.

'For they love goodness, and to love goodness is in fact to
be good. And the good is the first of all gods. But the
good lives must always cause regret to the Christian, the good-
ness which he has not himself possessed, as being inexplicable to
the same cause which has for himself become explicit' (Tillingworth, p. 167).
an epitaph of Theocritus (no. 13: cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Teucrose, der Bauhöcker, Berlin, 1906, p. 118) a woman of Cos thanks her for the freedom her husband gave her. The prayers of widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7). Nor is it without reason that the wedding of the goddess to Zeus is celebrated by marriage. The prayers of the widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- pactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]): in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. 7).
The worship of Aphrodite was also influenced by forebears of other deities; on the Black Sea there was an Olympia of Scythian origin (Herod. iv. 59, 67), the lady of Apaturoon (B. Lattesich, Inscr. Pont. Enz. v. Petrowgrad, 1880-90, ii. 19).

The function of the goddess was in historical times narrowed down to that merely of the protectress of love. It is only as such, with the exception already noticed, that she is recognized in the iconi epic, and it is therefore worthy of remark that her cult was introduced into Smyrna (Tae. Ann. iii. 63) and Ephesus (Michel, Recueil, 389 A 5, B 25) by means of oracles. Even at a later period the stars and the moon were regarded 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 deities of love declined as the practice of hetairism gained ground. In this period the "Aphrodites" became the characteristic hetairistic festival (Nilsen, p. 374). Besides Eros we now find Iseus and Ilob, "Longing" and "Fullfillment." (Paus. i. xiii. 7; on the meaning of Ilobes cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Hermes, x. 1905, p. 172, vii. xii. 803 D; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀφροδίτη seems to have had to do with νικόλος ἐρως, as is certainly true of the Aphrodite Scorba of Phausis (Ityt. Mag. 643, 49); in Crete she bore the name called eténa (schol. to Paus. iii. 114; v. Eur. Alc. 689). As Aphrodite was brought into relation with the evening star in the myth of Phoin-Phaseus (Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Hermes, xv., 1883, 410 ff., Sappho and Protagoras, p. 183 ff.; Berliner, 1883), it is easy to see why maidens should murmur their love-pangs to the moon-goddess (schol. to Theoc. ii. 10; Hesych. s.v. ὀλίβας s. g.), just as in the Erotic Fragment (6) the lover invokes the moon and the camera sē.

3. Eros. — Besides 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 Thessaly, where he was worshipped as a stone fetish (Paus. ix. xxvii. 1), as also probably in Parion, in Laconian Lektra (ib. iii. xxvii. 5), and in the sea-cult of the Lycomedes (ib. ix. xxvii. 2; cf. Fortwangler, ib. Introduction, p. 126 f., xii. [1892] 116 f.). In Ellis he is represented beside the Charites, and to the right of them (Paus. vi. xxiv. 4), i.e. as their leader, like Hermes. This is the most significant aspect of Eros in general, because he shares the cosmic character which he bears in Hesiod and among the Orphics. In consequence of the obvious derivation of his name, however, he remained a child of Helen, and so the god of cosmic 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 predynasty had a myth similar to the Behist (Behist. Mon. xii. [1917] 445). We are told also that in the Academy he had an altar which was supposed to have been erected in the period of the Pissistratis (Athen. xiii. 609 D; Plut. Sol. i), but Pausanias (ib. xii. 390 G) asserts that offerings were never paid to him at all. In literature and art his figure was always a mutable one, and he is the subject of no clear-cut myth (J. Boehlac, Phth. i. 1880, vi. 736; Preller and C. Robert, Griechische Mythologie, Berlin, 1887-94, 1, 94 450, 5, W. H. Roscher, art. "Aphrodite" in Roscher; A. Fortwangler, art. "Eros," in ib.; P. W. Middell, Ditt. "Pâthos," s.v.; K. Tümpel, art. "Aphrodite" in Pauly-Wissowa to be used with caution); O. Wasser, art. "Eros," 40 ff., KURT LATTE.

II. ETHICAL IDEAS. — I. The Homeric age. — It remains to examine what ideas concerning the

LITERATURE. — The more important works have been cited in the course of the article. The reader may also consult: W. H. Engel, Eros, Berlin, 1884, ii. (citations); A. Emmann, "Kyroso und der Ursprung des Aphroditekultes," in Mnesta, de la Mén. d. Acad. fr. de cl. O. Wolfr. (P. v. Wissowa, vi. 487). Alcman (frag. 38 [Bergk]) calls him a boy; Anacreon sometimes obviously regards him as a youth (frags. 2, 47), while in other passages (e.g., frag. 29) one may well doubt whether he thinks of him as a personal deity at all. But this ineffectiveness of outline, which persists throughout the subsequent period, is counterbalanced by the strength of the associated conception. While Sappho (frag. 1) natively prays to Aphrodite, who inflicts and removes the pains of love, Sophocles (frag. 44 [Nauck]) extols the might of that force which pervades all that lives, and depicts the shattering effects of ἀφροδίτης ᾀρων (Sophoc. Ant. 781; Eur. Hippias, 355, 1268, Iph. Aul. 543). Thereafter philo-

sophical speculation seizes upon the conception, and exalts it to heights before unapproached. Plato, (Comme. 187 D), playing upon the etymology of the words, contrasts ὀλίβας and Ἀφροδίτη as sacred and profane love—a contrast having no foundation in their essential meaning, but dominating their usage for the future.
emotion of love and its ethical value were characteristic of the Greeks; and the survey will reveal considerable development in consequence of political and social movements, together with a certain variety and plenitude of contemporary opinions in the most important eras. The charming pictures of domestic affection which are to be found in the Homeric poems, such as the parting of Hector and Andromache (Iliad xvi.), or the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope (Od. xxiii. 85 ff.), and even occasional comments like 'there is nothing mightier and better than when husband and wife keep house with united hearts' (Od. vi. 182 ff.), and the tenderness of the allusion to the soft voices of the youth and maidens while they are courting each other (Il. xxi. 128), reflect the 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 Achaean monarchies are imperfectly known to us (see art. 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 depriving them of their earlier freedom. But signs of their degradation may be observed as early as the time of Herodotus, in his history of Hellenic marriage (Works and Days, 700 ff.), and the same tone pervades the invective of Semonides of Amorgos (frag. 7), whose pattern wife is the offspring of the busy house, 'one with matter to look to in the gathered store of her mate' (line 83 ff.). It is remarkable that the same simile is employed by Ischomachus in describing to his wife the duties which he expects her to perform (Xen. Econ. vii. 59), and the training prescribed in Xenophon's dialogue (op. cit. vii. x.), as well as casual allusions to domestic happiness, shows that the Attic ideal was satisfied by the loyalty of a captivated and thrifty housewife (cf. 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 concubine to minister to our daily needs, we marry a wife to raise, educate, and to have our property carefully preserved" (Dem. loc. 125).

3. Sappho. — It must not be supposed that in the many passionate outpourings of the lover's feelings to fail to make adequate expression in literature. In this respect the poems of Sappho occupy so peculiar a position that an attempt must be made to delineate its background. 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 writing have survived, and partly because comic poets and later gossip-mongers have shrudled her name in unmerited scandal. It is generally admitted that the story of her unrequited love for Phaon and of her despairing leap from the Leucadian wall are fictitious (Ep. lxxvii. 37) to the discussion of Diodorus 'an Sappho publicus fuere,' are not to be supported by such doubtful evidence as frag. 32, and are contradicted by the soundest part of the tradition which represents her as a wife and a mother (Suid. s.v. Zarpo; cf. Sappho, frag. 85), than by the sincerity and freedom of her genuine utterances. The psychological problem presented by frags. 1 and 2 and Berlin frags. 2 and 5 is to understand how the yearning of the. man who has lost his love in the sudden departure of one of her girl friends came to be expressed in terms usually reserved for the rapturous emotions of sexual love. The solution, so far as the evidence presents it, is to be sought in the character of a remarkable personality. If Sappho was the inspiring genius of a society of beautiful and high-born maidens, who sought her as a friend and as a confidante, the poet in the poetic art (frag. 136), and with whom she lived on terms of intimate affection, there was no reason why she should not, with a different intention, have anticipated the behaviour of Socrates to his young disciple by giving utterance to her whole-hearted devotion in the language of passionate love. The parallel was drawn in antiquity by Maximus Tyrius (xxiv. 9), who was, doubtless, not the first to suggest it, and the history of the famous love affair of Sappho and Phaon, and the good name of Sappho has been defended by F. G. Welcker (Kleine Schriften, Göttingen, 1816, ii. 80-144) and, more recently, by von Wilanowitz-Möllendorff (op. cit. 1828).

4. Tragic and other poets. — The poetic treatment of love was usually confined, as, e.g., by Minnermus and Anacreon, to its sensual aspect, and it is clear from the history of the lyric art that a serious preoccupation with the causes, symptoms, or effects of love was considered unworthy of a poet who aspired to be true to his calling. Hence Aristophanes, in the Monon, in the Women in Lysistrata, in the Clouds, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in The Wasps, in Euphorion, in the Birds, in the Knights, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Ecclesiazusae, in the Bickerings, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasps, in the Haunts of Men, in the Acharnians, in the Clouds, in the Wasps, in the Knights, in the Frogs, in the Wasp...
a famous fragment (frag. 855 N.), characterizes the love-goddess here a personification of the passion itself, in the following words: 

"Love is not a bliss, but is caused by many names; it is Death, it is immortality, it is raging Frenzy, it is vehement Desire, it is Lanenestia; it is love actually, all peace, all satisfied desiring, the silence of violence."

Over and over again stress is laid upon the irresistible power of Love: he is the mightiest of all the gods (Eur. frag. 290, 430). Menand. frag. 299, ii. 67 K., frag. 449, ii. 129 K.); and not one of them (Soph. Trach. 443), not even Zeus himself (Eur. frag. 684; Menand. frag. 209, ii. 60 K.), can withstand his attack. 

"He is not wise," says Desiderius in "Theodosius" (1101). "who seeks 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 idipseis of the Corinthian Aphrodite (cf. Pind. frag. 122 and art. HEBRODPOLIS (Greco-Roman) help to explain the absence of moral reproach directed against the notorious erōtas of Athens. Resistance to the onset of potentio is by no means less imparloraphisable than it is futile (Eur. frag. 340), though excessive indulgence is as much to be deprecated as entire abstemience (Eur. frag. 428). Such self-control as was exhibited by Agamemnon in refraining, despite the violence of his passion, from accepting the kiss offered by a beautiful Persian boy (Eur. Ag. v. 4 f.), was so rare that the historian felt it to be altogether marvellous.

5. Panterasty. — The passage last quoted confronts us with that form of the love-passion, the love of boys, which has come to be known as 'Greek love,' and has tarnished the whole fabric of Panterasty. 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 X. Cyl. (frag. 128 [Testamentum Graecorum Fragmenta], Leipzig, 1889, p. 44). But there is no doubt of its antiquity, at any rate, among the Dorian branch of the Greek race. This is established by the evidence of certain Thracian inscriptions (Inscriptiones Graecae incolarum maris Erythraei ed. F. Miller von Gaertening, iii. [1904] 536 ff.); by the relation between the cypipps and doxai in the disciplinary system of Spartan training (Serv. Aen. vi. 307, xi. 14; Athen. Var. Hist. iii. 10, 12); and by the curious custom of the Cretans, according to which the lover carried off his favourite by a show of force, and was more or less seriously punished according to his supposed merits (Strabo, pp. 483, 484). The inveteracy of the habit may be attributed to its long descent from a primitive period when continuous military service involved a scarcity of women (Beith, in Rhein. Mus. xii. 438 ff.). Moreover, it is fair to admit that the results of such companionship were by no means invariably lead. T. Gouper has well remarked that the sentiment in question appeared in as many, if not more, varieties and gradations, 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 infrequently the fruit of these relationships, and of the sensual origin of which was entirely forgotten (Greek Thesigr., Eng. tr., London, 1801-13, ii. 280). 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 sympathy and affection, left a gap to be otherwise filled. It may fairly be supposed that, in the early ages, there were many—probably an increasing number—who were keenly alive to its disgrace. But sentiment varied among different communities, and, as with Athens, so with Thebes and Elis; the two cities were subject to an unequaled notoriety in this respect (Xen. Symp. viii. 34; Plut. Sympos. 182 D).

6. Philosophic love. — Such was the state of society when the teaching of Socrates began to open a new era in the progress of morality. By putting sexual desires more or less on the level of the other bodily wants (Xen. Mem. iv. 10, Symp. iv. 28), Socrates set the seal of prudential standpoint of the ordinary person. But his character, so completely vindicated by Alcibiades in the Symposium (215 A ff.), was free from any suspicion of vice: and though he sometimes ironically pretended to be enamored of beauty (Xen. Mem. VI. i. 2, Symp. iv. 27), and actually described himself as the lover of his younger companions and pupils (Xen. Symp. viii. 39), yet he energetically repressed the erotic tendencies of his associates (Xen. Mem. i. ii. 29, i. iii. 8), and required that a spurious love should be converted into a true friendship, aiming solely at the moral improvement of the beloved object (Xen. Symp. viii. 27). Plato developed his master's teaching on this subject by connecting it with the innermost core of his philosophical system, and, in the dialogue Symposium and Phaedrus) expounded with matchless literary skill his doctrine respecting the true nature and purpose of love. The argument in the Phaedrus (250 A) starts from the hypothesis of the immortality and reminiscence of the soul, which in its ante-natal state was associated with the eternal verities of the ideal world. Now, the ideas of Justice and Temperance are scarcely visible in their earthly condition; their ultimate apprehension is difficult and seldom attained. But Beauty is always so conspicuous that its phenomenal representation attracts at once the admiration even of those who are not initiated into the mysteries of wisdom, and are engrossed in their mortal surroundings. Thus souls from which the glories of the images once beheld have faded into contact with earthly things-so far from being sanctified and inspired by the sight of beautiful forms, are stirred only with fleshly desire. But it is different with the lover who is also a philosopher, and his progress is described in the narrative of Diotima reported by Socrates in the Symposium (pp. 210, 211). The true lover, by contemplating the beauty of the beloved object, is immediately reminded of absolute Beauty itself. With his personal admiration for his Olympian object, he is inspired by the trappings of bodily fashions, he sees even more keenly the beauty of mind and character of which the outward form is only the reflexion. Presently he perceives the common kinship of beauty wherever it is manifested in action or thought, and learns that its complete apprehension is the task of a single science. Lastly, passing entirely from the individual to the universal, his soul is so greatly purified as to become re-united with the idea of Beauty itself, which is the ultimate source of all beautiful persons and things belonging to the phenomenal world. Such is the significance of τὸ ἀιώνιον φανερόν (Sympos. 211 B), or τὸ παθητικὸν μὲν φασιοφασὶν (Phaedr. 249 A). Plato's philosophy left its mark upon subsequent ethical speculation, but was too much exalted to affect the opinion of the ordinary citizen. Aristotle distinguished perfect friendship between good men based upon character from the spurious friendship of lover and beloved aiming at pleasure or utility (Eth. Nic. viii. 4, 1161 a 1 f.). Whereas the Epicureans entirely rejected love as a violent impulse attended by frenzy and distraction (Epic. 1. 58; cf. 1. 59). Bumet has recently undertaken to show that the whole of the doctrines commonly attributed to Plato were originally propagated by Socrates (Greek Philosophy, i. "Thebes to Plato", London, 1914, p. 146). It is obviously impossible to discuss the question here.
frag. 483 [Usener]), the Stoics followed closely in Plato's footsteps by recommending it to the Wise Man as an attempt to promote friendship with youth who displayed in their beauty a capacity for virtue (Diog. Laert. vii. 129; Stob. Ed. ii. p. 115, 1 [Wachsmuth]; Cle. Zac. iv. 70, etc.). Platonists, as might be expected, adopted the rules laid down by Porphyry in his Symposion as a means of approach to the supra-rational and transcendent First Being (Porphyry, Vit. Plotin. xxiii.). On the other hand, Faintarec, whose dialogues entitled epistelai aimed at challenging conflicting views by a return to the commonsense point of view, while he was largely influenced by Platonic imagery, vindicated the claim of woman as the proper object of a divinely inspired passion (21 L 786 E ff.). We even find Plato condemned altogether as unworthy of serious attention by such writers as Dionysios of Halicarnassus (de Administr. ci divinis in Demeat.., p. 1877). Athenaeus (ibid.) and Heracleitus, 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 themes, such as the subject of one of the causes which 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 was the intrigue of the son of a rich 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 overracing of an unsympathetic parent or a rashly pander to the excitements of a devoted slave or parasite; and the ultimate reconciliation of all parties, leading to the marriage of the happy lovers. But pathos and sentiment were entirely foreign to the cold 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 closer acquaintance with Eastern tales such as that of Abraptides and Panthea in Xenophon (Oxyrop. v. i. 3, vi. i. 31 ff.; iv. 2-11, vii. i. 29-33, iii. 2-16; see J. P. Mahaffy, Greek Life and Thought, Cambridge, 1886, p. 294), is by Bokode, Der griechische Roman, p. 533 (E.), 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 Medea's passion for Jason, the conflicting interests prompting her to struggle against it, and her final submission to an irresistible emotion are depicted with poetical power and very high order. There is no doubt that Vergil made Apollonius his chief model when constructing the well-known episode of the loves of Didon and Amor. Another example was the love-story of Aeneas and Cassandra, described as the outcome of a consequence of a digression in the Aeneid, the conclusion of which has recently been discovered in one of the Oxyrhynchos Papyri (no. 1011 [=vii. [1910] 15 ff.]). The various forms of this common theme to the writers of these romantic narratives have been summarized (A. Cout, La Poésie alexandrine sous les trois Ptolémaïes, Paris, 1882, pp. 140-160; J. P. Mahaffy, op. cit., p. 254). The description of the pang of thwarted love; and the importance attached to the preservation of the virgin purity of the heroine amidst all her trials and dangers until her final reunion with the hero. This was visibly mirrored by the art of Callimachus, and Philetas upon Latin poetry, and especially upon the works of Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid; but mention should be made of Theognis of Megara, who had an extensive circulation in the Alexandrian era (Ovid, Trist. ii. 413; Lucian, Am. i.). 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 Golden Ass. The work of Parthenius dedicated to Cornilius Gallus was different in both scope and purpose; it consisted of excerpts relating to the misfortunes and disasters of various historians and poets. The characteristic features of the romantic love-story enumerated above were closely followed by the later romance-writers (e.g. cf. art. FICTION, Prima). those who were the direct inheritors of the Alexandrian tradition and became extremely popular in the Middle Ages (Is. Bokker, Anecd. Grec. Berlin, 1814, p. 1082). The best of these novels was the Ethiopic of Heliodorus (Greek, d.), who was preceded by Xenophon, the author of the Ephesiaca, and followed by Achilleas Tatius (Leucippe and Clitophon) and Chariton (Charmides and Callirhoe). The Daphnis and Chloe of Longus was constructed according to the same plan, but under the influence of the pastoral Idyll of Theocritus. To these names should be added the fictitious love-letters of Alciphron and Aristocles, which aimed at restoring the Attic flavour of the New Comedy.

LITERATURE.—Several of the authorities consulted have been mentioned above. Certain portions of the subject-matter are covered by E. Bode, "Die dorische Knabensage," Rhein. Mus. hist. 1907, 438 ff.; E. Robbe, Der griechische Roman, Leipzig, 1890. For the critical development in general, see the author's treatises quoted under ETHICS AND LITERATURE (Greek), and especially L. Schmidt, Die Epik der alten Griechen, Berlin, 1886, 4, 294-298; J. Denis, Histoire des lettres et des arts dans l'Antiquité, Paris, 1879, ii. 122-164.

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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 affection, due to sexual instinct, or the mutual affections of man and woman; the impulses which direct the mutual affections 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 metaphorical usages of the word, as the love for moral and intellectual ideals. To the last class belongs the religious concept 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 Cautesice in the words :

Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave: the chains thereof are burnished; a very flame of fire. 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 ashamed. (96)

The passion of sexual instinct which must be elevated by a feeling of love is repeatedly referred to in the same book (28 28, 21 21, 21 21, 21 21), and sensuous life of the low physical type is often mentioned either directly (Mt 28) or as the most natural metaphor for reprehensible inclinations (Hos 3). The Biblical narratives give repeated instances of the power of sexual passion, as in the case of Samson (Jg 14 14 14 14 14, 14), where the
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demonic power of woman over man leads men to ruin. Similar is the case of Shechem (Gen 34), 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 King Solomon for many strange women—a peculiarity of the beneficent influence of the hareem or politics in the Orient—is given in the Bible (1 K 11) as the cause of the downfall of the wisest of kings. The Rabbinic view of the Daughters of Jerusalem (Isa 3:16) is 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; for even Solomon, who thought he was wise enough to be safe from having his heart turned away by women (Dt 17:22), fell a victim to their influence (Ex. Rabbin., ch. vii., Tanhâmid., Ex. red. 3).

With equal force sexual passion is described in the case of Amnon, raping his step-sister Tamar (2 S 13), when, after the gratification of the brutal impulse, Amnon's passion turns into hatred and disgust (v.24), a story which has a remarkable parallel in Max Halle's tragedy Jugend (Berlin, 1889). The term 'love' is also used with regard to the physical pleasures, as love for delicacies (Gen 27).

2. Matrimonial and parental love.—The higher conception of matrimonial love as an attachment which sustains personal, social, and moral life, and is the foundation of all stable constitution, is foreign to the Bible. The love of Jacob for his mother, the love of Rachel, and the love of Leah, as such, is unmentioned. If the marrying of Isaac and Rebekah, arranged by their parents, ripens into love (Gen 24), a further stage to the relation of Jacob and Leah is that of Rahabah and Hannnah (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?' (Gen 39). David is spurred by the love of Michal to do great acts of valor (2 Sam. 10), as he has a conception of life akin to that of troublesome times. Even in the story of Esther the king's love for the queen (Est 2,3), while in many ways showing the cares and dangers of the position of the queen, as the wife of a king, is only used to give half of his kingdom away in order to gratify the whim of an odalisque, is presented as an attachment in which the king with the forces of a sudden passion is referred to 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 womanly feelings (Dt, 21). The placing of duty above personal feeling underlies the law for the conduct of a man who has two wives, one of whom is beloved, and the other hated (v.13,17). It is worthy of note that Rabbinic apologetics explain the love as a tribute of piety and hatred as being 'hated by God' ('Sifre, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1884, p. 113). At the same time Rabbinic ethics derives from this law a condemnation of polygamy as less than the taboos between descendant and wife (v.9), as a warning against sexual licence the author of Proverbs advises (20,22) devotion to 'the loving kind and the pleasant does', and the author of Ecclesiastes tells a youth that 'were a man to serve the Lord with all his might and love his neighbours', that such advice was put in the mouth of King Solomon. In full harmonious with this conception of domestic felicity, as the highest ideal of life, are many Rabbinical statements.

'Of him who loves his wife like himself and honours her more than himself, Scripture (Job 36) says: 'Thus shall man know that thy tent is in peace' (Y.Vehosheneth, 26).

Closely related to this conception of love is the love of children, so often referred to in the OT, and already implied in the many passages which mention the happiness derived from the possession of children (Ps 127:3-5, 32, Pr 17) and the misfortune of not having children, as in the case of Rachel, who would rather die than live without them (Gen 30), 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' (Gen 32,5, and the love for Benjamin, who, in addition to being a 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 love 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 (26).

Such affection derives from the love 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 (Ruth 1), and the words of solicitation spoken to Naomi on the birth of Ruth's son, that Ruth's love for her is greater than that of seven sons (4,9), are felt by the reader of to-day 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 be a free man in the house of his master than go free (De 15,18, 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 to me be as the love of men to women, in friendship' (2 S 1). A true friend is one 'that sticheth closer than a brother' (Pr 17). In correct interpretation of this expression the Rabbinic speak of the natural friendship of the ostracized for each other, naming the proselytes, slaves, and raveners (Talm. Pass. 115). As specimen of the highest love the Rabbanists give the case of the 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 passion, could not last (Est 7).

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 is claimed that the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19), 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.4), and that, therefore, it expresses implicitly the idea of Hillel (g.v.)—a teacher of the 1st cent. R.B. said the teacher of the 2nd cent. said: 'Love others as thyself' is a great principle in the Torah ('Sifre, Qiddushin, ch. 1:2; Pe'sachim Nether, x. 3). Christianity, on the other hand, claims that Jesus, in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 16), was the answer to the question, Who is my neighbour, in

1 See also Dt 10, 2 Or the fundamental principle.
the universalistic sense. One might introduce the argument that the Rabbis interpret the commandment, 'You shall love your neighbour as thyself,' as teaching a specific method of execution, evidently implying that even the criminal remains our neighbour (Talm. Pes. 75a). The Hebrew word 'ahāb is 'loving,' and 'love' is also used in the social sense, as in the case of Hāiram and David (1 K 5:18 [EY 5]).

True love is tested by the sincerity which will not hesitate to rebuke and which will accept rebuke (Ex 28:1), on the other hand, loving friends will overlook faults (1 K 5:18). In the same sense the Talmud reports that Johanan ben Nārī praised his companion Rabbi Ein-dor, 'for loving him among his enemies and his friend's ox as a father's among his burden' (Ex 21:33). The answer is given that he must first help his enemy 'in order that he train himself in subduing passion' (Babēth M.349, 320). Love is also a sign of true greatness, as when it is said that 'breakfast removes jealousy and brings love' (ib. A76). The making of friends is true greatness. He is a strong man who can turn his enemies into a friend (Babēth R. Nāthān, ch. 29).

4. Metaphorical uses. — Love in the metaphorical sense is very frequently in connexion with wisdom, especially in the Proverbs (4:7; 8:1); see also the counterpart of loving folly or hating wisdom (12:18). As true wisdom is identical, will be the love of the Torah (Ps 119:133) and of God's commandments (v. 47; 130), monotheistically repeated in the long Psalm, evidently is the work of an early Pharisee who ascribes the ideal presented in the sayings of the Fathers:

'Turn it [the Torah] over and turn it over, for everything is in it, speculate over it, grow old and grey with it, and never depart from it, for there is no higher conception than this' (Babēth, 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 27:10), the Rabbis say:

'They loved God, because God's people forty years previously, but scripture wishes to say that to one who studies the Torah earnestly, it becomes new every day' (Babēth, 69b). As an example of such devotion Joshua is quoted (Mānāhōth, 96b), to whom God said, not in the sense of a commandment, but in the sense of a law, that the Torah shall not depart out of his mouth (Jos 1:8).

The love of instruction — in Hebrew synonymous with reproof (Ps 127; — wisdom (589) — purity of heart (Mie 69) — kindness (Mie 69) — love, and affliction is not a sign of His hatred, for the Lord often correcteth him that he loveth' (Ps 127; see Job 6:6). Yet prosperity is
LOVE (Muhammadan).

Joshua, whether the piety of Job is to be found in his love or in his fear of God (Sûrah 270). The love of God is characterized in the Talmud by man's conduct, which sheds lustre on his religion (Tûdûb 82a). An Zion stands for Israel's ideal, the pious are those who love Zion (Ps. 122) and the wicked those who love shall be presented by the metaphor of adultery and sinful love (Is. 57, Jer. 2:13, Ezek. 16, Hos. 2:4). From a practical point of view the Talmudists say that one who marries his daughter to the best beloved, God, according to Rabbinic ethics, loves especially the humble and peaceful (Bukhârî, iii. 174), and the best of all is modesty (Bukhârî, iii. 10). Modesty is the best means to gain God's love.

"I love you, says God to Israel, because, when I elevate you, you say to me: 'It is as though we were absolved' (Gn. 18, and Moses said of himself and Aaron: 'What a wondrous, good and gracious God is, and my soul knew Him not' (Ps. 28:4)."

God loves, says the Talmud in a different passage (Psalms 118, 138), 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 (Ps. 118). Most probably in the sense of condemning luxury in the building of synagogues R. Hillel, who lived in Babylonia in the 3rd cent., says, commenting on Ps. 89:

It is consistent with this principle that the true Israelite who is beloved of God is in the sense of St. Paul (Ro. 29) the spiritual Israelite, and therefore the heathen who came to Hillel to be converted, and desired to be assured that he might become a high priest, was satisfied when he heard that ‘the stranger who comes with his staff and walks barefooted is given the same rights as the Israelites who are called God’s children’ (Shabbath, 31b). Israel is beloved by God because he is in his fortunes, not because he is persecuted. Lazarus, The Ethics of Judaism, H. Philadelphia, 1901, S. Schneider, Studies in Judaism, 313, 315, and the Jews and Christians, pp. 139-157, 141, 142, 143, in their Love and Sufferings, pp. 138-150, 141, 142, 143, in their Love and Sufferings, pp. 138-150, 141, 142, 143. The ethics of Judaism is applied to Islam in a new of the most recent periods (lxix, 14) but with this exception, and a few others dating from the period immediately before the Prophet's migration, all the Qu'ranic 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 Carian ideas co-operated with the happy change in his fortune, and caused him to emphasize the milder aspects of Allah in a corresponding degree. Of these references, which are about this number, most are brief statements that God loves various classes of men—e.g., the benefactor, the patient, those who trust in him, fight for him, keep themselves pure, and so on—and that he does not love various other classes, such as the transgressers, the proud, and the unjust. Muhammad denies the claim of the Jews and Christians to be the children of a peculiar sense, the beloved of Allah (v. 21). Man's love of God is mentioned in three passages: one man takes idols which they love as much as they love Allah, but the faithful love Allah more than they love anything else (ii. 169); those who love God must follow His Prophet, then God will love and forgive them (iii. 29); if any of the faithful changes his love to Allah will fill their places with men whom He loves and who love Him (v. 59).

Many traditions ascribed to the Prophet on the subject of divine love go far beyond the more animistic, arid and perfunctory 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 3rd cent. of Islam, and which in the course of time established itself as a guiding and inspiring principle, at the centre of Muhammadanism. The following examples are often cited by Sufi authors:
When God loves a man, his sins hurt him not; and one who repents of sins is even as one who is without sin. (Qur’an 66:81, B. R. A. H. 50.15).

God said: ‘Falses are they who pretend to love Me, but when they see Me alone, they say: ‘We love God more than they love Me.’ If every lover of Mine were alone, I would love him better than all lovers of Mine. Love to be alone with his beloved!’ (H. 66:82).

God said: ‘My servant draws nigh unto Me by works of devotion, not by hidden deceit (al-sekha), nor by the ear of which he hears and the eye by which he sees and the tongue by which he speaks’ (cf. al-Qunayr, al-Ma’aluma, B. R. A. H. 400, 1128 A.H., 280, 1420 A.H., 120).

It is obvious that the doctrine of divine love will assume different forms according to the relative orthodoxy of its exponents. 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 often wisely treated by Ghazali fa lbk. vi. of his Ihya’ (Bailly, 1899 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 is set forth in the most authoritative encyclopaedia of Muhammadan ethics.

Love (rubub) is the natural desire for that which gives pleasure; when that desire grows intense, it is called ilove. Each lover has his own beloved. Similarly, the spiritual sense, whose organ is the heart (qalb), has its special beloved, of whom all other objects are incomparable to the bodily senses. Ghazali enumerates five chief causes of love:

1. Self-interest. Every lover desires to prolong his life or to promote his affairs as much as possible. Therefore men hate death and seek wealth, children, etc.

2. Benevolence. Men love those who benefit them. This is the immediate object of all love.

3. Disinterested love of good. Sometimes a good man is loved for the sake of the lover, not for any advantage that may be derived from him.

4. Love of beauty (moral or spiritual). When the whole pleasure which it gives consists in the perception of (1) beauty, (2) knowledge, (3) love, the lover proceeds to the contemplation of all these motives have their ultimate source in God, who is the sole beloved of all lovers, and whose love, although it need not necessarily include love of the Prophet and the saints. The strongest and rarest motive, he says, is spiritual affinity. Man is called to an infinite Dari. In respect of certain attributes, according to the tradition, ‘Form yourselves on the moral nature of God’ (Fakhraddin bIshqayd Jaddism). 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 relation, of which Ghazali speaks with the utmost caution as an inscrutable mystery which is revealed to those who experience it. It is indicated by the verse of the Qur’an where God says that He breathed His spirit into man, by whose means man is enabled to the angels to worship Adam and by the tradition that God created man in His own image.

Every human sense and faculty seeks a particular end. Thus, the immediate end of spiritual knowledge is to be described by different names, e.g., reason, faith, illumination, insight; each of which symbolizes one or the other of the three elements of all things, the spirit, the object of knowledge; therefore knowledge of God is the highest knowledge. The gnostic (rubub) is he who knows God, his knowledge is complete; and his love increases in the same degree as his knowledge. Both spring up together in his heart when he reaches the end of his desires; of worldly desires and of spiritual desires. What he longs for is perfect contemplation and perfect knowledge, such that he perceives God in His spiritual face.

Having defined love as the soul’s desire for that which gives it pleasure, Ghazali points out that the term is metaphorical in its application to God, who wants nothing and requires 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 up the veil from their hearts in order that they may behold Him spiritually, and enables them to draw nigh unto Him, and has eternally willed that they should not be far from Him by means of His love to them, which are the cause of their becoming pure within, and of the radiating of His Divine Light upon them, which is the source of God’s love to them. All these are acts of favour, involving no change in the divine perfection, but inwardly transforming and perfecting the beloved. How shall we know that God loves him? Ghazali answers this question by enumerating the following signs which are decisive evidence of His love for a man: if the love of Him is the best proof that He loves them. The true lover yearns to meet God and to taste the Divine Love; and he who doubts is also sufficient evidence, for if he does not yearn, he cannot love; and he who doubts that he is not yet ripe for the heavenly vision; he is ambitious in worship and good works, for God loves the one who has the love of God.

Thus the value of religion is not mere compliance with commandments, but the entire life is its own reward. The lover, therefore, who loves God in His own Light, who has the love of God in his heart, who loves Him and loves the Qur’an, which is the Word of God, and the Prophet, and his fellow Muslims and all God’s creatures, yet he has no joy but in solid communion with His beloved, knowing that the move of all mankind in the world of the spirit, the fountain and the spring of all action in the world of the spirit, the fountain and the spring of all action in the world, to a certain extent, has its root in the love of God, which is the foundation of all action, since God is the foundation of all action, since God is the foundation of all action.
his faith, and scorns the demonstrative arguments of the theologian.


REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

LOVE (Roman).—Nothing is more significant of the characteristic and the prosaic morality of the early Roman than the attitude towards love. In the earliest known period of Roman religion, the so-called "religion of Numa," we do not find a 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. In moral 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 a narrowly practical view of marriage more 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 distinct system of love ethics.

In the development of Numa's priesthood 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 appeared as Venus, and was, from about the year 390 B.C. onwards, identified with Aphrodite; but she did not exist in Rome before Servius Tullius, for we have absolutely no trace of her in the annals of Numa. On the other hand, the name Venus seems Latin, and it is certainly Italian 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 Aphrodite comes into the history of Rome.

I. The question of the Italian 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 worshipped in Campania, that, in other words, she is the Venus so famous at Pompeii, the Venus Pompeiana. But this is false, for the Roman Venus was the Venus whom the veterans of Sulla brought to Pompeii when they were establishing their new worship there. We have no evidence of any worship among the Oscans of a goddess akin to Venus, a certain Herakleia (mentioned in three Oscan inscriptions; two from Herculanenum [R. von Plant, Gramm. der osk. sprache, Strassburg, 1829-97, ii. 510], and one from Corton); Moreover, despite the fact that the worship of Aphrodite was introduced into Italy in connection with the conquest of Sicily (Euryx in Sicily). This proves, therefore, that the goddess resembled Aphrodite; it tells nothing of Venus, so far as any early Italic cult is concerned. (2) We are in a similar position regarding Fruttis, for whom we have the evidence of Vitruvius, quoted by Solinus, ii. 14, who tells us that the temple of Venus Fruttis was called Frutial. But these passages show merely that an otherwise unknown goddess Fruttis was identified with Aphrodite, and that nothing is gained for the old Italic Venus. (4) There are, however, traces of a very early Venus cult at Lavinium and Ardea. Strabo (p. 233) tells us that Lavinium 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 ii. 58) and Pomponius Mela (H 2) refer to a place called Aedus Veneris, as an unfortunate name for an old Latin cult. Following the ordinarly sound principle that on solemn occasions the Romans often made sacrifice at the mother-city of a cult, Pliny (HN i. 91) says that the Romans sacrificed to Venus at Ardea (Livy, xxii. 1. 19). The Roman cult may well have come from Ardea, but this reference scarcely proves it; for, as Shelley has pointed out, even the greeks were used to sacrifice in Rome, and the connexion of Ardea and Rome in the Venus-legend is likely to suggest such an act, merely as one step in the metamorphosis of the Venus-legend into a State dogma, which was taking place during the 3rd cent. B.C.

2. Traces of the Early Worship of Venus. — If a search for early traces of an Italian 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 Cloacina, Venus Libitina, and Venus Murcia, all of them old, but not one of them originally or at any time offered to the goddess known as Venus. (1) Venus Cloacina. Cloacina was the goddess of the cloaca, and possessed a shrine on the north side of the Forum, near the Comitium, at a point where the Cloaca Maxima entered the Forum. No ancient writer refers to her as Venus Cloacina until Pliny (HN iv. 119, and, depending on him, Servius, ad Aen. i. 790) makes Cloacina a cognomen of Venus. Starting from this, a passage in Ulpian (8, from the year 175 B.C.), where he speaks of a fire in the Forum as having destroyed the temple of Venus, has been interpreted to mean a temple of Venus Cloacina. On the contrary, the presence of a temple of Venus near this point may have been the origin of the false association of ideas. (2) Venus Libitina. The old Roman goddess Libitina, whose cult was connected with the burial of the dead, 1On the etymology of the name see Walde, p. 259.
2For etymology see Walde, pp. 321, 570.
and whose sacred grove on the Esquiline was the headquarters of the undertaking establishments of Rome, had originally no connexion with Venus. Later she was popularly confused with Venus, forming Venus Lustrina, 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 Litchen; the sanctification of Aphrodite with graves, and her cognomen ērryphaiē; lastly, Venus's own cognomen Lūtēntia, or Litchenia, which was readily confused with Litchenia.1 Venus Muricia. Muricia was an Roman goddess whose nature was entirely forgotten in the closing centuries of the Republic, but whose name was kept alive by association with a shrine (exedīum) in the valley of the Circus Maximus on the Aventine side. The locality was known as ad Muriciae or, later, as Muricia volvis. Subsequent generations, trying to find who Muricia was, connected her with Murcia, Murcia, Myrsinoth, and so thought that they had found in her a cognomen of Venus, the goddess of the myrtle.2

Little thus remains of an old Venus-cult in Rome, except the temple near the shrine of Litchenia. This was in the 226 B.C. We have seen, therefore, that there are very slight traces of earlyItalic Venus-worship, and still slighter ones of specifically Roman worship. The presence of the Italic name Venus, by which Aphrodite was known at her introduction into Rome, compels us to presuppose some sort of an Italic deity with that name, who was known and worshipped before the coming of Aphrodite. There is another possibility, which we venture merely to suggest, namely, that we have in Venus a case which resembles in part the cases of Hercules and Castor-Pollux, and in part that of Mercury. Little has been said of Castor-Pollux, she may have been originally a Greek deity, who moved up from Italy, and became nationalized into a Latin cult at Ardea, just as Hercules was at Tibur and Castor-Pollux at Tarentum. On the other hand, the name may have been derived, like that of Mercury, from the translation into Latin of an explanatory cognomen. But, whether Venus was from the very beginning a Venus of Aphrodite, or an original Italic goddess later identified with Aphrodite, one clue to her character is afforded us in the fact that, when the directly Greek Aphrodite came (and, of course, Aphrodite and Eneas were contemporaneous), Eneas was identified as a goddess of gardens that appealed to the Romans. This function, secondary in Greece, seems to have been primary in Rome.3

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 Sibylline books. She came, however, before the Eneas-legend, though, of course, Aphrodite and Eneas were subsequently inseparably connected. The first datable temple is in 226 B.C., and the first official proclamation of the Eneas-dogma by the State was in the year 222 B.C. Naturally Aphrodite was known before 226 B.C., and the Eneas-legend had been circulated privately before it was publicly proclaimed. The two oldest temples of

GREEK APHRODITE; that even here the Greek ideas of Venus Erycina were offensive to her feelings, so that a corrective was sought and found in Venus Venetia, a late century of her Republic three of her great rulers paid homage to Venus as their especial protectress; and, finally, that the example of Julius Caesar's cult of Venus GENETRIX inspired new Venus into the goddess of the Imperial household, and a large part of the Imperial period which followed.

LITERATURE.—On Venus in general: G. Wissowa, Religions und Mythologien der Antiken, Munich, 1896, pp. 324—326; W. J. Fowler, Roman Festivals, London, 1889, pp. 67, 69, 78, 85; E. Aust, Rev. der Klammer, Münner, 1909, 35, 294—297; C. Preller, Röm. Mythol., ed. H. Jordan, Berlin, 1901, 2, 384—385, 386—387 (good, but out of date). In addition to the special references given above, see, for Herakles, Wissowa, in Reckher, loc. cit. 299; for Dionysus, Wissowa, in Phyl.-Wissowa, iv. 60; H. Steud- ling, in Reckher, i. 915; O. Gilbert, Gesch. und Topog. der Stadt Rom von Albertus, Leipzig, 1883—84, i. 338 (to be used with caution); for Libitina, Wissowa, in Reckher, ii. 130; Gilbert, i. 174; for Mucius, Wissowa, in Reckher, ii. 3521; Gilbert, i. 71.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

LOVE (Semitic and Egyptian).—I. Among the primitive Semites.—No written records or oral traditions have come down to us from that remote time when the several branches of the Semitic race dwelt together in the desert of Central Arabia. Our knowledge of that period is derived solely by the comparative method of research, which is the only means of deducing facts in the life, thought, and language of the later Semites, an inheritance from their early ancestors. The love-songs of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, all resemble the love songs of the Semites, and we may, therefore, unhesitatingly assume that they have belonged to primitive Semitic thought.

The poems of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs are preserved in 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 grammarians. The most important collections are the Ḥamāʿik, which contains 884 songs, or fragments; the Muḥallabāt, or seven most famous poems; the Mayfād al-nayyīf, a collection of thirty odes, the Diwan, or collected poems, of Lāhūd; and the Kitāb al-Aqḥāṣ, which contains the traditions in regard to the lives of the poets and the circumstances of the composition of their songs.

Love-poesy that finds most frequent expression in the old Arab poetry. Every ṣafid, or ode, begins normally with an account of the poet's affection for some woman and his grief at separation from her, and continues with a description of the way in which he solaces himself for her loss by war, or by adventure on his fleet carned or horse. The ḥawā, 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 Muḥallabāt are all love poems, and the 124 songs of the fourth division of the Ḥamāʿik all treat of this subject.

These poems show that, although Arabic society had already passed into the patriarchal stage in the pre-Muhammadan period, yet many traces of a primitive matriarchial organization still survived (see EEE ii. 116). The greatest liberty existed in the relations between the sexes; and women were free not only to choose their husbands, but even to divorce lovers of other tribes. During the winter the rainfall was sufficient to cover the great steppe of the Nejd with scanty verdure, and to replenish the springs that dried up in summer. Then the tribes forsook their permanently settled empires, and wandered far and wide over the plains. The clans were brought into new temporary relations, and their men and women had the opportunity to become mutually acquainted. The result was a numerous inter-marriage.

The poets relate how they first met their lady-loves, and were captivated by their charms. Inna al-Qaysī hit the clothes of Ummiy while she was bathing, and was beset with love till she would not leave them until she promised to carry him home with her on her camel. Duraic fell in love with al-Jas, herself a poes, while secretly she was giving her sick camel with pitch. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the words were able to describe the charms of those women who were so well known to the poet as great detail as those of a favourite she-camel. Great parts of the poems are devoted to the depiction of the scenes that are as circumstantial as the praises of the 'fattest amongst women' in the Song of Songs. As among the modern Orientals, odours and heavy perfumes are specially admired in women. When an attachment was established, the poet made secret visits by night to the feet of his immolation. 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 footprints in the sand. Muḥallabāt of Imra al-Qays are said if she were a mother, she remained in her tent, receiving his caresses with one hand, while she held her baby in the other (q. 15). The poet protested his devotion and fidelity, and besought her to cease coquetry, and give him her love; and, he assures us, his entreaties were not in vain. Often the lady belonged to a hostile tribe, and such visits were accomplished only by stealing past the sentinels at the risk of his life (see EEE 138). The poems are full of accounts of such love-adventures, and Imra al-Qays even boasted to Ummiy of the number of women that he had loved in this manner.

This all came to an end with the cessation 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 for a time. The poets tell us how they visited the spot where the tent of the beloved had stood and found it turned into a graveyard—how they had come back, and how they had rejoiced at the happy hours that they had once spent there, and how bitter tears, and refused to be comforted. All the poems of the Muḥallabāt begin with these themes, and they show how beauty and pathos in its treatment.

Love of family and friends also finds frequent expression in the old Arab poetry, particularly in the lamentations, one of the most numerous and most beautiful products of the lyric art.

This passion, like all strong human emotions, was described to the direct influence of music. Possibly in the earliest times a special damun presented over love in distinction from the powers that presided over reproduction and birth. Traces remain of an old Arab divinity, Tāriq, i.e. 'love' (see J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, Berlin, 1897, pp. 14—18; EEE i. 882). Little is known about his character, but he may be a personification of love similar to other Semitic gods such as Gil, 'lover,' and Pāḥad, 'beauty.' His erotic character is evident from a verse of Nābiḥa preserved by Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb and cited by Wellhausen (p. 173):

'Fārinlāw dād, for sporting with women is no longer permitted 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 races, the function of inspiring love had been assigned to the great mother-goddess 'Aštār, the giver of springs and the protector of life in all the regions 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 a personal attachment of a mother, paternal, maternal, and social. In the ancient Arab poetry she is occasionally mentioned by the titles al-Lāt, 'the goddess,' and al-'Uzza, 'the strong,' and in the latter case by which she appears is almost certainly due to Muḥallabāt of al-Lāt. In other Semitic literatures she is constantly described and invoked as the awakener of love (see ASHART, vol. ii. p. 115 f.; ARABZEH, p. 189; and ISHTA, p. 189 f.).

This goddess was the chief divinity of the Semites in their primitive matriarchial stage of social organization. She was the analogue of the human matriarch, free in her love, fruitful mother of her clan, and its leader in peace and in war in
LOVE (Semitic and Egyptian)

Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 150), and at this time their marriage was exogamous: but with the adoption of agriculture they passed over to a patriarchal organization, and the Semitic religion was not the delineation of nature, but the delineation of maternal love. In the cult of the mother-goddess there existed in germ the message of the Prophets that God is most truly revealed in the unselfish human love, and the message of the gospel that the supreme revelation of God is the perfect love of Jesus Christ.

2. Among the Hebrew Semites. — When the patriarchal 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 Ashater. (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 incipient monotheism that was characteristic of primitive Semitic religion, and an adoption of polytheism. It also involved an over-emphasis of the sexual element in the worship of deity. (2) Ashater might change her sex and become a father-god. Thus the monotheistic tendency of primitive Semitism would be preserved, and the paternal deity would be held with the maternal in the conception of the tribal god. This was what happened in the branch of the Semitic race to which the Hebrews belonged. In S. Arabia, Abyssinia, and Moab, Ashater changed her sex, became the masculine Amur ("A-shater), who retained feminine characteristics (see ERE II, 115); cf. also VII. 459). In Ammon and Edom also the tribal god was masculine and had apparent masculine traits and was associated with a 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 monotheism. By it sexual dualism, the curse of other Semitic religions, was avoided, and at the same time made possible a fundamental interest in the development of Hebrew monotheism. By it sexual dualism, the curse of other Semitic religions, was avoided, and at the same time made possible a fundamental element in the conception of the deity.

3. Among the ancient Egyptians. — Our knowledge of love and gods of love among the Egyptians is derived partly from the pictures and inscriptions of the tombs, and partly from the poems and songs; with occasional references in the elegant literature, but mainly from the collections of popular love-songs. The chief of these are the London MS (Harris 590), which dates from about 1400 B.C.; the Turin MS, which dates from about 1200 B.C.; the Gizeh estracon, from about 1350 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, TSBJ ill. (1874) 380, and G. Maspero, JA, 8th ser., i (1883) 5; and in a much more correct edition and translation by W. M. Müller, Die Liebespoesie der alten Egyptier (1888). They contain true folk-poetry, free from the artificialities and tediumness of the conventional Egyptian classics 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 is closely related to the Semitic; and from the earliest times they were mixed with infusions of Semitic population. It is not surprising, therefore, that their conceptions of love were similar to those of their Semitic brethren. In the earliest times they seem to have been organized matriarchally (see A. Erna, Life in Anc. Egypt, 181).
In connexion with these poems a number of gods, such as Ptah, Sekhmet, Nefer-Atum, and Amun, are invoked to favour one’s suit; but the love of the god Amun was so great that he 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 vision, who, by the word of the sky, or as a woman raised up from the embrace of her brother-husband, the earth-god Keb. Under the form of Hathor, ‘abode of the sun,’ at Demetra she is adored as the sun, 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. 430). 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 Ashatar, and accordingly attributed to her all the erotic qualities of the latter. She is shown in the Egyptian form of Ashar, and the two goddesses were regarded as identical both by the Asiatic Semites and by the Egyptians. The Canaanite Asharati was depicted with the attributes of Hathor and Hathor. The attributes of Ashar. During the XIXth dynasty Asharlet received extensive worship in Egypt under her own name, or under the epithet of Kadesh (see ERE iii. 182, 184).

4. Among the Hebrews. - We know that love-poetry existed among the ancient Hebrews from such incidental allusions as Am 6, Is 5: 23b, but specimens of these compositions have as a rule been lost. The whole of the Song of Songs was probably composed in the Israelitish period, but its individual songs may have a much greater antiquity. Besides these primary sources, we have numerous incidental references to love in the other books of the OT.

The earlier writings 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 (Is 1: 18), and they were allowed to express their choice in marriage (Gen 24: 5). 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 sanguine detail (e.g., 4: 10; 7: 2-10), and it praises the joy of love with an ardor that is surpasscd by no other literature ancient or modern (e.g., 1: 4, 5; 2: 8; 3: 5-7, 9, 11). This erotic tendency led the early Israelites into all sorts of sexual excesses. Polygamy, concubinage, and prostitution remained unchecked down to a late time, and brought no disgrace to either man or woman. Married women were required to be chaste, and to take pity on the widow and the poor. Love led often to crimes of violence (Gen 24: 2, 2 S 11: 13); but, on the other hand, it also produced beautiful instances of self-sacrificing devotion (Gen 24: 50, Hos 3: 1) and of purity, though unrequited, love (Gen 29: 22). The OT shows also numerous cases of strong paternal love (Gen 25: 27, 2 S 12: 17, 18), and the love of David and Jonathan stands out conspicuously. The one most perfect friendship in all literature (1 S 18: 29, 2 S 1: 2).

With all these forms of love Jehovah, the God of Israel, was closely connected in the early Hebrew consciousness. Indeed it was held that he was originally the tribal god of the Kenites who dwelt at Mount Sinai, and that He first became the God of Israel through the work of Moses. Among the Kenites the marriage of Moses for his mother had been delayed for some time, and the reason was that he would have been adopted by Israel at the same time when he was accepted; but in the old Hebrew religion we find no trace of any such goddess. Jehovah 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 matriarchal to the patriarchal form of society. As such He united with paternal characteristics all the maternal characteristics of the ancient Semitic chief goddess, Ashtar. (1) He was a god of love, and manifested the love-loos of ERE vii. 235). (2) He was the producer of vegetation, and sacred trees stood in His sanctuaries (ERE vii. 285).

(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 ashtaroth (Dt 7: 3 24). (4) He presided over sexual love; circumsission, a primitive Semitic rite of preparation for marriage, was the special badge of loyalty (Ex 4: 14, Gn 34). In swearing by Him the hand was placed ‘under the thigh’ (Gn 34: 4, 47). The ahab, the symbol of the mother-goddess, stood originally beside His altar (2 K 19: 17, 21: 12, 22: 18). A plausible etymology of His name is that it means ‘He who causes to live,’ i.e., gives children and the young of the flocks and herds. To Him as the giver of offspring the first-born of animals and the first-born child were originally sacrificed, as to the Egyptian god ‘Ashtar (Ex 22: 19, 19: 19, Ex 20: 23), 14). (5) He showed maternal love in His care of His people (Hos 11: 4, Is 49: 6, 9). (6) He was the moral governor of His people (Ex 21: 20, 24). (7) He gave oracles for the guidance of His people (1 S 14: 26, 22: 28, 2 S 24: 20). (8) He was the creator of the world (Ex 21: 20, 24). (9) Like the old mother-goddess, He was a god of war, who fought for the defence of His children (Ex 15: 12, 19: 19, 2 S 24: 20). (10) By a natural association of thought He was also, like ‘Ashtar, a storm-god, who came in the thunder-cloud to fight for His people (Jos 10: 14, 15: 217, 1 S 15: 9, 13). (11) He was the destroyer as well as the giver of life (Gen 7: 13: 2 S 24: 20). For the analogies of these traits in ‘Ashtar-Ishtar see ERE vii. 115 f., viii. 429-431. These facts seem to show that the Kenite Jehovah was the Semitic goddess of love and fertility who had been transformed into a father. These maternal traits were never wholly lost in the latter development of the religion of Israel.

The message of Moses, that Jehovah, the God of the Kenites, had taken pity on Israel and had determined to rescue it from the bondage in Egypt, laid an altogether new emphasis upon the love of this god. His affection for Israel was not necessary, like that of a parent for a child, but moral, like that of a husband for a wife. Hence-
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forth the redeeming love of Jahweh in the deliverance from Egypt and in the gift of the land of Canaan was 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 5:20). 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 the nation 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 *ba'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 (ERE ii. 291). With 'Ashterat, '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 compared to them, though through this was certainly one of His primitive functions, apparently because this was regarded as the work of His rival 'Ashterat. Everything connected with the sexual life of the people with birth rendered one 'unclean', that is, 'tabu' 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 to Zephaniah 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). 'But 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 buy her as a slave and to take her back to his home, he eagerly embraced it (3:1). 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 loved her ever since with unfailing fidelity; yet He could not give her up. He must send her into exile to reform her, yet He would not give her up. When she repented, He would restore her. This message of Hosea is echoed by all the other pre-Exilic prophets, and finds its noblest expression in the words of Jer 31:3, 'I have loved thee with an everlasting love.' It is 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 undivided love of Israel. This teaching found its classical expression in Dt 6:5, '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 the reason that He showed love in the Israelite's treatment of fellow-Israelites. This thought runs through all the pre-Exilic prophets, and is finally summed up by the Holiness Code (Ex. 19:5). 'And you shall love your fellow-Israelites (i.e. fellow-Israelites) 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 such treatment was not yet imagined (Dt 14:21, Lv 19:34). 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 in fidelity to the wives of their youth (Pr 5:19, 21, 31:24). This higher ideal of marriage is nobly expressed in Ca 2:8: '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 it, would any one despise it? He who wedded 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 literature.

Jesus took up the prophet's 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' (1 Jn 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 meaning by His juxtaposition of them, through which love to man expressed the supreme expression of love to God, and by His new interpretation of 'neighbour' as meaning every fellow-man (Mk 12:28, Lk 10:27). He recognized that in Himself God's love to man's love to God and to men was perfectly manifested, and therefore He proclaimed Himself as the sole revealer of God and the reconciler of the world.

See, further, 'Israel' section above.


LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

LOVE-FEAST.—See Agape.

LOYALTY.—1. Derivation and definition.—The connexion between the common meaning of this word and its derivation is obscure enough to suggest that a more accurate etymology may be gained by considering its probable origin. 'Loyalty' is the Anglicized form of the French *loyauté*; its base is *loi*, and corresponds to the English 'law' and the Latin *lex* (cf. *legi*). French has also *légalité* and English 'legality,' the late Latin abstract term being adopted without change either of meaning or of form.

Now *loi* in French, and more particularly in the derivative *loyal*, means in respect of its denotation much more than 'law' in the limited sense of a definite written code. It is a generic term, and stands for that which ought, or *ought to be obeyed*. Its source may be the will of an acknowledged ruler or ruling class, or it may be popular consent, or it may be personal agreement, whether by contract or by voluntary allegiance. It stands, moreover, for the law of nations and the dictates of reason and conscience, more especially and imperatively if these are conceived in terms of religion as manifestations of the Divine command. Law to the ancient Hebrews was not yet imagined (Dt 14:21, 15:2, 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 authority
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whose claim on his allegiance he, 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 soundes duty or faithful service.

Yet 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 be within them, written on their hearts, as the Scripture tells us, and incorporated in their will. The whole of Ps 119:1 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 it be to the supreme law however conceived, or to human ordinances by ancient tradition, national statute, authority of prophet or king, the word of a leader, the rule of a commander. There is the loyalist who does what he is told, breaks no rules; he keeps faith to the word he has written that he will do. There is the loyalist who does this but can by the very nature of the spirit that is in him be counted on for more, who puts his whole mind into his duty, who carries this spirit in accordance with the spirit of the purpose to be served.

Loyalty, then, may be defined as the quality of character which issues in free devoted service to the appointed person or persons. The perfectly loyal person is certain to obey, to serve, despite all obstacles, at all costs, to the best of his ability; and the best of his ability implies 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. We always find him carrying out his instructions—willing and true—without any effort to undertake more than so that, by fulfilling them in the spirit as well as in the letter, the purpose may be accomplished even should the letter fail. He has to be intelligent, astute, not necessarily clever—but obedient to precise instructions given—and these qualities he needs in 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. The unwritten law—not more formal, more a pact of comradeship—that bound the Round Table knights to mutual loyalty, and to the king above all, is a notable case in point. The two chief cycles of Irish poetry are not merely orthodox in this connexion. Later comes the age of chivalry with its blossoms of romantic lore. Fealty and loyalty are main dramatic motives in all these.

The word *loyalty*—from Latin *fidelitas*, 'faithfulness,' has an equivalent in all the Romance languages, and so has 'legality.' But

Thomas Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*; see also the Celtic original in the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

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 subjection to the law, the passive, obedient orderly citizen. German translates by specialization and slight change of significance, using such words as *Untertanentreue* (fidelity in a subordinate) and *Vaterlandtreue* (fidelity to 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 objects of service, and all respect 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 fealty rather than on any wider duty of humane comradeship and general goodwill. Nevertheless, there is close affinity between those qualities, the deeper motives of which so widely overlap. The good comrade who, in time of danger or trouble, takes up his responsibilities with settled mind and faithfully sustains them is apt for loyal service wherever his allegiance is given. This is often understood to be given when it is not as a fact, in which case we have either the sturdy rebel or the disloyal man.

The giving of allegiance is in effect a vow to serve; the standard case of loyalty coincides, therefore, with the vow—be it to God, to a country, to a king, to a pledge. Of these the latter is the more necessary for virtuous character, and so it has been judged by the common sense of mankind, as the testimony of language shows, as long as men were either free or under strict rule, they were simply required either to keep their covenants in the former case or to do what they were told in the latter; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. The conception of religious faith as the faith ing a covenant with the god, was a distinct advance on its conception as a slave service by which he was to be propitiated. The Bible as a whole contains the story of the rise of the idea of covenant from the slave service of the bondsman, through covenant, to the free man's willing recognition of a law which it is at once his burden and duty to obey, and hence to conformity of mind with the Divine purpose for mankind and thus to the 'glorious liberty of the sons of God.' Here we have the specific evolution of loyalty in its highest application, as at once the supreme duty, the supreme delight, and the social virtue of man. On a much smaller scale of motive and in a murkier atmosphere we might trace it in application to finite secular affairs.

3. Personal honor expressed in devotion to social ends.—The free development of fealty by self-discipline to social ends, and of loyalty as a particular case, may be studied in the literature of chivalry and romance. The practice of knighthood, vows, however, is much older and pre-Christian; so far as records go, it was specially characteristic of the people and the social conditions reflected in Celtic hero lore. The chivalry of the Celtic stories is essentially a free man, free of feudalism —except for the spirit that binds him—free of tribal bonds. Social affection binds him too, but honour is his only law. The young hero from his
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childhood is educated carefully in all manly accomplishments, and in all social courtesies, including respect for women, children, and gray hairs. He emerges from his tutelage free, comradelike, 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 or will not do certain things. The obligation never to refuse assistance to a woman from whom he has received a courtesie, and to 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 one agrees with them or not.

Incestuous vows in the social interest has, no doubt, been a principal factor of moral education, in its best form of self-discipline for the sake of service, among the peoples of N.W. Europe, where mild forms of government by leasach-truth of free men prevailed. Faith to a self-made vow covers all cases of voluntary allegiance, and so, as the feudal system was established throughout Europe, it availed itself largely in this way. The reason why taking oaths or 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 fulfillment in spirit, rather than merely in letter, this implies not being false to the reasonable expectations involved in mutual understandings between his fellows and himself. The word means more than this; it signifies all this. Such a one is 'loyal,' or 'faithful,' so far as his conduct goes, but in his motive he is primarily faithful. It may be that only he himself is aware of the difference. As a rule, no 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 in the education of each person sufficient demand should be made on the leading trait to evince 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.

4. Political loyalty and its object in feudal and modern Europe. Loyalty as 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 personal one. 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 in the education of each person sufficient demand should be made on the leading trait to evince 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.

The loyalty of such a national organism consists in the devotion of its citizens from man to master that bound each to his feudal superior, from the lowest vassal upwards to the supreme overlord or king. Each primary group was sufficiently small, and grouped round a leader sufficiently well known, to bring out men's normal instincts to follow their chief, to owe their loyalty to the master who gave him allegiance, acclaim him lord, and be his man. This is loyalty of the most picturesque and primitive type, steeped, moreover, in a high mood to which religious enthusiasm makes to the lord and his oaths of fealty, to the lord, the lord was to his over-lord, and so the national system was linked up by unit into larger units all under the supreme over-lordship of the king. The system of loyalty is thus supplemented in this actual system of political allegiances, would in the perfect State have likewise been linked up, all loyalty centreing 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 la loi; his will bound more or less by his coronational 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 such a system would profit the king by so using it. Thus the situation was favourable to much praise of loyalty as a prime virtue in the mouths of the upper classes and, for this and other better reasons, in the mouths of their dependent vassals and serfs. Not a few letters generally, lawyers and all who had to do with the executive government, whether on the national or on the local seals.

As 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) Parliaments, i.e. the free men 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 disappear and many seats, as 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 masses towards their classes; 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 loi 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. Political loyalty—not the maximum of fealty—but the minimum of fealty—that of loyalty: they support him so long as he continues to support that policy with which they continue to agree. Personal loyalties, of course, 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 figure satisfactory 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
Loyalty 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 applies lies beyond and includes the sphere of duties and restrictions enforced under a code 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 as such, -with a sentiment tending to passional and 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 their stand on the law as binding on the will of kings, and claimed restitution of the powers of the kings as guaranteed 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 from the welter of pitiful plots and gallant enterprises on the one hand, and conflicting interests around 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, in it.

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. 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 Executive Government.
3. The King and his ministers, by whose advice all his decrees are made, who are appointed 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 custom is guaranteed by the Commons’ hold on the Power of the Purse.

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 la loi to the modern Englishman. As an object of loyalty it has advantages over some. It excites less, and less often, the bickerings 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, but it has been built, bit after bit, by the very course of events containing 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 key of devotion to the Crown and Constitution.

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, the direct majority of the elected representatives in the House of Commons, it was inevitable that the Power of the Purse should be stoutly claimed and rigorously retained by the Commons. From this arose the doctrine that no ministry could remain in power that did not command the confidence of the Lower House.

Loyalty in modern life.—Among persons outside the large circle who take dealing in political problems 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 voluntary workers 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 benchman. 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, I think, by those who understand the ways of the public administration as it is really worked, so that they may use it to better effect by working loyally with it. State Insurance, Old Age Pensions, and recent legislation for the benefit of children are cases in point; voluntary workers disposed to loyal co-operation can do much. No form of loyalty is more honourable than this. Quiet, non-political people, whose sphere of work or leisure does not include public affairs, do very often, nevertheless, take a keen interest in the doings of the State and have a certain loyalty for King and Constitution, or King and Country, which, though not always expressed, is quite real in its way. Without party bias for the most part, they are proud of the whole complex system under which they live, with preferences in attachment, it may be, to one or other constituent in it. This class includes all ‘armchair politicians’ except that large section of ‘armchair political critics.’ There is the ‘philosophic radical’ watching for signs of the social millennium in the House of Commons. There is the ‘true believer of the good old school,’ who has not lost faith in the future, and still sees the Constitution as he would wish to see it. There is the genuine Royalist, who anticipates great things from the House of which he seldom speaks, from the character and ability of the Royal family, and believes generally that events are moving steadily in the direction of absolute monarchy, worldwide and British, a century or so hence. Others there are, without any preconceptions as to an absolute best towards which we are tending, who have a comfortable loyalty for things as they are. These, if they have votes, tend to support the ministry of the day. Their existence is one reason why it is better in general, when the sands are running out, for the ministry to dissolve than to resign.

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, reticence in confidential matters, and abstinence from public comment on the policy of either of the ministry they serve or of the opposition they may have to serve—these make up the obvious minimum of their bounden duty. To reach the maximum two things are needed: (1) zeal in the service of the State, and (2) self-identification with the instructions under which they work, or loyal adherence to the leader under whom they serve. Under adverse circumstances
those conditions may fail to be possible in whole or part; in that case the loyai temper still shows itself by putting the best face upon the matter and keeping silence.

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 his life at the word of command. Respect for his wants is a higher character—respect without limit—and this, in the last resort, is self-devotion unto death. The good soldier's loyalty, no doubt, is often feebly pure and simple, as e.g. it certainly is when he has naturally no sentiment as 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.

3. Problems arising from the complexity of the modern State.—Casual reference has been made above to non-political loyalty as between friends, lovers, kindred, and the members of a voluntary or a religious society. Clearly this is not the primary application of the word, but the tendency to use it in this, rather than in the political, sense appears to be on the increase. This is due to the double confusion of idea as to the political object of loyalty consequent on the complexity of the modern State. Angry politicians are apt to use the word 'disloyal' rashly to denote persons who do not conform to their opinion. For example, in the right balance of power in the State and the tactual, consequently, of right loyalty. Thus claims have sometimes been made in the name of loyalty to right of attack on the lawfully constituted executive, as e.g. to 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 wifful confusion of ideas, the opposite effect is also possible between hostility to the personnel and policy of the ministry of the day, which is the normal motive-force that sways the political pendulum, and disloyalty of the state object which 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 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 omission, or omission by inaction 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 its end. And in this by trails of thought is clear and steady—stayed, as it were, on his whole nature as a rock. Self-training is this effect in any school of wholesome service must work like a leaven on character as a whole. Even under questionable conditions of service 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, descending through the centuries from its original sources in Classic, Celtic, and Norse or Germanic lore, deals largely in loyalties within the smaller social sphere, intimate, personal, and glorified by affection. Patriotistic loyalty in this dawn of the civilized world has monarchs in its venerated 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 personal effective loyalty centres in attachment to the Crown is probably large; it counts doubtless for much also in the British colonies.

3. The focus of loyalty in republican nations—In republican States this focus is supplied—so far as it is supplied at all—by a more vivid consciousness of the organized nation as a self-governing whole, the arch of whose covenant is the Constitution. The ideal of the republic as the生产基地 of loyal sentiment is highly developed in the French. The French mind has perhaps a natural genius for the concrete ideal, as indeed is perhaps implied by its turn of speech in favour of 'sentiment'—by means of generic terms that fire the imagination. In the United States of America loyalty affection is rather to the composite nation in reference to all its interests, each more or less on its own—"a wonderful 'Union' of diverse elements, run by a carefully planned 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 ideal 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. Much may be said in their defence. The good of the nation, of course, in all cases the ultimate end of the political art, and the final object, therefore, of that sentiment which reveres as its proximate end the national institutions.

3. 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 whose protection we are, or 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 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 omission, or omission by inaction 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 its end. And in this by trails of thought is clear and steady—stayed, as it were, on his whole nature as a rock. Self-training is this effect in any school of wholesome service must work like a leaven on character as a whole. Even under questionable conditions of service 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.

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(a) The heroic romance of Western Europe, descending through the centuries from its original sources in Classic, Celtic, and Norse or Germanic lore, deals largely in loyalties within the smaller social sphere, intimate, personal, and glorified by affection. Patriotistic loyalty in this dawn of the civilized world has monarchs in its venerated 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 personal effective loyalty centres in attachment to the Crown is probably large; it counts doubtless for much also in the British colonies.
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 or through conditions, and on the fundamental theory of the State even as we know it to-day, we go back to the Greeks, and specially to Plato in The Republic and The Laws. It is his conception of the heavenly realm with its relation to the State that concerns us here. The ideal of the State, as he teaches, should be built up within the soul. Thus—wedding his thought to our inquiry—we may say that the education of the loyal citizen is trained, or trains itself, into the idea of the idealized 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 of those who have political power the loyal ones are they who cultivate their philosophic aptitude 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 narrower part of his loyalty that he should spare no pains to do it. Moreover, in the modern self-governing State, every enfranchised citizen shares this duty.

(c) Finally, we find in post-Exile Judaism the same example of a people held together by allegiance to the law—the law embodied in a written code that he who runs may read. The Davidic monarchy had come to an end; the high priestly law-giver was 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, in accordance with the idealistic feeling 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 nationalities—every Jew 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 by him, in the law. He instructed Jew to Jew: if a professing Jew, he obeyed, whether grudgingly, willingly, or loyally, i.e. with his whole heart seeing to understand and to obey more perfectly. In that perfect 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 shall 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).

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 his heart from vanity, to establish God’s word unto His servant. In NT times, when the elaborated legalism of the last-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. (Mt 5:37).

A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good (Lk 6:45). And later, St. Paul, following the same line of

1 The law of thy God which is in thine hand: it is called is the decree of the great king Artaxerxes (Est 7:14).

thought, attains to the vision of the liberty of the sons of God (Ro 8:21). Thus the cycle of reason on the highest as on all lower planes is complete, from the free man’s fealty through the loyalty to the high liberty of devoted service to the ideal in his soul.

LOYOLA.—St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits (q.e.), was the youngest of the eight sons of Don Belirán y de Olóz y Loyola. The name Lopez de Niesers, self-governing State, every enfranchised citizen shares this duty.

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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 this it differs toto calo from such a work as A Kempis's Imitation of Christ, and is

would be as vain to expect literary graces in the Exercises as in a proposition of Euclid. After some preliminary considerations on the end of man, the excercitant is directed, during a week or ten days and during the ordination of the spiritual director, 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 beat 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 and compelling parables as a chieftain appealing for volunteers to aid Him in the task of reconquering the world from the domination 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 reconcile the soul of Spain from the yoke of the infidel. The meditations of this second week of the Exercises, therefore, are devoted to one or two days. By this time it is assumed that the well-disposed excercitant will have been brought to the point of resolving to leave all things and follow Christ, and that he will find the way to call 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 contrived to induce the choice so made. In the third week the excercitant is bidden to use much bodily penance and to meditate upon the Passion of Christ; in the fourth he looks forward to the need of rest and refreshment, while the mind is occupied with consoling thoughts derived from the consideration of the Resurrection of our Saviour and the remembrance of the joys of heaven.

It is a fact that Loyola, 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 life and mission were so closely identified, was determined upon the earliest opportunity to visit Palestine. Ignatius set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, living on alms and, to a large extent, travelling on foot. He passed through Rome and Venice, 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 Ortroy, *Manasse et les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus* in *Anales de la Compañía de Jesús*, xxvii. [1908] 393-418). 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 and Salamanca (1526-28). A personality like that of Loyola was bound to impress 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 who imitated his habits of prayer. He was reluctant to impose the 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 suspicion hampered his influence for good, and he went out of his way to court and even to insist upon an official inquiry. The proceedings before the Inquisition, so far as they have been preserved, are printed in the *Scripta de Sancto Ignatio*, l. 689-689. 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 (see Fouquet, *Histoire*, l. 71), Ignatius, in May, 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 unspeakable generosity to his countrymen, had to depend upon alms, and during the legging expeditions made in the vacation season to that end he visited London, Bruges, and Antwerp. Contradictions 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 lent real weight to any cause which they undertook. The story of his journey to France and the constant repetition of the words 'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?' is well known. An even earlier recruit was Peter Le Ferro, whose position in the University that he was a fellow of, and with whom he took up residence, was a foundation of the Society. To them were added James Laynez, Francis Salmeron, Simon Rodríguez, and Nicholas Bobadilla. Laynez and Salmeron were destined to play a great part as theological instructors and to found the first colleges. 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. Denis and contrived and at the mas of Le Ferro, who was so far the only priest amongst them, took vows of poverty and chastity (Astrain, I. 70), 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 tickets for all, 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. In the middle of 1537 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 prescribed 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 the desirability of a confraternity as a formally organized 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 regular institute, he was reluctant to provide written form to his own apprehensions. But the various stages in the development of the Order new 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 lain four hours with the pope, the scheme of a definite religious institution (formula instaurata) was drafted, and approved in the bull Regni mundi fundamenta ecclesiae, 27th Sept. 1540. On 4th April 1541 Ignatius, in spite of his own reluctance, was elected pope, and, on that date, until 1556 he busied himself at Rome in compiling constitutions for the Society. The spread of the Society was extraordinarily rapid, and, as the twelve volumes of his correspondence attest, the Jesuits were already connected with his office of General steadily increased day by day until his death on 31st July 1556. Ignatius was interested, 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 Society of Jesus was the backbone of the Counter-Reformation movement, it would be a mistake to regard the Order as having been instituted with the conscious design of counteracting the religious teaching of Luther and Calvin. The central idea, which is found alike in the Exercises and in innumerable passages of the Constitutions, and which is to be taken as the dominant conception of the whole Ignatian spirituality, was the desire 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 judgment and indomitable energy; and, contrary to the idea so often formed of his religious descendents, he was not actuated by the testimony of all who knew him a man who was absolutely fearless and straightforward in all his relations with others. He was beatified 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 'Autobiography,' dictated by the Saint to Luis Gonzales de Chaves. A Latin version is printed in A.S. 31st July, viii., but a more accurate text of the original, partly Spanish and partly Italian, has been provided in the Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio (6, 31-30), which form part of the great collection of Monumenta Historiae Societatis Jesu (Madrid, 1584 ff.), edited by the Spanish Jesuits. In fact, the whole contents of the Monumenta Ignatiana, which includes a critical ed., in 12 vols., of Loyola's own letters and official documents, are of vital service in the study of the life of Loyola (by E. M. Rice), with notes, appeared under the title The Testament of Ignatius Loyola, London, 1909. See also J. Saha, Ignatius von Loyola, Leipzig, 1873; and V. Berghaus, Geschichte des J. Ign. (2nd ed.), Paderborn, 1910. Translations of this life have been published in French and many other languages. The 17th cent. biographies of Loyola are less valuable than that of D. Bartoli, who had important original materials at his command. The best available ed. is in French, with supplementary notes, by L. Michelin (Bartoli, Historie de S. Ignace de Loyola, 2 vols., Lille, 1839). Of other lives the best are C. Gassendi, Dess Les deat. Jnsc. et de Loyola, Innsbruck, 1834, Eng. tr., London, 1831; J. A. Hart, Roem, H. J. M. Hart, and F. Thompson, Life of St. Ignatius, 1301. An excellent short sketch is that of H. Joly (St. Ignace de Loyola, Paris, 1804, Eng. tr., London, 1859). By far the most trustworthy source of information among modern works is to be found in A. C. van der Lende, Jesu, le. Matthiades, 3 vols., 1859, and for those by I. P. Tacchini, Vitae Ordinum, Rome, 1883, also J. Cretzsch, San Ignacio en Barcelona, Barcelona, 1906. Several of the best books have been published in French: L. E. M. Lorette, La Vie de S. Ignace de Loyola et de ses Freres, Paris, 1885; and for those by P. Tacchini, Vite delle Compagnie di Gesù, Rome, 1886. The best English books are: H. M. Muller, The Origins of the Company of Jesus, London, 1907; and J. F. Meyers, The Modern, xlviii. (1909) 503-512. Some valuable materials and documents are, however, contained in the work, very hostile in tone, of the ex-Jesuit M. P. P. Martin, Histoire ecclésiastique de la Compagnie de Jésus (Paris, 1808-1824). Other points of criticism are dealt with by B. Dutho, Jeanne Leclercq, Freiburg i. B., 1804; T. Stoeckel, Forschungen zur Lehre und Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu im 16. Jahrhundert, Munich, 1929. The only life of S. Ignatius besides his letters are the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. A number of the 'autobiographies' or lives of the original of the Exercises was published in Rome in 1605, from which several English translations, the most important being that of W. Warburton, La Vie des Exercices Spirituels (Paris, 1717). As to the Constitutions, a facsimile of the original Spanish was published, Constituciones de la Compagnie de Jésus, reproductions fotograficas, Rome, 1889, with valuable illustrative material.

HERBERT THURSTON.

LUCLAN.—See Antiochene Theology.

LUCK.—See Calendar, Charms and Amulets, Divination.

LUCRETIUS.—Titus Lucrètius Carus was a Roman poet (69 [?]-56 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 Lucrètius except a notice in Jerome's additions to the Eusebian chronicle, under the year of Abraham 1923 (= 94 B.C.).

Lucrètius poetæ nascenti. Poetae antiquissimi poculo in furorem venus, sum quiulque liber per intervalos insaniae conscriptus, quod poterit Scipio essendi, proposita, ut manu intelectu anno stiant quattuor semesquingem quartum.

This strange story of continuous suicide, which Tennyson has made familiar, is no doubt derived ultimately from Sextus, de Vir. illust., 51 or 50 B.C., which was confirmed by the earliest extant mention of the poem in a letter of Cicero to his brother Quintus (see Quint., fr. H. ix. 4). This letter, written early in 54 B.C., presupposes the publication of the poem and, presumably, the poet's death. In his internal evidence alone scholars agree that de Rerum Natura like Vergil's Aeneid, never received a final revision from the hand of the author; certain passages, especially in the last three books, seem to be afterthoughts or additions imposed on the poem after his death. 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., 973, 1191) 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 ff., 40-45, iii. 70-94, v. 999 ff.), he deliberately chose, almost alone among the Romans, a contemplative life (ii. 922 ff., i. 11 ff., iii. 13 ff.). Further, we see that he possessed a poet's clear, minute, exact style, familiar even with a poet's love of nature and delight in open-air scenes (i. 305, 338, 404 ff., iii. 144-146, 328-342, 339-349, 361 ff., 374 ff., 761 ff., iv. 220, 575, v. 256, 991 ff., vi. 526-529, 472), that his phraseology is borrowed reverence for Epicurus, both as a scientific diatribe or as a moral reformer (iii. 9-30, v. 11 ff., i. 10 ff.), that Democracy and Empedocles were also objects of respectful admiration (i. 729-733, iii. 571, 1041), and that he never considered the Oracles or the Socratic Schools, although sometimes alluding to their doctrines, 'quod quidam fiant' (i. 571: cf. 609 ff., 1083, ii. 161-176). He dedicated the work
to Memmius, the patron of Catullus, who was prator in 58 B.C., and at that time an opponent of Cæsar. He addresses Memmius as an equal; the Lucretii belong to a genus distinguished in the early annals of Rome, and the cogenmen Carus is said to be attested by an inscription. The author’s purpose in writing a philosophical treatise in verse is clearly stated (I. 54, 336-340; I. 145, 929-936, iv. 1-25). His aim is genuinely scientific—to gain our assent to certain propositions concerning the atomic theory (bk. i. and ii.) and its applications to such subjects as meteorology (bk. iv.), astronomical phenomena 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.), of the heaven of the gods, such as thunder, tempests, earthquakes, and volcanoes (bk. vi.). He admits that the system which he advocates is unpopular (iv. 14 ff.), and fears that Memmius will some day fall away (I. 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 effect upon the reader, the effect upon his imagination, is bound up with the philosophic poet’s soaring frenzy (‘fueror aræus’; Statius, Sil. ii. vii. 70). A philosophical argument is ill-adapted for poetry, but the mental power and perseverance displayed in so arduous an undertaking call for unmitigated admiration. The difficulties of his task spur the poet on, and to overcome them so as may be 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, 376-382, ii. 333-380, 581-600). in the use of analogies, and in vividly picturing the consequences of hypotheses (I. 216-256, 606 ff., 886-905). It has been conjectured that he followed the larger epitome of Epicurean doctrine mentioned by Diogenes Lucretius (x. 391, 73 [Giussani, i. 101]). Whether this is so or his choice and arrangement of facts its immediate purpose, remains an open question. In any case the idolatry of the disciple and his close study of the master’s writings (iii. 10) afford a reasonable certainty that he introduced no innovations in substance, although the excellence of his flights of imagination, its flashes of feeling, and its insight, is all his own. In what follows attention is directed to those parts of the system only where Lucretius fills a gap in the scanty outline left by Epicurus himself or gives a fuller treatment of particular doctrines (see Epicureans).

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 a series of analogies from the potent invisible agencies which work in the world. The existence of empty space (‘in vacuo’, or ‘mense’), is thus proved from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for motion, which all the facts of experience confirm. The opposite view, that the world is a solid mass, is next considered. The enumeration that condensation and expansion no less than motion imply the existence of a vacuum. Next, the existence of any tertius gradus other than body and empty space is considered, and it is shown that nothing exists which is not susceptible of physical existence, and that only simple body is bodies are atoms (sortes, corpora, genetilia, semina verus, principia, elementa, or simply corpora). To postulate the existence of atoms is to deny the infinite divisibility of matter. And hence again Lucretius employs his favourite negative procedure, following out the consequences of infinite divisibility to absolute annihilation, which he has proved and impossible. Infinite divisibility would be incompatible with the natural laws (factors nature) 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 these 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 immitable and indestructible (since heat, cold, and moisture, the destroyers of the composite things about us, cannot destroy what does not exist. Each atom is a distinct individual (‘solidus per se simplici té’); it is perfectly elastic; it has minimal parts of which, however, it is not compounded, for they have no independent existence; hence it has size, shape, and weight, but no sensible qualities, no colour or temperature, no sound, smell, or touch, the different qualities of composite things being due to the variety of atomic shapes, which, though great, is not infinite. After removing the divergent views of Heraclites, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras (I. 685-690), Lucretius proves by a variety of arguments that both matter and space are infinite. 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 (I. 1029-1174).

3. Cinemen 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 a close union, thus giving rise to the things we call hard; others rebound to greater distances and thus form a species of space. In either case, do not unite at all, but wander freely through space. It is next shown how by imperceptible motions (mutus intestinis) atomic groups or molecules increase in complexity and size until they reach the limits of visibility, like motes in the sunbeam (Ii. 129-141). It will help us to understand the relation between these internal atomic movements and the motion of the group of atoms as a whole. If we take Giussani’s admirable illustration (I. 111ff.): 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 atoms, always through empty space, is incomensively rapid and uniformly in the same downward direction, for the upward motion of some sensible things is shown to be not inconsistent with this. But at quite uncertain times and places atoms, travelling downwards by their own weight, and therefore in a very great variety of ways, surverv a very little from the perpendicular. The least possible change of inclination must be assumed, although it is imperceptible to the senses.

Otherwise atoms violate all the laws of nature 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 makes its will, and whether the will leads, or something which struggles and resists when we move involuntarily under compulsion (ii. 218-223).

For our spontaneous movements originate in sole atoms, and their existence at all can be explained only by assuming a certain 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 unending 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. Guignard deduces from the climaxes universal contingency in the Epicurean scheme of nature, T. Gomperz and Usener incline to regard it as no more than a consistent determinism in opposition to Cratylus (p. 123-167).

4. Isomony.—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 again produce; from certain amounts 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 an organism. The forces of production and destruction alternately prevail (ii. 1108-1149), but are so evenly balanced that, if we look to the whole universe, the result is equilibrium, as in an indecisive battle (ii. 509-539, v. 330-415). This principle of equable distribution is best known from Cuore, De Nat. Deor. i. xii. 36, 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 he so often appeals as a fact. That in an infinite universe, periods of peace also the real is the premise underlying some of the astronomical portions of the poem (cf. v. 526-533).

5. Psychology.—The poet undertakes to prove that the soul is an actual part of a man, as the head or foot, and has therefore to refute the theory once current and last represented by Aristothenes (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, mensa) 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) earth and (4) ares. The soul is thus six times compounded from atoms. 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 immortal. In particular, (ii. 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. 930-1094), 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 (fœlum) are continually parting from the things and streaming off in all directions, but we see them only when and where we turn our eyes to them. An image passes before it the air between it and the eye. This air simulates the surface of things and thus enables us to judge the distance of the object seen. 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. 239-253). The theory of images is applied to those cases where the senses seem to be mistaken. The 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 error 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 criterion does he distinguish 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 convert into error, nor is a single sense at one time more certain than another. Sensation, since it depends upon the senses, must be false if they are false, and with the overthrow of reason life itself would be impossible (iv. 409-521). The mind, too, receives its inspiration from images; 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 from several distinct things unite, as a centaur, or they may be spontaneously formed by atoms in the air. In sleep, when senses and memory are inactive, images still find their way to the mind, wraiths or ghosts 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 images change their form. Unless attention is directed to them, they pass unheeded. This explains why we think of what we will, and different men have different thoughts.

6. Cosmogony.—The working of the causes which produce, build up, and ultimately destroy worlds such as ours is described in outline as a corollary to the doctrine of the infinity of matter and space (i. 1029-1174). The details are filled up in bk. v. The world is not eternal, as some philosophers held. Lucretius starts by proving that it is mortal, i.e. had a beginning and will have an end (v. 91-109, 533-415). It must be divisible, for it is neither impenetrable like the atom nor intangible like space, nor, like the sum of reality, can it be said to have nothing outside it into which it could pass and out of which it might appear. Our world began with a chaotic jumble of discordant atoms. By the escape of the lighter atoms from the heavier this mass broke up into horizontal layers, and at the top the elements 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 immortal. In particular, (ii. 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. 930-1094), 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.

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produce. The monstros 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 and protected by man. But the union of two incompatible natures in the fabled creations—out of chimeras, unicorns,—is impossible; no time did they exist (v. 878–924). This account mainly follows Democritus, but in the primeval monsters the influence of Empedocles is discernable.

5. Civilization and Deity. — 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 huts 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 need, not due to any single inventor. The next step was the discovery of fire from lightning or the friction of flint and steel. Further improvements led to the building of cities, the allotment of land, and the discovery of gold. With the origin of political life is linked the origin of religion. Another of the important discoveries was the use of metals, especially iron and copper, which were accidentally discovered when the burning of woods caused the ore to run. Hence came improvements in warfare, the extension of agriculture, and the invention of weaving. Thus were men advanced. When a knowledge of all the useful crafts had thus been attained, progress was complete.

6. 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 poetry and philosophy began with Xenophanes and Heraclitus. Lucretius is bitterly hostile; his indignation at the evil wrought by religious gloom throughout the poem as fiercely as in the famous description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (l. 80–101). But it is not only popular superstition that he condemn; he is equally angry at the philosophy monotheism or pantheism of Plato and the Stoics, and, in fact, whatever is meant by the term 'natural theology.' The negative propositions which he maintains are all-important. (1) There is no purpose in nature; the argument from design is disallowed in advance; adaptation is the product of experience.

7. 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, men's enjoyment by food, and growth, walking and locomotion, the general, the sleep and dreams. Hence (2) there is no divine providence. The course of nature is not sustained by a divine power working for the good of mankind. The laws in the world (tanta statis in mundo; cf. v. 195–234). Hence, too, (3) the world is not divine. So far as it is from being conscious and intelligent that it is the result of chance, which is impossible to be in sensible and innanimate (v. 110–140).

8. The world was not created by the gods. What could induce them to take such trouble inconsistently with their majesty? Or, supposing them willing to create, whence came their notion or preconception (epocha) before he existed (v. 181–188)? On the contrary, the world and all that is therein is gradually formed by mere natural causes through the fortuitous concourse of some part of an infinity of atoms in some part of infinite space (l. 891 ff., v. 187–194).

But negative criticism 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 (v. 650 ff.). The gods are blessed and immortal. They need nothing of mankind, bestow no favours, take no vengeance (l. 646–852). Their abodes, which in fineness of structure correspond to the immeasurable nature of the divine body, too delicate for our sense to perceive, are in the intempetiel (a word not used by the poets), or liquid 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. 143–152). There is a significant reference (l. 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 held in equilibrium by conserving forces (see Giussani, i. 239). Not content with proclaiming the true doctrine, Lucretius goes on to explain how the false current is mauled and broken, and this is the source of the difficulties arising from the images seen by the mind in waking hours and still more in sleep. The shapes thus seen were of more than mortal size, beauty, and strength. As they passed, men dreamt of their present, and as their might appeared so great, men decreed 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 governed 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. 1161–1240). Lucretius more than once exults at the overthrow of this delusion (l. 92–93, l. 1000–1104, l. 14–30). On the other hand, it is obvious that he would accord to religion some vestiges through the means of poetry. Lucretius' use of the gods can be paralleled in two aspects: the one of the immortals, and the one of the blessed immortals. The superhuman being whom he reverences as gods are simply the Homeric 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 (v. 16–61, 172 ff., l. 14–16, 469 E., 978–1023, v. 9–51, l. 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 (v. 16–19). Whoever has been born must want to continue in life so long as food pleasure shall keep him (v. 177 f.). Gratification of desires which, though natural, are not necessary to happiness. The tortures of conscience make a hell upon earth. Tantalus and Siyapus and the 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 apprehensions through which the wrong-doer has hitherto eluded gods and men, he cannot keep his secret for ever (v. 1156 f.). Epicurus is explicit on that point 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
alone can bring salvation: that death is nothing but the final separation of the soul from the body, which, he thinks, will redeem mankind. But, while he prefers death, he is perfectly agreed in the liberal acceptance of these propositions, there is a marked difference in the spirit of their teaching. Starting with the premise that the world is evil, and the heart of the Christian, he deduced his ideal of a simple, almost ascetic life of intellectual enjoyment, spent in the society of congenial friends. By life thus regulated according to circumstances he sought to attain the maximum of pleasure. Lucretius, too, advocated an austere hedonism; the pleasure which is the universal law and condition of existence is not indulgence, but peace and a pure heart (v. 19). From all who would live worthily he demands fortitude, renunciation, and unserving loyalty to truth. No ancient writer was more profoundly impressed with the mystery of existence, and the idea that death is the end. He tackled the foundations of belief with fanatical zeal which rises, one might almost say, to the intensity of religion. Under this aspect, his earnestness has its counterpart in the spirit of the Christian: "Dieu est aimé, le destin est sauvé.


It may be briefly characterized as a mechanical method by which all possible subjects may be submitted to a process of elimination and by which all questions of, and thus a complete category of statements may be obtained. The apparatus in its original form is a number of concentric circles divided into compartments, the letters of the alphabet. These letters denote in different circles different ideas. By this means, e.g., the word "God, Angel, Heaven, Man, the Imaginative, the Sensitive, the Negative, the Elementary, the Instrumental." In another circle of ideas the phlogiston, the air, the fire, the water, the earth, the light, the darkness, the opposite, the mission. In another we have nine predicates: Goodness, Magnitude, Perfection, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory.

In another we
have nine questions: What? Why? Whence? How? How much? What? Where? How? One of these questions is fixed, the others rotate, and we thus obtain a constant series of combinations, from one of which the others are formed. The precise form of the mechanism varies; in some works we have triangles of various colours intersecting each other, in others we have a tree with roots, trunk, branches, each labelled with some term contradicting from the universal to the special. Letters may even be intersecting with the apparatus. But in every case the general idea is the codification of every possible statement on all subjects. The method, intended originally as a Christian apologetic, was speedily found to be applicable to other subjects, and among the numerous versions that have been made, there are many in which the art is applied to Medicine, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy.

Lull commenced at once to use his new weapon with all the enthusiasm of the direct emissary of God. He gave a series of lectures on its application at the Universities of Montpellier and Paris and in the monasteries of France, Italy, and Spain. The failure of his persuasions to induce monarchs or pontiffs to develop fresh enterprise for the conversion of the Saracen led Lull himself, at the age of fifty-six, to land as a missionary in Tunisia, there confidently expecting to win all to Christianity through his reasoning. Imprisonment and expulsion did not check his zeal; we find him ardently continuing his work wherever there were Muslims or heretics. His own island, Cyprus, and Armenia certainly saw many converts, and the ban of death did not prevent his returning twice to Africa. The assertions 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 him in 1276, of a college for Arabic at Miramar in Majorca, but it was not until the Council of Venice, in 1311, that papal authority was given for schools for Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic at the Collège des Jésuites in the Roman Curia, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and Paris. It is interesting 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 instance which sent Lull to Saracen lands in Arabic led him to overstep the limits of tradition and to write many of his works, both devotional and logical, 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 new dignity to national speech and a new impulse to the development of the common people: his great religious romance Biancagina was written in Latin, Arabic, and Catalan; his certain 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 the danger of the censure of the Church. He is stated to have learnt from Arnald 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 I., 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 credit of certain works on magic by another Raymond of Tarrega, a renegade converted Jew, which were condemned by Pope Gregory XI. But we must remember that alchemy was in great favor at the time, and that the early alchemists were religious men who commenced their work in the name of the Trinity, and that the man who believed that he had discovered a universal transmitter of the elements of thought might not unnaturally aim at a universal transmitter of the elements of matter. Lull's dominating idea was that there is one great spirit running through the universe, since it is the expression of one divine mind. Scattered among his acknowledged works are repeated references showing that he thought much on alchemy, though he did not expect impossibilities from it. We may believe that he wrote as well as thought on the subject. Indeed, Roger Bacon (de Officinis Scientiarum, bk. iii.) refers to the fact of such writing, to obtain certificates of his life revealed a faith in the Church against which he fought unceasingly. 

The last period of Lull's life revealed a foe within the Church against which he fought unceasingly: the name of Averroes (Ibn Rushd, † 1198; see AVERROES, AVERROISM), the Arab interpreter of Aristotelianism, 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, really was the composite deposit of a century and more of less sceptical thought; through Maimonides (q. v.), and Michael Scot, it gained the ear of a section of Scholastics, and was well as rotaries many in the University of Paris, the intellectual focus of the world. In attempting to save its purity, Lull 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 a way to put him in the midst of the heresy which threatened to capture the whole University. The contest was so keen that Lull himself was obliged repeatedly to obtain certificates at Paris, and was placed in a sort of custody, with the right of responding to his accusers. At the Council of Vienne Lull worked hard, though apparently without success, to secure an edict forbidding the teaching of Averroes in Christian schools. It lingered for a couple of centuries longer, and more and more tending to materialism and finding its chief sphere in the medical school of Padua. Lullian 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 stabbed to death at Bugia on June 30, 1315, thus gaining the coveted crown of martyrdom. The body was carried to Palma and was there interred amidst the lamentations of his nation.

The immense mental activity of Lull left a vast number of works, many of which have never been printed. Salzinger in his great (incomplete) edition (1721-48) gives a list of 205 treatises as undoubted, besides 93 others more or less probably assigned to his name. Perrouquet (1687) names 488, and states that several authors of weight assign no fewer than 4000 to his pen. A large number of enthusiastic pupils gathered from the lecture-halls of Paris and of the Franciscan monasteries, continued and applied his methods, and in many places Lullist schools grew up side by side with the older-established Theomists and Socists. The aim of the Lullists was to apply a logical method to the proof of doctrines of the faith, to Averroism, and to fit men for missionary work. Enthusiasm for his methods was the special characteristic of the followers of the great enthusiast. This enthusiasm was specially met by a bitter opposition. It is almost certain that Lull had been a member of the third Order of St. Francis. Rivalry between the great religious Orders, however, belittled his growing fame.

Kynmerie, Inquisitor-General in Aragon (1320-29), initiated the campaign by an accusation of
LUMBINI.—A pleasance, or small wood, mentioned in Pali records as the birthplace of the Buddha. It is now occupied by the shrines of Rama muni, in Nepal, approximately in 85° 20' E. long. 27° 29' N. lat., about four miles north of the frontier between the British possessions and the Nepalese Tarai, and half a mile west of the river Tila.

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 Buddha, which the Buddha himself understands. The other two are in the Katha Vatthu, composed in the middle of the 1st or early part of the 2nd century B.C., and in the Ballad of the Golden Casket (ed. A. C. Taylor for PTS, London, 1894-95, pp. 97 and 59) it states that 'the Exalted One' was born at Lumbini (Lumbissa jata).

Our next 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 feature of the inscription that first struck the modern excavator was the fact that the graffiti on the exposed part of it were in the Pali language, and that this work (ed. A. C. Taylor for PTS, London, 1894-95, pp. 97 and 59) it states that 'the Exalted One' was born at Lumbini (Lumbissa jata).
the conversation between Aisoka and his guide Atupgutta on the occasion of the visit recorded in the inscription. Perhaps the tradition that Atupgutta, very possibly another name of the author of the Kashi Vatthu, accompanied him is historical. The work is a psalm in Buddhism; Sanskrit; and, though its date is unknown, it must be at least five centuries later than Aisoka, 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 Kesarpuram and Anuradhapura. 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 Devadala, 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 period of 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 its traditions through many centuries of neglect and desertion. Watters says that 'according to some accounts' it had been named Lambini after a great Koliyan lady who had dedicated it to Mahabodhi. This is quite probable. 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. But it is certain that he has not found difficulty in pronouncing the trilled r. Perhaps this was true of all Kosala. The inscription at Lambini, for instance, has lâja for râja; and Lambini has often written in Pali MSS with a dotted L, which may represent an untrilled r. Thus Rummidei stands for Rambini Devi, the goddess of Lambini. But that goddess was not revered by a goddess at all, nor even Lambini, but only the mother of the Buddha. We have no evidence as to when or how the transformation took place.

And in fact the stubborn opposition of the Nepalese Government, and of the Brahman who had taken refuge there, 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.

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited in the article, and also the KAPILAVATTHU.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

LUNACY.—See INSANITY.

LUSHAI.—The Lushais are a composite community, consisting of tribes which were absorbed and reduced to a more or less complete unity by the skill and sagacity of the Thangur chiefs of the Lushai clan in the last century. They practise jimting, a form of cultivation which involves constant moves from one site to another. In this fact they are found in a tribe through whom the masters of nearly the whole of the area now known as the Lushai Hills. The heads, as they reached maturity, were provided with a wife and followers, and were sent forth to found new villages. The youngest son was the heir general. Elders assist the chief in the village administration, and each village possesses, in addition to the council of elders, officers to settle where the jhuming are to be made, a village crier, a blacksmith, and a wise man, puchikma (lit. "one who knows things"). The population of a Lushai village consists of members of different clans and tribes brought under the unifying influence of their subordinate to the Thangur chief. Their religion, therefore, is 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 Khuvang, 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 minungts, the watchers of men. Each man has two souls, thaboro, the one wise and the other foolish. One minungts is good and the other evil. The hua is demons inhabiting water and land, are all bad, and are the causes of all sickness and misfortune; the lushai are spirits inhabiting the wild 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, sakshu, to whom a special chant is addressed by the puitham (who must be a member of the rite 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 are often derived from the rites which seem to be efficacious without the intervention or mediation of any definite spiritual being. The sakshu chants recorded by Shakespeare are accompanied by sacrifices of a sow. The sacrifices to hua, supposed to frequent houses and villages, are various, now a pig, now a cock, and sometimes a goat being offered. Three sacrifices should be performed after illness. Dreams afford an indication of the necessity for the performance of one of those rites. Temporary tabus, closely akin to those so common in the Nagá area, are part of the same ritual for appeasing the hua of the woods and waters, 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 hua, while others are seemingly of almost automatic efficacy. In the second category of rites are those which are performed to bring back a straying soul (for sometimes one of their souls), to produce children, to afford protection against sickness, to secure good hunting and to ascertain the lack 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 feasts which affect the future life in important ways are religious rites of a specially interesting nature and 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
LUTHER.

Necessary work, and shall not leave the prescribed area. The blacksmith's forge possesses sanctity, and is a place where persons who have accidentally come into contact with any noxious influence may take sanctuary and be purified. The priesthood consists of the patriarch and the members of special clans. Any one can acquire by purchase the hā, songs or charms which form the stock-in-trade of the puṣṭhīmā, whose success must depend largely on luck and on short memories of his failures.

The first man, Pāğuwa, or the ancestor Pawla, possibly in revenge for his death, stands armed with bow and pellets at the entrance to the spirit world. Except the thāngkhāhā, 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 thāngkhāhā into Pielrāl, where all is pleasant. Those whom Pawla wounds go to Mittho khā. Their wounds swell painfully for three years, and for a like period the scar remains. Thereafter they die again, are born as butterflies, and when they die again, reappear as dew on the ground; as dew they enter the womb of a man, and are reborn as human children. In addition to the personal advantages of the thāngkhāhā rites, the man may take his wife with him to Pielrāl, whence there is no return, of their children he himself 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 Lushahs are a particularly esoteric 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 thāngkhāhā, a boy they killed three days after his birth. Whole families who were thought to be bewitching an aged chief's son, cut the livers of the wizards out, and carried them back, only to find that the old man had died in their absence. Naturally irīvin ennene 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 (zend) and communicate with Khauvang, from whom they acquire information as to the particular sacrifice required to cure the sick. The process of divination employed on these occasions is the usual one, the victim being placed in a basket of rice, in which appears the footprint of the animal to be sacrificed. Possession by the spirit of a wild animal (kauring) is contagious and hereditary, and takes the form of passing from the host 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.


T. C. HODSON.

LUTRATON.—See PURIFICATION.

LUTHER.—I. Life.—The career of Martin Luther is naturally divided into three periods—the first, of preparation (1483–1517); the second, of 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 temporary home of his parents. They had crouathed from Moëra, the real home of the family, some 80 miles to the south-west. The father, as an older son, had no share in the paternal estate, and was, therefore, in straitened circumstances, until, by his daily labour in the copper mine, 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; but his father was at last able 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 discipline, continued in the house, in which he was first sent, which was legalistic 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 by 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 with the avowed reason against the excessive devotion to the purely formal that dominated the humanistic school. His teachers in philosophy were nominalists, who introduced him to God, Betti, 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 inclination. His aversion to the calling into which his father was forcing him was intensified by spiritual conflicts, brought to a crisis by the sudden death of a friend by his side—whether by a blow or by a stab. The death of his father was hastened by the assassination of his mother in his father's presence. In obedience to a vow made in the moment of peril, he turned his back upon the world, 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 preacher and lecturer, secured the respect of the Scholastics; but it was incorrect to infer from their name any special interest in Augustinian's doctrines of sin and grace. With all the intensity of his nature the young man hung like a shawl over 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 satisfied with anything less than perfect conformity with his own moral and religious standards, and from 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, he sought to wear out the thread of the fine needle, and to make his life a perfect model. When, however, he began, in 1515, to publish his views, he especially promised and led his readers to construe all his writing and teaching as evidence of a faith that was at least equal to that of the Ehrhart, and of the erudite theologians. The publication of his Ninety-Five Theses, addressed in 1517 to the Archdeacon of Mainz, with a letter to the Emperor, thus opened a breach which was widened by the so-called Peasants' War, and finally led to Luther's open schism from the Roman Church in 1518. The breach was not a complete one, for Luther never declared his faith to be that of a heretic. His writings and his conduct were alike evidence of deep sincerity. His religious character and his religious work were such that he could not, in the view of his admirers, be charged with any delinquency of conscience or of conduct.
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 former in his blunt way reminded the clergy that obstinacy in 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. Selected by Staupitz in 1511 as one of the ingenuous 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 privilege to lecture alone on the Didactic and the Psalms. He recalled 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 biographer, 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 of the popes of the consummation of the Roman Empire. He was grieved by the many abuses forced on his attention; and, notwithstanding the credulity with which, as he afterwards acknowledged, he accepted much of what he there saw and heard, the horror which he had himself excited by the papal name and authority had had upon him was greatly weakened. The story of his experiences on Pilate’s Staircase rests solely on the testimony published after his death. The new letters of Paul, directed to the churches of Rome, had been uttering while at Rome, as a testimonial to the success of his mission. Receiving the degree of Doctor of Theology at the age of twenty-nine (1512), he accepted it as a samplitude of the Scriptures to all the world, and broke the traditional modes of instruction by his method of lecturing. Although he retains the ‘four-fold sense’ of Scripture, he lays the chief stress upon finding allusions 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 he took up Galatians and Genesis, he had 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, which is also apparent in his turn to Paul, and in his absorbing administrative duties. In 1518 he was appointed Vicar, with the oversight of eleven monasteries.

It was in the midst of these duties that he became involved in the controversy concerning indulgences (q.v.). The dogma of indulgences was rooted in the denial of the completeness of the satisfaction for sins made by Christ. This satisfaction, 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. But in his limitations, either in this world or in that which is to come. Penitence, it was further taught, consisted of contrition, confession, and satisfaction, made by the penitent. Such satisfaction was the most prominent mark for such sins as were recognized by the sinner. But, as in this life the knowledge of many sins escapes the notice of even the most faithful, purgatory was provided, wherein penances were required for sins unrepented of at death. Relief from such satisfactions would be found, however, in the fund of the superfluous merits of the saints acquired by their works 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 their posterity, for those who had already departed. 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, with the percentage allotted to the signers of the indulgences. 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 Brandenburg, Archbishop of Magdeburg, was forced to collect fees from this source, with the stipulation 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 had with Tetzel’s traffic, had been uttering his censure at a distance; but, as Tetzel drew near 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 fruitless, to publish his Ninety-five Theses for an academic discussion in the University. The effect which they produced, as well as the pablity which they received, was beyond all estimate. While in these Theses he strikingly 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 Prierias, which called forth responses, with characteristic vigour, from Luther. There was a barren conference with Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg (Sept. 1518), and another with Mühlitz at Altenburg (Jan. 1519), followed by the Leipzig Disputation (beginning in which, after Eck and Carlstadt had argued for 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 defended in this matter. His time, the medium of the appeal to the Council, and the censure of the Council of Constance for condemning Hus. The aid offered from the camp of humanist 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 ironic 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 scathing 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 opponents: ‘One cannot help asking how the same hand which delighted to shaft with a smile, then all the works so cold and sacred, could also touch so tenderly the chords of divine love’ (Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, p. 239).

The bull of excommunication promulgated by the pope on 15th June 1520 did not reach Wittenberg until four months later, and was formally burned by Luther before the students of the
University (10th Dec. 1529). On 16th and 17th April 1521 Luther appeared before the Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Worms, and declared that he could not recant. There were too many political considerations involved to enable the Emperor to act promptly against him, and before such action could be taken the Elector of Saxony, as a precaution, had Luther arrested, while returning from the Diet, and carried it to the Warburg, overlooking Eisenach, where he remained in retirement until the following spring.

The isolation of those ten months afforded an opportunity to review his work at a distance from the scene, to mature his convictions by the close and uninterrupted study of Scripture, to form some plans for the future, and to begin his most important work, the translation of the Bible into German. The N.T. 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 brought with him when he returned to Wittenberg from his exile (6th March 1522), and appeared the succeeding September. The translation of the O.T. was a much more difficult undertaking, in which he had the assistance of Melanchthon, Aurogallus, Roerer, Poerster, and others, and was completed in parts, until in 1532 the entire Bible appeared complete, followed by the Aporocrypha two years later.

On his return to Wittenberg the character of his labours was changed. He had at once to meet with decision the radical reaction of the ancient Church, which had hoisted in some cases to revolutionary, and in others to precipitate, measures. Thirty years 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 domination 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 polemic 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 the churches, the preparation of Church constitutions, the re-organization of schools, the revision of the liturgy, the writing of catechisms, 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 (16th 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 Zwinglei (Oct. 1529); his second period of isolation, at the castle of Coburg, during the Diet of Augsburg (1530); his Augustinian conferences in 1533 with representatives of the English Church, which had an important influence on the English Reformation and its liturgical monuments; the Wittenberg Concord of 1536; the progress of the Reformation in France; the Reformation in Scotland; the Reformation in Italy; and the Schmalkald Articles of 1537. Possibly the point that has occasioned most heated discussion was his relation to the legacy of Philip of Hesse in 1540 (see W. W. Rockwell, Die Heppalsche der Landesfreund Philipp von Hessen, Marburg, 1904).

2. Appreciation.—The greatness of Luther lies largely in the versatility of his gifts and the readiness with which he could call them into service.
even a restoration of Scriptural models, but the continuity of whatever in life, worship, and organization was not contrary to Scripture. External union was approved only as it was the expression of a preceding inner unity. Agreement as to the form of the gospel was the condition of all attempts at Church union, he esteemed valuable only as the servant of faith; hence the faith was never to be adjusted to the supposed expediencies of union. And in 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 traditional theological terms, because of their inadequacy, even when the elements of truth which they contained 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, it is the key to all knowledge of the nature and attributes of God and the doctrine of the Trinity. Christ is the interpreter of Scripture. All doctrines are to be consistent with the declaration of Scripture. 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 elements brought from the Fall, than as the act itself, whence this state proceeds—a state of spiritual death, from which man can neither of himself escape nor contribute towards his deliverance. The human nature became man in order, by His sufferings and death, to provide redemption. In the personal union, as the result of incarnation, the integrity of both nature is preserved, the divine inseparably pervading and energizing the human; the human bringing the possibility of suffering, and the divine sustaining and imparting to the human its infinite efficacy. The humiliation (humilis [g.v.]) is not of the human nature preserved, but of the human person in the human nature. Hence humiliation is not synonymous with humiliation, but is only a determination of the human nature, glorified from the very 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 predestination, he insists, should always be treated as a supplement to Christology, since what God has pre determined concerning our salvation from eternity. He has revealed in the gospel, and, therefore, 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 men to God, and the Church, enlightened, 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 entirely by his own union with the divine. There are no degrees in justification; it is perfect and complete, however weak the faith that apprehends it, since the righteousness of God is imputed to the perfect righteousness of Christ. If regarded as forgiveness, where the least sin is forgiven, all are forgiven, and where the least sin is unforgiven, none are forgiven. But justification is more even 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. Faith kindles love. As an active principle, faith not only receives what God offers, but also, through 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 light from fire. (Luther's Works, Erlangen ed., xxiii. 2344.) This sentence has called forth the unqualified condemnation of the Roman Catholic theologian, J. A. Kocher, although he incorrectly adds that it is "the most absurd contradiction with the Lutheran theory of faith." ("On the Roman Church," Munich, 1872, i. 163, tr. J. B. Robertson, London, 1883, i. 185.)

Furthermore, the Holy Spirit comes to men only in and through the Word and Sacraments, through the words of the Lord, producing new life, 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 promises 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 bodily eating and drinking, but the assurance, "Given and shed for you," which is the Christ's body and blood of the 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 comes to Christ and the true candidates become marks, designating where at least some believing children of God are to be found; i.e., they indicate the presence of the Church, which otherwise they do not. The Creed confesses: 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints.' The direct relation of each individual to Christ, mediated by any other agency, is already absorbed in the Creed. The Church, the administration of Word and Sacraments, in which administration ministers are only the executives of the congregation, and, through the congregation, of Christ Himself, who has called and ordained them. Distinctions of rank among ministers are not admissible by divine law, but may be very advantageous when agreed upon simply according to human law. Uniformity of Church government is not only advantageous and necessary, but, however desirable it may be as a matter of expediency, 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 right 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. ("Luther's Sermons preached at Wittemberg, Lent, 1525," Works, Erlangen ed., xxvii. 218.) 'The Word that has created the heavens and the earth must do this, or it will be left undone' (66.)

The dualism in ethics that pervaded the medieval religionism, according to which there is an inherent antagonism between the spiritual and the material, the heavenly and the earthly, entirely disappears 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 enjoyment of them belongs to that gratitude which he owes the Redeemer who has provided them for him. Nevertheless, while by faith lord over all, by love he is servant of all, and obeys God's law from an inner necessity of his regenerated nature
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Notwithstanding the protests which Luther himself expressed against the term "Lutheranism" was soon applied in the 16th century to the principles of which he was the chief advocate. However necessary plans for Church reunion were when the attempt was made forcibly to suppress his protests, it had never been Luther's aim either to found a new Church or even within the historically existing Church to carry out any elaborately pre-arranged form of re-organization taken by Luther or by those theologians who were most closely associated with him, but either by the radical extremists whom he repudiated or by the Protestant rulers, who justly realized that the churches in their realms could not be left without some form of administration.

Lutheranism starts with the assertion of the responsibility of the individual conscience to God alone in all matters of faith and life. But, in maintaining this position, it does not proclaim pure individualism, since the conscience is always to be interpreted arbitrarily, but by comparing spiritual things with spiritual. Its treatment of the doctrine of the Church, the emphasis rests not so much upon the external institution, with its well-defined organization and code of civil and canonical laws, as upon the association of truly Christian people, maintained by their communion in the one faith of the gospel, through the activity of one and the same Spirit. The appeal, accordingly, is never made to the authority of any outward visible organization, but to the individual conscience. All Church power inheres in the Word of God for such re-organization.

The Church has no sword but that of the Spirit with which to enforce obedience. Nevertheless, as for the administration of Word and Sacraments, external association, as well as the internal communion of believers with each other is necessary; the external Church must always be maintained, but the form of its organization must be determined by the circumstances in which the Church is placed, the presence or absence of the pure Word and Sacraments being the first condition. The preference is always on the side of that which has been historically approved, a break in the existing order being justified only when such order cannot be maintained without impairing fidelity to God's Word. It was not by any concerted action among Lutherans, nor with any thought of a united Lutheran Church, that the Church constitution of the Reformation period were formulated, but they were prepared in various countries and provinces according to the peculiar needs of each. Externally, there were many Lutheran churches, but no one Lutheran Church. The very first word of the first article of the Augsburg Confession ("ecclesia apud nos") declares this. There was, however, an external bond in their common confession. This confession, properly speaking, is no particular historical document, but the bond thus acknowledged among Lutherans, but the declaration of those Scriptural principles for which the Lutheran Church peculiarly stands. Such confession, however, has found its way into various classical historical agreements that have greater or less recognition. It is not the Confession of Faith, it is the Confession of the Faith, that determines the Lutheranism of any individual teacher.

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or Church body. Where the doctrines of the Confessions are held and confessed, even though the Confessions themselves be not subscribed; or, even known, 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, as such, and not merely a profession of faith, is a joyous 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 doctrine and the governance of the Church. Articles of faith that have not been attacked or misrepresented need no confessional treatment. A Confession, from this view, should never be an exhaustive representation of the Church's faith, but 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 is short, and became

If anything further be desired, we are ready, God willing, to present amplification information according to the Scriptures.

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. CATECHISM), vol. il. p. 293, of which 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 unaltered Augsburg Confession, 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 ironic 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 1548, in the interest of a nearer approach to the Reformed. The fact that the term 'unaltered' may not strictly belong to even the best 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 historically recognized between the two types of the Confession. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) is a full and learned defence, also written by Melanchthon against the criticisms contained in the 'Reformation of the Augsburg Confession by the Roman theologians at Augsburg. The Schmalkald Articles (1557), prepared by Luther, with a long Appendix by Melanchthon, mark a

stage in the controversy with Rome when the differences were no longer reconciliable. The Formula of Concord (1577) gives a decision concerning controversies among Lutherans, as the other Confessions had treated those which had assailed them from without (see, further, art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 845).

Differences between Luther and Melanchthon were intensified among their followers. These differences, due primarily to differences of temperament, training, and bias, as well as to personal rivalry 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 more accurate and graceful literary expression to Luther's thoughts. But, when Luther's influence was removed, he was unable to continue his work, dominated by two principles, viz. a much higher regard than Luther for patristic authority, and a greater concern for the external peace and the impressiveness of the church's public piety, which was frequently involved in negotiations with respect to Church policies, which compromised his position, and brought into prominence his great contrast with Luther in this point. Not understanding his sharp arrangement of scholastic methods in the first edition of his Loca Communis (1621), 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 to a stricter or 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 Perspectivism, 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—Authority of the Holy Scriptures. While, in fact, the two are never separated, the Scriptures are regarded as the absolute norm of revealed truth rather than as a magazine of reference in which all knowledge 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 through the preaching of the word. Nor can the Scriptures be correctly apprehended except as in regeneration a new spiritual sense is imparted.
the Holy Spirit, as this truth is applied and de
dveloped through the ages in believing personalities. Such believers, according to its teaching, constitute the inner spiritual organism of the Church. In this respect its doctrine is in contrast with that of Rome, on the one hand, which lays so much stress on the manner of the externally organized Church, and that of the Reformed, on the other, which is apt to isolate the individual from his historical relations and the mediation of those things that have always formed part of the sacraments reach him.

The same principle obtains in its conception of 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, illuminates, regenerates, 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 practice for the furtherance of the spirit and its teaching. As in the time of the Reformation, so at all times since, there have been those whose intense conservatism has shown the presence of a Romanizing influence, with greater freedom that of a Reformed, tendency. Indifferentism, Unionism, Mysticism, and Rationalism have had their learned advocates among those claiming the Lutheran name, and with the organization known as Lutherans, just as the Christian Church has much within it for which Christianity is not responsible.


HENRY E. JACOBS

LUXURY.—I. Historical aspects of luxury.—One of the incentives towards social progress is the desire to procure a surplus after the needs of a mere physical existence have been met. Some where within the limits of this surplus is that portion of which constitutes expenditure upon luxury. The amount of this necessarily is to be termed luxury depends to a large extent on the situation and condition of a community, as well as upon the standard of life.

Once a tribe managed to procure a sufficient food supply it was able to indulge itself, and the possibility of an unproductive consumption of the excess in the form of feasting, and under these circumstances a rude form of luxury would have been evolved. Thus a primitive type of luxury must have come into existence in pre-historic times. In the early civilizations luxury made its appearance in well-defined and striking forms. In Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon, and at Tyre and Sidon, the primary tendency towards decoration and display appears to have shown itself in relation to external observances, and, closely connected with this, there was the pomp of the royal family, there, as in Egypt, it claimed divine authority. But the example of the sovereigns became manifest later to the governing classes, and in this way luxurious expenditure by individuals manifested itself. The chief gratifications sought were the pleasures of the table in eating and drinking, of personal adornment (both in dress and by use of costly perfumes), of buildings and monuments (such as the Pyramids), or of dwellings and their apparatus (see, for instance, the hanging gardens of Babylon). Among the Greeks there were traces of luxury in the heroic age, such as rich armour and dresses, and artistic ivory work, but it was at Athens after the defeat of the Persians (490-480 B.C.) and in the time of Pericles (449 B.C.) that sumptuous expenditure became a characteristic both of the State and of the individual citizens. Public festivals were conducted on a scale that was almost inconceivable, the erection of public buildings was carried on at an outlay which was very great for the times. What differentiates the luxury of the Greeks from that of the Eastern nations was the artistic aspect of the movement. On the Acropolis at Athens the Pinciothèque was beautified by the frescoes of the painter Polygnotus, near which stood the immense statuary of Athena Parthenos, the work of Phidias, and beyond was the Parthenon, adorned by the sculpture of Phidias. With the rapid increase of wealth private expenditure increased: vases for household use became more decorative, and dress was more ornate. The conquistadores of Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.) introduced the somewhat crude display of the Eastern nations, and, to a large extent, degraded the externals of social life. In Rome luxury became more important after the Punic Wars. Gladiatorial games had been introduced in 264 B.C., and by 186 B.C. lions and panthers were brought long distances at great cost to stimulate the blood which was being shown by the people. Rich citizens vied with one another to spend profusely on food and table apparel—anchovies were brought from Pontus and wine from Greece. As the power of Rome grew, luxury increased, till it culminated under the Empire. Augustus claimed to have erected 468 marble pillars, and to have provided 8000 gladiators and 3000 wild beasts for the arena. Orestation developed into the excesses of Caligula and Nero, which were copied by private individuals according to their means. In the Byzantine Empire luxury was, if possible, greater than at Rome; it was certainly more decadent. If at Athens art had glorified luxury, at Constantinople luxury debased art; the Byzantine style has almost become synonymous with over-elaboration and tasteless display. Even before the Renaissance luxury had become more evident in Italy, particularly in Florence; afterwards it developed and produced a by-product in the encouragement of art and commerce. The more generous expenditure of the upper classes in France during the reign of Louis XIV. (1643-1715) was met by his attempted sumptuary legislation regulating dress. In England Edward III. considered that extravagance was diminishing the taxable resources of the country, and towards the end of his reign he used his power to prevent the evil. The statute of 1386 was passed by which the number of meals was limited to two, except on the special feast-
LUXURY

data are known; the problem becomes much more difficult in the case of a whole community. Certain forms of expenditure, as a rule, do not aid efficiency, and these can usually be classified under the head of luxurious outlay; certain others, again, are usually incurred with the object of conferring distinction on the spender, and, where such can be isolated, they fall into the same class. For the rest, all that is possible is to note with cars what happens in the majority of cases in order to ascertain whether a certain type of expenditure is necessary or a luxury.

In the case of individual expenditure, luxury can arise only where there is a surplus beyond physical needs. If that expenditure is so directed as to cut into the margin required for efficiency, then inroads are being made into future income-earning power. But, after full provision has been made for efficiency, there is yet another claim on the surplus—namely, that for the accumulation of capital. It is this claim that has led many economists to condemn luxury. Expenditure on luxury repays or restores the capital which was temporarily locked up in the commodities consumed as luxuries. Therefore such expenditure cannot leave production much larger than it had been before the goods were purchased. Wealth which is capital is also consumed, but in such consumption it becomes an instrument for further production. Thus that part of the surplus which is used as capital is more fruitful as regards the other portion which, in the phraseology of J. S. Mill (Principles of Political Economy, London, 1886, bk. 1. ch. iii.), is consumed unproductively.

Consumption of luxuries has other consequences which are partly economic, but which are also of considerable social and ethical importance. Expenditure on superfluities has a tendency towards a relaxation of concentrated effort. In extreme cases it weakens the moral fibre and opens the way to dangerous excesses. It not only tends to injure the person whose life is luxurious, but reacts on others by the force of example. Thus there is a contest in the fixing of the prevailing standard of living between luxury and a wise and discriminat-

The economic questions arising out of the existence of luxury concern societies 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, if not invariably, luxury is the 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 mere bodily wants are satisfied, their further desires may be called luxuries. But there is a temptation to exaggerate the degree of support which either class of preciooses attracts that fixes whether a particular age or a particular class can be described as luxurious or not. In the view of luxury that has been adopted the central point is the existing standard of living which is required for full efficiency. As society progresses and as further resources become available, it becomes possible for a community to increase enjoyments which are largely immaterial. The enjoyment of art is a case in point. If progress is conceived in a wide sense, the highest culture becomes an element in national efficiency. Accordingly, in a wealthy nation, where the inequalities of incomes are not too great, a condition is possible where the dividing line between luxuries and the necessities for efficiency is drawn at a much higher point than in another community that is unfortunately situated. And the higher standard of living can become a step towards further advance in civilization. But, at the same time, there is a somewhat sinister danger—namely, that consumption which is beyond the needs of efficiency may be continued much beyond that point. By becoming luxurious, it reacts on efficiency, and in the end results in a check instead of an increase in progress.

1 The matter is stated this way to allow for the possibility that the producer of the luxury may be the one who gains profit which he has reaped 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 an animal form was possible (§ 3). (2) It indicates the popular belief that on occasion a human being can actually transform himself, or be transformed, into a wolf or some other animal. In this form it is common among men. But, if wounded while in his wolf form, it is generally supposed 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. With the belief in wolf transformation is that which was most common in Europe, it is by no means the only one. For this superstition is practically world-wide, and everywhere it is generally the fear of men of the human animal who is responsible for the harmful actions. The name 'werewolf' is generally derived from the Latin *lupus* = wolf, and *apparere* = to appear, to be manifest. The ancient Greeks knew the beast also as *levius*, which is related to the Latin *leviatus*, meaning 'fear'.

*LYCANTHROPY* is derived from *lyke* = 'wolf', and *deiphos* = man, the Gr. *form being *lykon*-deiphos (cf. *avishpfer*, *dog*). The common English names are 'werewolf', 'lyke-wolf', 'man-wolf', 'A.S. werewolf', O.H.G. *werwolf*, Norman *guerwolf*, *man* (man); cf. O. Ir. fer, Lat. vir, and of *wergild*). The French name for werewolf is *loup-garou*. In this case the term has been thought to be a corruption of *wer* and *gare*, but this is uncertain. The Old French romance contains the forms *unorlou*, *unorlour*, *unorloure*, *unorloure* (Irish: *unorlour*), *unorlour* (Engl. = wolf) occurs in the Latin Mss of France (cf. § 4). The Slavic names are *Cz. *vpolok*, *vpolok*, Slavonic *vopolok*, *vopolok*, *vopolok*, Polish *vpulok*, *vpolok*, Russian *vpolok*, *vpolok*, *vpolok*, *vpolok*, etc. The Sorbian *vpolok*, however, means 'vampire', hence, 'vampire', in modern Gr. *vpolokos*, *sorokos*, 'vampire', though occasionally 'werewolf'. The Slavic form means literally 'fear of the wolf', or 'wounded by the wolf'.

The wolf has long been regarded with superstitious awe. An old belief in Europe is to the effect that, if a wolf sees a man before being wounded, or if he effects a wound which is derived of eight or nine hours, or goes mad or dies (cf. Pliny, *HN* viii. 24; *Verg. Ael. ii. 20; *C. Lorenz*, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 16). J. Claudian (de Sublimitate, Lyric, iv. 13) says that there is something in the eyes of a wolf contrary to man, which is stopped, and consequently the voice. In European folklore the wolf is usually a creature of the devil (cf. the wolf-shape of Ahriman; see § Dühnhardt, *Naturges. eine Sammlung . . . Pauen und Legenden*, Berlin, 1861, p. 146 f.). It is obvious that lycanthropy, in so far as it involves an actual belief in shape-shifting, is connected with the wider belief in transformation into animal form, which is of universal occurrence. Men, especially medicine-men, claim or are believed to possess this power, as well as that of transforming others; it is also ascribed to the gods, spirits, demons, and witches, as well as to animals, which sometimes assume human form, as some of the following paragraphs will show (see *METAMORPHOSIS*). But the actual origins of the belief are probably to be sought elsewhere (see § 3).

1. Extent of the superstition. In one form or another the werewolf superstition is world-wide. It was known to the ancient Greeks. In *Aepo* the chief who pretends to be a wolf says that when he has yawned three times he will become a wolf. Circe changed men to wolves, etc., by means of drugs. The superstition is also found embedded in the myths pertaining to the cult of Zeus Lycaeus, the Wolf Zeus. Lycaon, king of Arcadia, was said to have been changed into a wolf when he sacrificed a child on the altar of Zeus Lycaeus. In *Aesop* (Philippines, 1850) and *E. J. Urquhart*, *Loneliness and the Ways of Life*, London, 1909; *Werner Sombart*, *Leben und Kapitalismus*, Munich, 1918.

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zari. The Kallikantzaroi 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 Kallikantzaroi represent the ancient Centaurs, whom he regards as a Pelasgic tribe of Cenusa, credited by the Arabs with the secret of making men into wild beasts, and carry off women, and sometimes make a meal of their prey. Some connection also exists between them and the mummers of the Dionysia, who represented the satyrs and Sileni. They appear and are feared from Christmas to Epiphany.\(^2\) The tribe could change into ravenging werewolves in time of drought, others into vultures or kites.\(^3\) The Arabs also regarded some men as having the nature of a hyena, and said that, if a thousand men were shut up in 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 Gildas Cambrensis:

An Irish priest was met by a wolf in Meath and desired to come and see his dying wife. They were natives of Ossey, whose people had been cursed by a witch for the wrongs of St. Natalis, and were compelled to take part by two by a wolf-shape for seven years, returning to their own form at the end of that time. The priest was persuaded to give the shool-shape to the sacred, for the other turned her skin down a little, showing that she was an old woman. The priest gave her his advice to give his advice to this case of Meath two years after, and that it was referred to the pope.

A citation in the Book of Fastivalia (1406) says that the 'descendants of the wolf' in Ossey had the power of changing themselves and going forth to devour people. St. Patrick is also said to have cured a certain 'race' in Ireland so that they and their descendants are wolves at a certain time every seventh year, or for seven years on end.\(^5\) These may be explanatory legends about older wolf-totem clans. Later accented form—already an ancient superstition—when totemism was requiring an explanation, as in the case of the wolf-clan in Arendia. To the same category may be referred the statements of early English travellers in Ireland to the effect that the Irish took wolves as godfathers, prayed to them to do them no ill, and used their teeth as amulets. Lyanthropy ran in families, and here also it may point to an older totem clan. Laighnech Field and his family could take a wolf-shape at will and kill the herds, and Laighnech was called Fândal because he was the first of them to go as a wolf.\(^6\) In Irish and Welsh Mârnet translates transformation to wolf-form of children begotten by a stepmother or of a husband by a wife is not uncommon.\(^7\) Gildas already refers to the belief that hags in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland can change to hares and suck cattle's milk, but, with St. Augustine, regards this supposed change as a delusion of the senses.\(^8\) This belief is thus contemporary with that in lyanthropy, 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 revealed her true form and is found to have a corresponding wound. A miller in Cork who saw a number of

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1. F. F. (1897) 92.
ears attacking his flour; his knife at them
and cut off the leg of one. Next morning he
found his daughter with her hand cut off, and
concluded that she was a witch. Hares are usually
thought to be bewitched and suspected of being
wolves in disguise. The Ancient Welsh laws already
speak of their magical character, regarding them
as companions of witches, who often assumed
the form of hares. The

The Slavic werewolf belief is referred to under
DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic), vol. IV, p. 624.
Possibly the Nenni, mentioned by Herodotus (iv:105),
were a Slavic people (cf. E. H. Mians,
Svithjold and Selden, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102 ff.).
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 shot or
the latter injured, they are found next morning in
human form with iron shoes on hands and feet or
seriously wounded. Herzt notes the sinister charac-
ter of the belief through its connexion with that
in the vampire, the names for both being inter-
changeable.

The Serbians think that the enkolpion has
annual gatherings, when they hang their wolf-skins
on trees. Should such a skin be taken and burnt,
the owner retains human form. A girdle of human
skins crossed 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 witch covers them with skins with the hair
turned outwards, they resume their human form.
This is in accordance with Russian werewolf
worship. A Russian werewolf is sometimes a man transformed by
the devil, and, contrary to the usual belief, he is harm-
less, but is driven to wandering from place to place.
In a Polish story a wolf-skin is placed over a merrymaking cat and carries her off to the forest.
Years after, one of the peasants meets his long-lost brother, who confesses 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 consumed with rage against all men and killed as many as he could.
He had come to see his home once more, but must resume his wolf-form immedi-
ately, which he did. In another case a peasant, released from
his wolf shape, returned home to find his wife murdered.
He cried, 'Why am I no longer a wolf that I might punish this woman?'
Immediately she showed herself transformed, and killed the man and his wife and child. The neighbours came and slew the wolf, when the werewolf-kins collected and crossed a river on which the wolf had crossed.
Thousands of werewolves come to try their skill at
leaping. The unsuccessful one is beaten by one of
the captains or by the devil. The method of the
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
Livenian werewolves collected at Christmas, and
crossed a river which had the power of changing them
to wolves, like the lakes in Arendis. They
resumed their human shape at the end of twelve
days. In Livenia a servant whose power as a
werewolf was disputed went to the cell and soon
after came out as a wolf. The dogs bit out one of its
eyes, and next day the man appeared with one eye.

In Scandinavia and Germany the superstition
was well known, and here the wolf, and in the
former also the bear, were animals into whose form
the transmigration took place. Boniface, Arch-
bishop of Mayence in the 5th cent., mentions the
belief. The change was caused by sorcery—
e.g., by donning a wolf-skin (sjeemar, hence the
term 'skin-changer'; cf. Lat. versatilis), or
a wolf-girdle, or a girdle of human skin; or it might
be forced upon him—e.g., by being driven outside
by a girdle of human skin or girdle at him, or by
shaking a wolf-skin glove at him. The girdle had
sometimes magical signs on it, 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, nine years, the eyes alone
retaining a human appearance. He howled and
devoured like the actual animal. Such persons
were said to be eigi einhamar, 'not of one form,'
or hauarmar, 'changing form.' In some instances
the gift of transformation was imparted
by trolls. Barehead of Worms speaks of certain
Fereczi who at birth can cause that the child may
later transform himself into a wolf or any other
form. In later times Finns, Lapps, and others were thought by Scandinavians to have the power
of changing others to wolves or to bears at will, and
were therefore disliked. The belief was apparently
much mingled with the influence of the
fact that wild warriors and outlaws—e.g., the
beserker—wore wolf-skins or bear-skins over their
armour or clad themselves in these, while they
were often victimized and acted as if they were animals. This is illustrated in the
earliest Scandinavian instance of the werewolf belief—that contained in the
Tobben Saga (chs. 5-9).

Ring Volang had ten sons and a daughter, Siggyr, who was married to Ring Siggeir.
Siggeir later slew Volang and bound his sons in the stocks. There nine of them were devoured by
an evil skid,' who came out of the stock and
began to eat them, one by one, until there remained
only Siggyr, who escaped. Sigurd, son of Siggeir, had taken this
form. Through Siggyr's craft the tenth son, Sigmund, over-
came the werewolf and went into hiding. Siggyr exchanged
form with a sorceress, and had a son by Sigmund, called
Sindri. He and Sigmund took to a wandering life and, on one
occasion, came to a house where there was a
werewolf with wolf-skins hanging above them.
For nine days they were wolves and on the tenth day came out as human beings.
Sigmund and Sindri donned the skins and became wolves, and each
went his way, after agreeing that neither should attack more than seven men without having for the
shame of Sigurd enough. Sigmund slew eleven men without Sigmund's aid. The latter,
hearing of this, flew and warned Sigurd, who then
was besieged and the day had come for deftting their wolfskins.
They agreed to lay them aside for ever, and burned them in the fire.
Of this wild tale Harlng-Gould (op. cit.) says
"is divested of his improbability, if we regard these which are worn
over their armour. While this is true, and while
'sherd,' means also 'courage,' this is an important witness to the
belief itself, as it is seen from the words of Godmund to Sindri,
"Thou hast eaten wolves' meat and murdered thy brother.
Thou hast often sucked wounds with cold mouth, and stunk,
thou comest to all men, into the jaws of wild beasts." (Vigfusson-
Powell, l. 196.)

In another wild tale from the History of Hroth Erlks, Bjorn
was transformed into a bear by his stepmother, who shook
a wolf-skin glove at him. He lived as a bear and killed many of
his father's sheep, and by night he always became a man, until
he was hunted and slain (Sir W. Scott, Minstrels, London,
1839, p. 254).
The post Art has a curious tale of two 'skin-changes,'
Dublin and Strowell. The former took the form of a bull,
the latter of a bear. They traveled through the
field and forest, and every now and then fell
badly bruised.

Modern collections of Scandinavian and German
Marches contain many werewolf stories.

In one Swedish tale a cottage was transformed by a Yamagom
of a Wolf-Done (Troll-wife), because he had not crossed himself
when telling the story. Vonatures went to his house, and
remembered his true form when his wife gave him food.1 In
a Norwegian tale a woman was turned into a wolf, when in her
wife's company, noticed that the time of the accosted
change drew near. He bade his wife strike with her spear
on anything that came to her. Soon after a wolf attacked her;
she struck it in the eye, and the wolf bit at
the piece of the apron and disappeared. Presently the man came,
carrying his spear, and explained that now he was free from the
curse.2 In a German tale a reaper saw his neighbour grind
himself with a strap and become a wolf.3 In another a woman
told her husband to throw his hat at any wild beast
which came. When she appeared as a wolf among the haymakers,
he threw the hat at her with a pitchfork. The wolf changed back
to the woman, who was found to be dead.4 A Dutch story tells
what a man shot with an arrow a wolf which was attacking
the girl, and that the arrow stuck in the wound. Next day he
heard that a strange serving man was dying with an arrow
sitting in his side. He went to see him, and found his own
arrow, whereupon the man confessed that he was a werewolf.
In a Flemish tale a shepherd received a wolf-skin from the devil,
by which he became a wolf at night. If the skin was
burned, he himself would suffer as if its own skin were
being burned, but would be freed from the curse. Is the sequel
his master succeeded in releasing him in this way?5

In many modern tales and also in medieval witchcraft
believed that witches took the form of a wolf,
which was usually then into a cat, dog, hare, or duck (the bird of
Freya, great mother of the witches), and these,
when wounded, became the woman with a similar wound in her body. Spina says that such cat
women ate the brain of a cat and rubbed
themselves with the flesh of a newly-born child which
had been offered to Satan.6

In England and Scotland werewolf stories are
scanty, but there are traces of the superstition
in early literature. The word werewolf in the sense of
'robber' occurs in the Laws of Canute, and it is also found in
later ballads and poems. Gervase of Tilbury refers to the existence of men called
gryfus in Wales, werewolf in England, who change
their form at the change of the moon. William of
Malmesbury, alights to the superstition.

A well-known old English poem, translated from a 12th cent.
French poem, is that of William and the Wervilf,
in which the king changes his form by his stepmother,
rescues the king of Sicily's child, whom his uncle wishes to
murder. The story relates how the wolf cared for the boy, his
furnishments, and the eventual re-formation of the
owl's to his human form.7 Drayton, in his Middle Age (B. 504),
tells how a man who had passed a certain hour at a certain
hour with appropriate spells, and on it he would be
changed into a wolf. Having done this, he committed much
havoc among men, and could not sleep to day the lycanthropy.
If tales of werewolves are scarce, there are
innumerable tales and traditions of witches
changing into hares, cats, dogs, and the like in order to do
harm. No change is more common in the 16th and
17th cent. witchcraft, and yet the belief is found, as in the case of the werewolf, that
such a wer-animal can be hurt only by a silver
bullet. In some instances wounding causes the witch to assume a shape known
when she is found with a corresponding wound.8

In France the earliest literary version of the
belief is found in the Lai du Blaesieret of Marie
de France (c. 1180). A knight went from time to time to the forest, then the
haunt of many werewolves, undressed, and became a wolf. He
told his wife the secret, and she obtained his clothes on one
of these occasions, after which he had to remain in wolf form.
As a wolf he retained human traits, and eventually,
the king's command, his clothes and consequently his own
form were restored to him, but not before he had ravaged himself
on his unfaithful wife.

This story is found in other literary versions—e.g.,
the Roman de Renard of the Clerks of Trevis (14th cent.),
the Laevens (ed. F. Mihel, Paris, 1802),
and in the story of Arthuor and Morganog, both
here. These are all literary versions of a folk-tale.1 The legend of St. Ronan in medieval
Brittany tells how he had taken the form of a
werewolf and ate children.2

Gervase of Tilbury, in his Otia Imperialia, tells of a certain
Pentecost of Capistrano, who, out of despair, became a werewolf in
Auvergne, ate children, and wounded older people. A robber
lacked off one of his feet, and at once he resumed his human
form, and acknowledged that the loss of his foot was his
salvation.

The belief survived in modern times. In
Normandy the werewolf was a godless man or one
under a curse, who for four or seven years must
nightly assume wolf-shape and submit to castigation
by the devil. In Berry those who, by a pact
with the devil, at the cross-roads, at midnight,
became loups-garous can be wounded only by
a ball which has been blessed or has had the Lord's
Prayer or Ave Maria said over it five times. Once
wounded, they take the form of wolves, and the spell
which attached them to Satan is broken.3 In
Brittany, towards the end of the 19th cent.,
sorcerers were supposed to take the form of wolves
or clothe themselves with a wolf's skin when going
to the Sabbath.4 In many parts of France carry
fûter is supposed to lead wolves, himself sometimes
changed into a wolf, whereby he is placed
beyond the power of shot. He directs the wolves
where to go for hunting. In Perigord sons of
priests must rush to a fountain at full moon and
plunge into it. They emerge, clad in a goat-skin,
which the devil has given them, and rush about
on all fours, attacking men and animals. They
resume human form by plunging again into the
fountain at daybreak.5 This recalls the Arcadian
and Livonian beliefs (see above). Numerous
stories relate how the werewolf is transformed into a
wolf, cat, etc., has a paw cut off, and is afterwards
found in bed with one hand lacking.6 In a Breton tale a werewolf hid his wolf-skin in an
oven. The sympathetic magic is clearly a link between
skin and owner, so that whatever was done to the
skin happened to him. A fire was lit in the oven,
and the owner of the skin soon began to leap about,
convulsed, and turned into a wolf.7

In Portugal a seventh son, where there were
no girls, was thought to belong to the devil and
to become a werewolf—a belief found also in
the Azores.8

Cervantes, in his Persiles y Sigismunda (ch. 3), relates how
an enchantress made advances to Rulliel, who repelled her.
She turned into a wolf. She stuck his knife into her breast, and
as she fell he human form came back to her.

Passing now to Asia, clear evidence of the belief is
found in Armenia. Sinful women are sometimes
forced by a spirit to don a wolf-skin and become
wolves for seven years. Soon the wolf nature

1 F. Mihel, Roman de Renard, Paris, 1802, p. 228, ed. F. Mihel, Paris, 1802,
3 F. Mihel, Rome de Renard, Paris, 1802, p. 228, ed. F. Mihel, Paris, 1802,
4 F. Mihel, Rome de Renard, Paris, 1802, p. 228, ed. F. Mihel, Paris, 1802,
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 fiend's strength, then the woman suffers fearful agony and vanishes in smoke. In Asia Minor generally werewolves are feared especially at Christmas and in Holy Week.

In India, where the tiger is the fiercest creature known, its form is supposed to be adopted. Already in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 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 men with the power of becoming werewolves—e.g., among the Khonds (with whom, by the aid of a god, one of a man four souls becomes a mleega tiger), the Lushais, Kukis, etc.

Dallan describes how a Koi, tried for murder, maintained that his victim was a werewolf which he had followed to the man’s house after it had killed his wife. The relatives of the victim, who had expected him of much power and had handed him over to the prisoner, 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 ride about on tigers or in the water on crocodiles, dishevelled, with glaring eyes, and heaving a loud roar. Wizards also have tigers as familiars, or, as a Thana belief has it, mediums are possessed by a tiger-spirit. The souls of those slain by tigers are believed to pass into tigers to slay other men 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 Indocina the wer-tiger is very commonly believed in among the Mala’s, Bajus, etc. Sometimes the power of transformation is thought to be confined to one tribe, as in Sumatra to the Korinchi Malays. There are many tales of men leaving their garments in a thicket, when a tiger has presently emerged, or in human form voicing feathers of owls eaten when in their tiger form. A wer-tiger slain was found to have gold-plating in the mouth, as was the man who assumed tiger form had. The Lavaos of Borneo are also regarded as wer-tigers. While the wer-tiger is generally very dangerous, in Java it is believed to guard plantations against pigs, and the change is effected by spells, charms, fasting, etc. In Malaysia the medicine-man is sometimes possessed by a tiger-spirit, and acts as a tiger when exorcising a spirit from a sick man.

A gruesome Malay story of a Semang who became a tiger (Sy Rilong). His hai (the hairy face—a euphemism), and sucked blood rather than air flesh, 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 their 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 taken publicly. A bride saw her Korinchi husband returning home as a tiger, which thrust its head above the top rung of the entrance. "It palpitated and changed, and the face of the husband came up through the face of the beast." Later the tiger was caught in a trap, but escaped, when it was tracked to the house. There the man was said to be sick, and soon after he and his sons disappeared. The story was reported to the District officer, and such a transformation is 'to the native mind a fact, not a mere belief.'

The tiger familiar spirit is also possessed by certain men, and after their death their spirits appear as tigers, or the medicine-man has a visual tiger which is immortal (Bomet of Johore). The soul of a dead wizard enters the body of a tiger, and the corpse is left in the forest for seven days until the change is effected. A curious Malay belief concerns the fold in which several human souls are penned. Periodical attacks of fierceness come on them, when they break bounds and go after their prey. Passing through one door, they become men, and on returning to another door 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 strong (yellow with black stripes) and repeating charms—by offerings to evil spirits, by charms, or by the consumption of a poisonous plant which is supposed to affect the soul; or the power is conceived as hereditary. Among the Semang the medicine-man lights incense and invokes a spirit. 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 always 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 substance, the body remaining at home.

Among the wild Malays of the Patani States there is a belief in badi, or mischance, which remains by a body after death and devours the semanpur or, sometimes, the liver of passers-by. Birds and beasts also have badi, or, in the case of tigers, leopards, and jungle-cats, purang or beyeg; 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 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 Kelmants, one group of whom claim the crocodile as a relative. One man found his skin become rough, his feel like 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 his 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 3rd cent. B.C., in which, after the death of an illness, a man changed to a tiger and killed animals. Such transformations are often ascribed to delirious 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.

2 ERE I, 800. (1880) I, 442.
3 ERE I, 814. (1880) II, 211. 4 ERE II, 814. (1880) II, 211.
5 ERE II, 814. (1880) II, 211.
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 disapproval of the man's neglect of his religious duties. Here the victim goes mad and turns into a tiger. In one such instance he is covered with a spotted skin by the god, as in European cases, where a wolf's skin is used. Stories of transformation by wearing a tiger-skin are said to be abound in China.

A 14th cent. writer tells how he saw a man slowly becoming covered with hair like a tiger, his body adorned with spots and stripes. During the night he ate a hog. 1

Other cases of this kind are of frequent occurrence. Wet-tigers and tigersse are sometimes favourably disposed and give presents. This is especially the case with wer-tigers on behalf of those who excite their love. 2

The wolf transformation is also known. In one case a peasant was turned by a wolf and cut off its paw. By the traces of the blood he followed it to a house, where an old man was found lacking a hand. He was killed, and in dying took the form of a wolf. 3 Before his period of transformation he had been long ill, and, after being healed, had disappeared. In another instance a youth, after an illness acquired the power of sending forth his soul in the form of a wolf, and devoted himself to the task of halting inns and robbing travellers. 

Other tales of this kind are current. A youth was seized with a hair and tail forming, after which she becomes a wolf, and escapes, sometimes she returns to see her family. In another instance a man wards a woman who is really a wolf, as also are her servants, and he is devoured by her. 5 In a 4th cent. work all wer-animals are transformed to men after the five-hundred year of their age. 4

Other wer-animals are also known—e.g., the dog, though here, as in the case of the fox, it is of the form of some animal. In one instance men who are beaten become dogs; and a dog-man who was stabbed changed to a dog when dying.

In China the fox superstition is a kind of invented werewolf belief, especially in China. The wer-foxes dwell in the desolate lands between earth and Hades, and can take human form at will, most frequently that of a young and pretty girl—but they may be detected by the possession of tails. Spirits of the dead may occupy the bodies of such foxes and revenge injuries on the living. Some legends show that the fox lives in graves and becomes a kind of a corpse by insinuating itself into the soul-substance. Wer-foxes can do either good or ill to men, but are gracious to those who are kind to them. Foxes in male form live with men, and are kept by them; in the case of a morsbile exotic state is produced, resembling that caused by the medivial *incubi* and *succubes*. When killed in human form, all that remains is the body of a fox. Their animal form also appears spontaneously in sleep, or when they are overcome by wine, of which they are very fond. Sometimes they enter and occupy a house invisibly, acting exactly like the *Poltergeist*. It is also believed that witches can take the form of the fox, cat, or hare. 7 The tiger-ghost is also believed in. 8

When he wishes to eat people he puts off his clothes and is changed into a striped tiger. He then advances with a great roar, and the traveller is instantly torn to pieces. 9

Tigers are said to make slaves of the souls of men devoured by them. These souls go before them to point out traps or to act as bearers, 10 as in the similar Indian belief. 11

The wer-fox superstition is found in Japan, but was not introduced there until the 11th century. There are different kinds of foxes. The wild fox, *Nogitoune*, can take any form, or become invisible, but its reflection in water is always that of a fox. The Nikko fox can also take various forms, especially that of a pretty girl, in which shape it will even marry a man. 1 These foxes also possess houses, or live in their houses, bringing luck if well treated, but they are dangerous to eat. Some samurai families are believed to own foxes, which steal for them or torment their enemies. Foxes to whom some kindness has been shown, either in their caves or in human form, will reward and doer of it with money, etc., a part of which turns to grass. Often the house in which the fox lives is illusory and cannot be found again (see FAMLY, vol. 1, p. 679). Men possessed by foxes run about, eating and eating only what foxes eat, but the possessing goblin-fox may be exorcised. 2

The same fox-belief exists among 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 horse, mole, mole, crow, etc. The spirit of the bear, dog, otter, and especially the cat, can enter into the body of a living woman as a punishment; the victim eats as a cat, wastes away, and dies mewing like a cat. This can also occur when a man has killed a cat. To prevent possession by its spirit, he may eat part of it. 3 The Eskimos and some American Indian tribes also possess the fox superstition. 4

The wer-animal superstition is found in Africa in connexion with the belief in *inuo* and *suku*. The belief that a certain animal can take over N. Africa it is believed that the *jinn* can take animal-forms—wolf, jackal, lion, serpent, scorpion. This is also true of the *ghul*, who appear as men or animals, and feed on dead bodies, or kill and eat living men. More akin to the werewolf superstition is the belief that twin children go out at night as cats, their bodies meanwhile remaining at home as if dead. If they are by beaten by any one, they tell this to their parents next day. 5 Among the Beersites witnesses maintain that they have seen girls, when born, change into ogres, who throw themselves on men until they are strangled. Among the Abyssinians there is a wide-spread belief in the *budus*, who change into hyenas and kill and devour. They are distinguished from ordinary hyenas by greater malice. The *budus* are sorcerers; and blackamulks, and are numbered among the Fula and Agos, are supposed to be *budus*. Hyenas have been killed with earrings in their ears, and these are believed to be *budus*, though it has been thought that sorcerers put earrings in the ears of young hyenas to bolster up this superstition. The *budus* have a king in the neighbourhood of Abolo to whom they bring offerings of corpse daily. As blackamulks are a hereditary folk, their sorcery is also hereditary, but a *budu* confers the gift on his children by a mysterious decoction of herbs. Cases of transformation are believed to have been actually witnessed. In one such case

1. Cf. the Bulbulka's belief that the black bear 'takes the form of a beautiful woman at night, and lures men to death if they are not wary' (M. L. Davies, PL. viii [1908] 950).
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, or in life, or in death. The victim becomes more and more insane, laughing like a hyena, then falling into a trance, when the buda speaks through him, often telling who he is and why he thus personates the patient. Sometimes the victim tries to get into the forest, where the buda is supposed to devour him. The buda is kept off by the wearing of amulets, by which also he can be exorcised. He can also transform his victims into animals, and sometimes digs up corpses to eat them. This is also done by actual hyenas. The belief in the wer- hyena occurs from the Sudan to Tanganyika, and is perhaps strengthened by the fact that wizards at their meetings howl and caper like hyenas, eat horrid food, and commit excesses the sight of which makes the onlooker mad. Even in the daytime their glance causes a deadly sickness. Certain tribes in the Sudan 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 had been seen at a place where the same hunter had followed him to the grave. Generally among the black races the usual animals, besides the hyena, are the lion, leopard, and crocodile. In Nubia old women who are called carabas are believed to enter the bodies of these animals by night. In the Sudan the hyena shape is supposed to be assumed at an ant's nest. The Awendwa wizards receive permission to assume the shapes of spirits called onkara. The Wanyamwezi of E. Africa think that sorcerers can transform themselves into animals in order to injure their enemies. In E. Central Africa the bewitcher (mbidi) 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 resorted to. The witch is thought by the Makanga to have a wife at night opens the door of the house to admit him and then runs off with him to feast. In one case, when a goal was carried off, tracks of a hyena and of human feet were seen together. Among the Tumbuka of Central Africa certain women about smeared with white clay, and are believed to have the power of changing into lions. 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. In Loanda the belief existed that the chief could change himself into a lion, kill some one, and then resume his own form. The boso believe that a man's spirit can leave his body and enter another. The victim becomes more and more insane, laughing like a hyena, then falling into a trance, when the boso speaks through him, often telling who he is and why he thus personates the patient. Sometimes the victim tries to get into the forest, where the boso is supposed to devour him. The boso is kept off by the wearing of amulets, by which also he can be exorcised. He can also transform his victims into animals, and sometimes digs up corpses to eat them. This is also done by actual hyenas.

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both living and dead, with power to change to an animal—hyena, lion, serpent, or alligator—and to die to any animal of the wolves, behind, but this is in reality a wild animal with which the person has chosen to identify himself. If this appearance is stabbed, a hyena rushes howling from the hut, and the dead 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 he dies next morning. Some think 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. The Basuto also believe in werewolves, 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 call troops of wolves, monkeys, etc., to her nocturnal gatherings—a belief not unlike that of the wolf-leader in France. The Hotentots believe in the power of changing to lion shape and killing men or animals. This is illustrated by a story bearing some resemblance to European werewolf tales.

A Hotentot and a Bushwoman travelling saw some hordes. The Bushwoman asked a question, "How can I know her to possess this power. Hair appeared on her neck, her nails became sharp, her features altered, and she bounded off as a lion, the man in turn climbing a tree until she re-appeared in her human form.

The Bushmen believed that sorcerers could assume the form of jackals, etc., and, conversely, that the lion could take human form. Similar beliefs exist among the Negroes of America, carried thence by their forefathers from Africa. In Missouri the Negroes think some cats are devils, i.e., witches in disguise. The Voodoo is credited with the power of changing to a black wolf, dog, cat, owl, or bat at night. To stop this the human or the animal skin must be found and salted. This assumes a real change of skin.

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 aukels—a belief which was probably strengthened by the wizards wearing skins of animals and imitating their howls, etc.

A turnipskin is a legend of a medicine-man who was seized with a span and went on all fours. His nails grew long and sharp, a tail grew on his hind legs, hair covered his body, and he became a wolf. His transformation lasted until the span passed.

A belief similar to that of the Chinese fox superstition exists, as with the Narraganset, and the Tzaxcalans believed in a wer-dog. The Musiquakes 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." Leflat tells of wizards who, having taken the form of birds and been wounded, are found to have identical wounds, while the birds shot are found in their bodies. The Chippewa sorcerer for a fee will turn into an animal and inflict injuries on the person described to him.

In a Chippewa story a boy left by his father in charge of his elder brother and sister is neglected and eats the leavings of wolves. They pity him, and he follows them. One day he hears a child's voice crying, "I am turning into a wolf," followed by a howl. Then he sees the boy taken half turned into a wolf. As he watched, the change became complete, and with the words, "I am a wolf," the werewolf disappeared.

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; and in Guatemala the name of the priests was derived from the fact that they could take animal forms. Yucatan sorcerers could turn into wolves, pigs, etc., and their glance was death to a victim; and in Guatemala the name of the priests was derived from the fact that they could take animal forms. Yucatan sorcerers could turn into wolves, pigs, etc., and their glance was death to a victim; and in Guatemala the name of the priests was derived from the fact that they could take animal forms.

Following the belief into S. America, we find that the Achipone heebot, or priest, was believed to turn himself into an invisible tiger which could not be killed. When the priest had transformed 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 kenuims, 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 up 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 penaimax, or doctor, and killed, but the spirit escapes, so that the kenuims does not die. The animal in which the kenuims usually places his spirit is the jaguar or tiger—the kenuims—a-kina which it puzzles an Indian to kill. A certain small bird is also much feared as a kenuims-bird; this is shot and eaten, and its soul is destroyed, so that there may be one enemy the less. Certain penaimax are thought to have the power of sending their spirits into an animal. The wer-jaguar is believed in by many of the tribes.

A Tucana 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 leapt into the forest. In this case bulls merely abandoned from the wer-animal. In a Paraguay story the man becomes a man-eating jaguar by falling prone, and is re-transformed by revolving 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. In another tale from the Paraguayan Chaco two men who visited a village when the men were absent decapitated when they heard from the woman that they would see the men returned, they said that the visitors were jaguars, who had come to deceive and destroy them, and they had seen the marks

of their clans near the village. They were then pursued and killed.

Among the Melanesians in Banks Islands the nearest analogy to the werewolf is the tulamoaw, 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. In Lepers Island wizards transform themselves into blow-flies and cause sickness to their victims, or into a shark and eat enemies. The Auroras magicians take the form of sharks, owls, and eagles. A story from this island illustrates the belief.

Tarkate devoured 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. Tarkate then went after the toy and punished him.

In the examples quoted it is interesting to note how many ways the change is thought to be brought about. Scandinavian, German, Slavic, French, Chinese, and the Tucuman of S. America— it is by donning an animal skin or girdle (see Gridle), presumably after removing the clothes of the person of whom the soul is supposed to be present in such methods. Eating a dog or root or rubbing the body with a salve or oil is found in ancient Italy, the Netherlands, England, India, Indonesia (where also women infesting 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 effected the change in China, Slavic, Chinese, Indian, Cambodian, and other instances, and no doubt the use of spells accompanied the other means referred to. The power might be given by the devil (Kasayan), or by spells or magic (Amah), 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 natural gift of a seventh son (Flemish), or a gift of the Virgin Mary (Happy Christmas) (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—Arcadians, Koori, Malay, aboriginal tribes in China, etc. of 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, where the animal skin may be separated from the man, there is still a sympathetic relation between it and him. Thus, if it is burned (Flemish, Breton, American, S. American instances), or rubbed with salt or pepper (Senegamb, Celebes, Negroes of America), he suffers terribly and may die, as in the case of the tanabo in Celebes (below, p. 218 f.). On the other hand, this may release him from being a werewolf, as in the case of the men under enchantment who lose their beast nature when the skin is burned. Conversely, the seal 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 activities.

There are various methods of curing or ending the transformation. Burning the skin and wounding have already been mentioned. Another method was for the witch to cover the head of the werewolf with a skin with 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 (Brittany), and in Germany stabbed on the brow three times with a knife or pickfork. 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 reprimanding him were also effective. In one story cited above the wife makes 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.

2. Lycanthropy as a theological doctrine. Throughout the middle ages and especially from the 16th to the 17th centuries, theologians turned their attention to lycanthropy as a branch of sorcery. The general doctrine was that by the help of Satan sorcerers could transform themselves into noxious animals, particularly wolves, for purposes inimical to others. Immemorial theologians expressed these views, and many treatises were written on the subject, while it was also discussed in general works on the basis of sorcery. Of these theologians J. Bodin is one of the best examples; in his De Magorum Novissimis (Frankfort, 1603) he maintains the reality and certainty of the transfiguration. Theological opinion thus coincided with popular superstition, and many of the instances cited as proofs are little better than the popular tales referred to above.

Thus, 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 them. Indeed, the prisoners themselves often maintained their truth, showing that insincerity and hallucination had much to do with the matter (§ 3). The peculiarly heinous aspect of the case 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 lycanthropes should be burned alive. 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. At the beginning of the 16th cent. in Lombardy, during such an epidemic, witches were freely accused of having destroyed infants and enticed to houses to suck the blood of children. Reports of many trials of reputed lycanthropes are still extant, and afford sad evidence of human cruelty.

1 Grimm, pp. 107, 162; de Groot, iv. 157, 170; Thorpe, ii. 188.
2 Thorpe, ii. 189; O. Hovorka and A. Cronfeld, Verzeichniss.
3 Kronenfeld, Stuttgart, 1899-09, i. 650; Hertz, p. 61.
4 See Recueil II. 158.
6 Bourgeois, p. 246.
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In 1531 Pierre Burgot and Michel Verdun were tried by the prior of the Dominicans of Péligny, in the diocese of Besançon. They were accused of sorcery that year, when their cattle had stayed, a black cavalier had brought them together after he had agreed to give himself to his master, the devil. Later Verdun taught him at the Sabbath how to become a werewolf by rubbing himself with a certain ointment. Then he saw himself with the form of a wolf, his body covered with hair, while he was able to run like the wind. Verdun also transformed himself in the same way; the ointment had been obtained from his demon master. In the same year several children sucked their blood, and ate part of their flesh, finding it excellent. A boy said that he had seen relations with wolves. Both men were burned alive at Besançon. In the same year, before the same court, three sorcerers 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 lying and dressed by his wife. These lived in a way resembling the use of an ointment. He had killed and eaten the children, the woman also sharing in the ghastly meal. He was also burned alive.

In Arras in 1598 the wife of a gentleman was burned alive, for having him and her husband to bring him some game. The hunter was attacked by a wolf, and cut off his head. On his return to the chateau he drew the paw from his bag, when it was seen to be the hand of a woman, which he believed was longer than his. The gentleman recognized as his wife. Suspecting her, he went in search of her, and found that she had lost a hand. On her confession she was beheld to be a woman.

In 1533 Henri Boguet, grand judge of the ecclesiastical court of St. Claude (1569-1615), was most active against sorcerers, and, according to Voltaire, became a great part of having put to death more than 400 lycanthropes. His Discours écrivé des sorcières (Lyons, 1602) contains many instances of alleged lycanthropy, with the confessions of those accused. He claimed to see the transformation, whether by rubbing with an ointment or otherwise, some chapters of his work dealing specially with this subject. It is remarkable, also, as showing the fear of the time, that on 3rd Dec. 1573 the Parlement of Franche-Comté gave a ruling for the pursuit of loups-garous.

Towards the end of the 16th cent. Pierre Stumet was executed at Paris, before the diocesan theologian, on his own confession of having lived with a werewolf, who gave him a gridle by which he could turn himself into a wolf, not only in his own sight, but in that of others. He had killed and eaten fifteen children in his wolf form, and had tried to eat two of his daughter-in-law.

The beginning of the 18th century marked by the new epidemics of lycanthropy, and hundreds of executions took place.

In 1656 Jean Grenier, a boy of 14, alleged before the judges of Besançon that he had seen his demon master as a demonical sign, and that he had eaten some children. He also accused his father of being a werewolf and possessing a woman's body, and another man, Pierre Thielle, of having his skin and ointment. The conduct of the boy in court showed that he was insane, and he was placed in an insane asylum. Nevertheless the charge was continued against the men. The youth was visited by his demon, who had died in 1653, who found that he could run on all fours with ease, and that his method of eating was astonishing. He still persisted in his delusion of being a werewolf.

In 1604 at Lussanne five persons were burned as werewolves. A peasant of Cressy had cured his wolf and, as a result, five sorceresses in the form of wolves had carried him off to the devil, who had sucked his blood. The sorceresses then cut him up, boiled him in a cauldron, and made an ointment of his flesh.

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 world business is that some of the writers on the subject show the most extraordinary credulity regarding the cases. Pierre Marmoria, in De Sortilegiosis, maintained that he had seen the change of men into wolves in Savoy. Bourdin, procurer general of the King, assured Bodin that there had been sent to him from Belgium the proofs, signed by judge and witnesses, regarding a wolf shot in the thigh with an arrow. Soon the town was given in a chide by 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. 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. 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.

Others, however, thought that the devil wrought by fantasy or by means of unguents on the man or on the onlookers, so that they imagined that he was a man or woman was an animal, while he or she was similarly deluded. 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. This is akin to the theory of St. Augustine, who refuted the King, that the demons could actually change man's corporal substance. In sleep or trance the man's 'fanstasm' went from him and might appear to others in corporal animal form, while in an unconscious man himself might then indeed appear that he was in such a form and acting in accordance. The effect of such drugs as stramonium caused hallucinations of riding through the air in the 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 to be animals. Such a drug might occasionally be responsible for lycanthropic hallucination. Still others moved, 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, the expression of a disordered mental condition in which the patient imagined himself to be an animal—a form of melancholy with delirium—was clearly recognized by some. The popular belief in werewolves was not rejected by scientific writers in antiquity. Herodotus (iv. 104) would not be persuaded of the alleged transformation of the Neurians. Pausanias, admitting the transformation of Lycaon as a divine punishment, refused to believe in the recurrent transformations in Arcadia. Pliny (HN viii. 34) was equally incredulous. Medical writers regarded lycanthropy as a mental derangement.

Marcellus of Sisium wrote a poem in which he treats lycanthropy in this fashion. The poem has survived, but a prose version, abridged, by Ætius exists.

1 Bodin, p. 257.
2 ib. p. 255.
3 J. de Saulni, De la Lycanthropie, ch. i.; De Spina, ii. 504, 581; & J. de Corvisart, De Lycanthropie, fascimile.
4 J. de Sébastiat, De la Lycanthropie, Basal, 1656, 1657.
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According to Marcellus, those afflicted by the lupine or canine madness go out at night in February, imitating wolves or dogs, and lurk among tombs. He gives the signs by which they may be known, and was imitated, in a thing or two, etc. He also gives several remedies for this disease, which like wolves and other beasts, the mind changes into a thing or two, and is cured similarly transformed. A boy was burned in Astagumalgand because he confessed that he had changed into a wolf and murdered two men—a case not unlike that of the Spanish werewolf, a century later. Some men of the Gaba hill tribes are afflicted with a temporary delusion, which is said to drive them to imitation of tiger and shun society. This is known among these tribes as transmutation into a tiger, in which they are cured by the application of a medicine to the forehead. Those who thus suffer do not know what has happened when they return to their senses. Certain demotics and those who believe to be possessed by the tiger-spirit, and fall off a tree and believe it alive. In the Malay Peninsula so real is the belief in the wer-tiger that boys play a game based on the belief. In this case boys are hypnotized, and the others run off, imitating cries of feet. Then they rise, pursue, screech, and bite anyone whom they catch, or climb trees in his assumed character. One who finds them in his house makes his way to the window, and calling out his real name (cf. the European werewolf instances parallel to this)—probably because this was pre-suggested to him. He is supposed to be temporarily possessed for the sake of the show, but it is obvious that this is on a par with actual cases of insanity, and that the boy might equally have been himself a tiger. The game is also played in Syria and Jodh, where other animals are also imitated. Among the Dayaks men who eat forbidden flesh are liable to penalties. They will run about the woods naked, imitating a tiger, if they have eaten deer's flesh. In Amman an hind has been seen to ask something from the tiger-god pray is to incarnate itself in him. It falls on all four paws, eats raw meat, and has no teeth the vessel which contains it. When he is calmed down, he is rubbed with alcohol so that he may come to himself.

Most of these cases from low lands 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 the general shape-shifting belief is very strong, insanity may, 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 and the actual transformation of the devil over men defied by him was generally too strong to allow of the truth of the matter being understood. Nevertheless, some alleged werewolves were clearly seen to be lunatics and treated as such. The case of Jacques Boclet, arrested as a werewolf at Condé in 1586, is an example. Two wolves were seen devouring a child's body, while a third ran out and attacked Jacques. A man of wild appearance was found, who claimed to be the wolf and maintained that the two wolves were his family 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 was impossible that he had not been the child and that he had committed the murder. In court, and that his gory meal was interrupted by wolves. He was sentenced to death, but the Parlement of Paris annulled the sentence and sent him home. Jacques, under orders from the demon who had possessed him, obtained his release. In a third case, in Paris in 1541, a man maintained that he was a wolf and had maeve several persons, and that he differed 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. Gurney, who conducted an inquiry into cases, found that there is a state of mental disorder that imitated a serpent, and were called "lupus lupus".

6. cf. Sleek, p. 256."
7. FZ. xvi. 226; Legardo, I. 296.
10. A. J. Lenerczyk, Souvenirs de magie, Strasbourg, 1856, p. 120; cf. the case of Barona transformation and flight, § 4. It may be based on dream experiences and hallucinations, as this obviously was.
It is obvious that in facts like these lies one explanation of the origin of the belief in lycan-thropy. For men are naturally prone to believe that they engage in the same actions as animals, especially that of the werewolf. And, where the people believed in the possibility of such transformation, it was easy for them to think that such persons, when acting in imitating the actions of an animal, were really in that animal's shape. Examples of this hallucination have already been given from among the Abipones and the Abisayans. The frightful prevalence of this mania during the later Middle Ages and in the 18th and 19th centuries may be explained by the miserable conditions under which thousands of the peasantry lived, constantly on the verge of starvation, by their pre-conceived ideas, and by the terror to which so many were reduced by the widespread demonology, with its sinister shapes of fear and horror as well as its power to transform itself. Therefore, the raving of the insane was also called lycanthropy due to its sexual sensuality. Nor is it impossible that half-insane persons, suffering constantly from hunger, may have killed and eaten human victims, whether on a belief that the delusion of having been wolves or not. Necrophagy is not uncommon in the annals of mental science, and no crime was more commonly attributed both to werewolves and to witches at the same time. It is also alleged by them, than the eating of human flesh. This crime was doubtless largely hallucinatory, but it may have had a foundation in fact. Such persons may have actually seen persons, with whom a belief in order to terrify their victims more completely. Among savages, sorcerers and medicine-men have traded on the existing delusion of delusion, and have claimed the power to transform, as many of the above instances show. This is the case with Abipone sorcerers, and another instance is found among the Chipewas and other American Indian tribes, with whom sorcerers dress in the skin of some animal, and imitate its howls and gestures, until the spectators believe in the reality of the transformation. Nicaraguan sorcerers were much feared for their supposed power of animating dead and transformed forms. To strengthen this belief they disguised themselves in the skins of animals. In such cases, where an exact imitation of the animal's howls or movements was gone through, credibility would aid the deception, and, as the sorcerer pulled off the skin, he would be thought to have resumed his human form. Medieval and later sorcerers doubtless also exploited the current delusion in these and other ways. This would account for such cases of the change being witnessed as have already been cited.

The constant recurring idea that the animal change is for a certain period, so many days or years, and the statement that the person knows when the change is about to come, are also strongly suggestive of periodical or recurrent attacks of insanity. In several of the above instances, where the change occurs through the dressing of an animal's skin, there may be a trace of the fact that incantations performed with lycanthropy delusions did actually heighten the delusion by wearing a skin, as perhaps in the case of the hougan. In the Irish instance mentioned by Giraldus, the human body is visible underneath the skin. As far as the popular belief is concerned, the leather was never removed: the clothing was first removed. This may point to what actually occurred before the animal skin was put on. But it may be the relic of an older belief that the human skin was first removed; cf. the Voodoo instance (above, § 1, p. 219).

Perhaps the werewolf belief was also added by such phenomena as in the 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 areas, there have been instances from time to time in similar districts in Europe. This would in part explain the numerous folk-stories about children sucked by animals—e.g., that of Romulus and Remus. The cases are of the kind described by Robert. Browning. When, 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 reanimated corpse, which rises from the grave to prey on the living, the reason for the reanimation 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. Klaig John I, who was called the werewolf, was said to have been burnt after his death, on the evidence of a monk of Worcester. 4 In Normandy within the last century priests watched at the grave to be sure of the good conduct of the deceased. If they saw that some lost person was about to become a werewolf, they cut off his head and threw it into the river. 5 A ghost may also appear as a wolf, like the wolf of Anspach in 1684, which was the ghost of a dead Burgundian. 6 This corresponds to the Malay 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. 7 Similar beliefs have already been noted among the Slavs, Benua, Chinese, natives of British Central Africa, Rhodesians, etc. (§ 1). In New Zealand lizards were feared because of the souls whose death—rites had been incompletely performed and enter such creatures. They then gnawed the entrails of living men. 8

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2 Hack Taylor, op. cit.
3 Of the horrible accounts of orgies at the Sabbath in documents of the period.
4 Of the Galician case of 1439 cited by Boring-Gold, p. 286.
5 Of the horrible accounts of orgies at the Sabbath in documents of the period.
6 Of theGalician case of 1439 cited by Boring-Gold, p. 286.
7 Of the Galician case of 1439 cited by Boring-Gold, p. 286.
8 Of the Galician case of 1439 cited by Boring-Gold, p. 286.
9 Of the Galician case of 1439 cited by Boring-Gold, p. 286.
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spirits of all kinds frequently take animal forms and act as the werewolf or vampire. Thus the French lubin was a spirit in the form of a wolf, which haunted churchyards to prey on the dead, like the Arabian ghul, which takes the form of mankind; or the entomah in Ethiopia, the lives of 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, jackals, etc.5

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.6 Among the Bororo-speaking tribes of Brazil, New Guinean 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 absorbs the heat and part of the fragment. The idea is that where the victim passes, and attacks him because it recognizes the smell of the fragment on him. More magical is the method of the Barujsi Bay sends a 'sending' to another whose body causes death. It leads a separate life from her after her death, or may pass to her daughter. At Gelaria this 'sending' is called labumi, and resembles a baby that leaves the mother's body when she is asleep, and causes disease by inserting bone or stone in the victim. Should any one see it, it turns into an animal, and then again takes its human form. At Collingwood Bay the 'sending' is called furum, and is like a limbless old woman. It turns to a mosquito and sucks the victim's blood, resuming human form at dawn.7 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. Here also and in the New Hebrides the mok, or sea-snake, acts as the familiar spirit of those who profess to have had intercourse with it. Among the Malays and in Java, New Guinea, etc., and even hares and deer are used as 'sendings.' Among the Yoruba sorcerers use the owl as a 'sending,' and, should it be caught by the person whom it is intended to deceive, it will rattle its claws and wings broken, a similar injury is done to the sorcerer's limbs. In the Cameroons 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-tribesmen. Matabele 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 spears to kill or wound.9 In Calabar each wizard has two owl messengers, or sends forth insects—singing ants, beetles, etc.—into the house where he is to find his victim. Then he sends his ikim—a gourd—to examine the house. Insects and ikim report whether there is any dangerous juju, or medicine, in it.10

Bavili 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.11 In British Central Africa wizards can create lions, or sometimes inspire existing lions, to go forth and destroy.12 Among the Bondi 'dols' of Indian corn are animated by the sorcerer, and go forth to seek the blood of a victim, who turns sick and dies.13 Zulu wizards send out owls and other animals, and beasts and crocodiles, to injure their victims. These are called their amanuus, 'attendants.'14 The Eskimo angakok sends a tulukal—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.15 A Siberian shaman will send out a ye-keela, or witch-animal, to fight that of another shaman. The shaman whose ye-keela is worsted shares its fate. Lapland wizards send flies and darts against their enemies, and also a kind of fish, which, if it is let loose near the victim, will attack him as well as to any one who came in its way.16 Witch-doctors among the Paraguay Indians send forth witch-beetles to enter their victims, and these beetles cause a local swelling.7 Among the Tarahumara Indians sorcerers cause snakes, scorpions, toads, and centipedes to eat a man's heart so that he dies.17 The Tawan explain sickness and evil as the work of a witch-doctor by a sorcerer to eat away the patient's life.18 In ancient Scandinavia it was believed that sorcerers could raise up a ghost or a corpse by their magic power and send it to do harm to an enemy.19 The Indian, Bengali, and Japanese examples of the animal familiar, cited above (§ 1), should also be noted.

Danish witches were believed to make a hole out of some wooden pegs and an old stocking, and send it to steal milk from cattle.20 The Estonians believed in magic packets made by wizards and sent forth to do all kinds of mischief—e.g., to transform the victim.21 All sorts of animals had the power, by singing spells over a wisps of straw and singing in the victim's face, to cause him to become mad, and all madness was attributed to such songs.22 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 inside, lambuyo, can go forth from him as a deer, pig, cat, ape, etc., while he is asleep at home. The lambuyo then assumes human form (this resembles the New Guinea labuums). Its victim is first made unconscious; then in animal form the lambuyo cuts him up, eats the liver, and joins the body together again. Soon after the victim wakes,

1 MacGregor, p. 224.
4 G. Dale, FL XXIV. (1936) 722.
5 H. Callaway, Religious System of the Amanus, Nias, 1885, p. 248; FL XX. 115.
9 LeCointe, p. 535.
11 Vignettes-Powell, Introd. to IV, Ivi; FL X. 460.
12 Thorpe, II, 112; FL X. 460.
he dies. Elsewhere in Celebes a man is thought to have three souls. One of these, the lonoana, leaves him in the death-bed. The desire for death, but, if it is long away or is fatally hurt, the owner dies.

A wer-man in human shape arranged for a sacrifice with a woman. Her husband overheard, and followed the wer-man, who was more than usually at work. He struck the lamboyo gorbomma, which turned to a leaf. This he thrust into his own breast, then into a box. Then, calling it to the place where the man was at work, he placed it on the fire. The owner beggim him not to do this. But he still kept it in the fire, where it instantly fell dead.

In some cases this power of sending forth the soul is a natural gift, in others it is the result of contagion from another wer-man, or from anything with which he has been in contact. This contagion can be made to leave such a person in the form of snakes or worms by means of severe medical treatment. The wer-man is known by his long tongue, the nasty eyes, which are of a green colour. A wer-man, when discovered, is punished by death. In these instances the spirit is but little different from the 'sending' or familiar spirit. In some cases, however, it is thought that there is an actual bodily transformation, and here, if the animal is wounded, the man who has thus changed his form is similarly hurt when discovered, or when the owner of the animal, the wolf, sends out her soul as a cat, herself remaining insensible. Should it be injured in any way, she bears a similar wound. This likeness may be further extended to the kindred phenomena of the bush-soul and the nagual, both of which bear some resemblance to the 'sending' and to the lamboyo or tonoono. In Calabar the bush-soul is one of four souls possessed by every man. It lives in a pig, leopard, etc., unseen by its owner, but it must not be neglected by him, else the owner turns sick. Then the witch-doctor advises that an offering be made to it. If this appeases it, all is well. If not, the man dies. The witch-doctor can tell the man what sort of animal encloses his bush-soul. He then takes care that neither he nor any one else harms it, for, if it is shot or trapped, the man dies; vice versa, when the man dies, the bush-soul also dies. Another observer, J. K. Maegregor, writes that the death of the bush-soul merely causes weakness to its owner. But it is possible for a man to purchase an extra bush-soul from a witch-doctor who is stronger than the other, and can be used for purposes of offence. He may command it to go and kill goats, if he surrounds it with a fang-faira, if it is the hoppopotamus. If this soul dies, the owner also dies. The owner of a bush-soul can transform himself into the animal in which his bush-soul is held to have a koruus which enters him at birth, and another, its counterpart, which enters an animal. The desire for death, but, if it is long away or is fatally hurt, the owner dies.

A wer-man in human shape arranged for a sacrifice with a woman. Her husband overheard, and followed the wer-man, who was more than usually at work. He struck the lamboyo gorbomma, which turned to a leaf. This he thrust into his own breast, then into a box. Then, calling it to the place where the man was at work, he placed it on the fire. The owner beggim him not to do this. But he still kept it in the fire, where it instantly fell dead.

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LYING

again before becoming a member of the wool-society, he has exchanged souls with a wolf, so that both man and wolf are werewolves, or that there is anything here akin to the bush-soul.1 Nor again is it clear, as N. W. Thomas maintains,2 that lycanthropy is conceived as a mixture rather than with transformation, that the wer-animal was originally the familiar of the medicine-man. The comparatively few instances of the spirit going forth to the wolf suggest that we are here on the track of a different if analogous superstition 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 if it is his messenger, which the werewolf does not seem to be.

There may, however, be a connecting link if we regard the phenomena of lycanthropy as based on the hallucinatory dreams of insane persons, preoccupied with ideas of transformation. Where an animal-sent is supposed to send forth his spirit either in its own shape or in that of an animal, while he remains quiet in the room, this may also be suggested by a hallucinatory dream. It seems better, therefore, to regard lycanthropy with its bodily transformation as distinct from the transformation of the outgoing spirit, and also from the ‘sending,’ messenger, or familiar. They are analogous beliefs, to which similar concepts—such as lycanthropy—have attached themselves. But they are in origin different. In the same way, though there is much in the fairy, demon, or witch superstitions which is common to all these, that which is really distinct in origin.

6. Conclusion.—The wide diffusion of the werewolf superstition forms an excellent example of a universal belief being worked up into a superstition by bearing a different 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 AUSTRITIES). In certain cases—for example, that of the Norse bererks—the insane fit was heightened by the wearing of animal skins; or, in others, totally different, in later stages, may have helped the form of the superstition, as in the Arcadian and some Irish Celtic examples.


LYING.—The English word ‘lie’ with its congeners and derivatives represents a concept which, if hard to define, is yet unique and irreplaceable into any other. While it cannot be claimed either (cf. LIEU) by those agreed as to what precisely constitutes a lie orlying, it is obvious that anything like the same ethical significance has at all times and in all communities been attached to the practice generally understood to be denoted by the Teutonic word. Lying was commonly regarded as ‘falsehood’ in other languages, yet in English at any rate this term, and in a somewhat less degree any word or phrase which is thought to be merely a covert alternative for it, is viewed as, by those to whom it is applied, as conveying a reproach, or at least an opinion, generically different from the idea of mere untruth. It would probably be conceded that nowhere has the antithesis to lying 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, Greco-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 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 or all of 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 true. And we cannot doubt that the tribesman who had the skill, and the heart, on occasion to do this undetected was held in different esteem from the man who could not, or would not, as he had, in higher or in lower esteem, we cannot in the absence of adequate evidence be sure; 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 Hebrew. Although the Decalogue contains no precept, Thou shalt not lie, the prohibition of false witness reproduces the most frequent and injurious form of lying. Prophets and moralists enlarged the prohibition. The足以 of the Lord crieth unto the city; says Mirra (60), 'a righteous man hateth lying.' (13); "Especially guilty are 'false prophets' who in the name of the Lord 'prophecy lies . . . a lying vision . . . a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart. (Jer 14:14; cf. Zec 13:14)

(3) Graeco-Latin.—Meanwhile early Hellenic sentiment viewed lying without horror; virtually, as craft, it had in Hermes a patron-god. Persuery, however, was deemed pernicious, incurring the wrath of Zeus. Subsequently, as witness the gnomic poets, civic morality coupled veracity with justice as laudable (cf. Plato, Rep. i, 351 B); and Sophocles proclaimed the ugliness of falsehood:

Honestos (εισήγαγω) ῥαβδόν τήν ζωήν, ταύτην τον παύσαν, τον ἐν κεφαλήν αὖτις, ἀλλὰ τον ἀπόθεμαν, τὸν μὲν οὖν τάμετα μετέχειν, τὸ δὲ παράκρημα μετετέσσαραν. Τάναξτον τοῖς ἔνδυε. (Rep. i, 352 B)
of the commonwealth,' and in his latest work (Laws, 720 H.) he talks truth as 'foremost of all good things'; for the truthful man is 'trustworthy, whereas he who loves wily falsehood is untrustworthy,' he who loves involuntary falsehood is foolish;' Aristotle (Eth. N. iv. 7. 6) seems 'lying' (πρακτική) essentially 'mena (πρακτική) and banefulness.' The 'truth-lover' (πρακτικής) stands in notable contrast with him who rejoices in the wily (πρακτικής) a type of character distinct from him who lies for the sake of gain or glory (ib. § 12). In Stocicism the viciousness of falsehood, although not expressly affirmed, is tacitly assumed exactly as ideal good is in effect defined by Seneca (Ep. lxvi. 6) as 'a mind set on truth.' To the constant Stoic acceptance of unverified opinion as a substitute for truth or real knowledge would be equivalent to inextremity. Moreover, Greek philosophy had energetically disencumbered the art of lying, and, when Latinized, had found an ally in old-fashioned Roman prejudice against wilful untruth.

(4) Doctrine of the NT endorsed and deepened the injunctions of Jewish theology and Gentile ethics. 'Lie not one to another,' writes St. Paul to the Colossians (Col. 3:9). To the Jew a lie is a sin; hence the need for the new and characteristically Christian reason that 'we are members one of another' (Eph. 4:25). And with this Pauline notion the warnings of the Apocalypse are in accord. Into the latter any 'false sayings' may enter (Rev. 2:10); not to mention there's 'every one that loveth and maketh a lie' (2 Thess. 2:11), where nothing is lost to the ethics of truth if by 'lie' be meant idol or concern, to say that falsely, or the typical lie—idolatrous falsifying man's conception of the divine attributes and therewith the standard of truth. In the Synoptic Gospels 'hypocrisy' (Mt 23:24, Lk 12:57) is the lie, simply 'lying' (πρακτικής), of which 'the devil' (John 8:44) is first cause. Thus for Christianity the spirit of lying is opposed to the spirit of truth as darkness is to light. It is antithetical to God and incompatible with fellowship in the Church of Christ. AND this abhorrence of lying as deadly sin, though too often grievously violated in nominal Christianity, has endured throughout the centuries, permeating our finest literature, and is reflected in the life and conduct of many a plain, honest man.

2. Philosophical theories.—Theology and custom, moral philosophy, different schools condemn lying on different grounds; the intuitionist as intrinsically repugnant to 'right reason' or 'moral sense' or 'conscience'; the empiricist or positivist 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 arguable 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—there is no guarantee that truth-seeking will bring either to the individual or to the community a surplus of pleasure, or that moral 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 calculation is not the ground of approval of it; an hypothesis of it is not the same thing as having a lie for its own sake. It is this that would seem to be ethically the point of main consequence, distinguishing 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 better 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 constitutions of lying.

3. 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 wilfully. The ideal good in this effect defined by Seneca (Ep. lxvi. 6) as 'a mind set on truth.' To the constant Stoic acceptance of unverified opinion as a substitute for truth or real knowledge would be equivalent to infameity.

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MA'ARRI

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viected of error, take no shame to themselves. They 'thought' it was so. To Plato such untruth 'thought', or 'lie in the soul', appeared more manifestly evil than any spoken lie; and, though Christianity, supposing, emphasized the distinction between wilful sin and involuntary error, there is nothing in the NT to justify, and the Johannine writings abundantly disown, the 'modern' view of this, which indeed rests upon nothing better than the assumption that the reader is entitled to ignore truth, if not to pervert it. In practice the former habit leads on to the latter. Having once entertained and echoed some untruthful allegation, a man will often shut his ears to all disproof and pervert other facts in support of it. Again, if 'lying' proper implies some kind of utterance, the wilder concept of 'falsehood' includes (a) self-deception, and (b) the muttered lie cherished in the heart and potent to vitiate judgments whether of fact or of value. The dishonest-minded man frequently propagates untruth without any formal or positive lying. If he thus at technical grounds escapes being designated a liar, he yet comes within Aristotle's description of the 'man who delights in falsehood as such.' Doublesense this permanent disposition is required only through repeated indulgence in lying for the sake of particular gain. If it is seldom attained, an intermediate stage is very frequent. Many men and women rarely tell the truth, regarding it as something too precious to give away.'

The relation of inveracity to 'that most excellent of all virtuous principles, the active principle of benevolence,' emerges in Butler's 'Dissertation of the Nature of Virtue.' Linking falsehood and violence, Butler holds that 'veracity, as well as justice is to be our rule of life'; by these our benevolence must be conditioned.

Of the view which condemns lying as violation of a man's duty to himself, the typical exponent is Kant, who stigmatizes a lie as 'an annihilation of the dignity of man,' and deplores argument from the injury done by the liar to others as confounding 'the duty of truth with the duty of beneficence' (Culd., ii. 284). On the other hand, the best English moralists of the past century, notably Sidgwick and Martineau, take a wider view at the same time a more discriminating view of the nature and harmfulness of falsehood.

LITERATURE— In addition to the authorities quoted in the art. see H. Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, London, 1874, ch. vii. (from the utilitarian standpoint), bk. iv, ch. iii. (from the utilitarian standpoint); J. Martineau, Types of Ethical Theory, Oxford, 1886, section on 'Veracity' (pp. ii. bk 6, § 12); J. H. Greece, Prolonged Discourses, 2 vols., 1883, p. 341; J. S. Mackenzie, Manual of Ethics, London, 1897, pp. 186, 187; H. Rashdall, Theory of Good and Evil, Oxford, 1907, i. 190, 192-196. For the attitude of non-Christian peoples towards lying see MA., ch. xxiv. 1.

J. M. SCHULFOB.

M

MA'ARRI—

1. Life.—Abūl' Alah Ahmad Ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Sulaiman al-Ma'arrī, the celebrated Moses of Moslem and man of letters, was born in A.D. 973 at Ma'arrū (Ma'arrū al-Nasir), a prosperous town about 20 miles south of Aleppo. At an early age he became almost completely blind in consequence of an attack of smallpox, but so extraordinary was his memory that this misfortune did not seriously interfere with the literary studies to which he afterwards devoted himself. He would write at first that he intended to make poetry his profession. The poems, written while blind or by dictation, were often immense, and may well have tempted an amateur prodigy; the masterpieces in the art of writing verse were often limited, and may well have tempted an amateur to copy them. The copies of the first Ma'arrū, the 'Poems of the Poets,' were not written for hire. Probably this is true in the sense that he soon abandoned a career which, lucrative as it might be, was entailed dependence on the proceeds of a small factory of scrivener, and was destructive of every feeling of self-respect. From the age of 20 to 35 he remained at Ma'arrū, a poor and comparatively unknown scholar, supported by small annual pensions paid from a trust fund. During this time he composed the greater part of the collection of poems entitled 'The Assemblies of the Prophets' (Sawā'ir from the Prophet), in which the influence of Mutanabbi is apparent. With the object of seeking a wider field for his talents, he left Ma'arrū in A.D. 1083 and journeyed to Baghdad. There he was well received by the learned men; but, instead of settling there, he went to Syria and took the pilgrimage to Mecca. He died in or about 1095, and was buried at Damascus.
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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.

'Society compels me to play the hypocrite' (i. 120. 4), 'I raise my voice to pronounce absurdities, but I only do so for the sake of the Devil' (i. 20. 19). One can't help thinking often from the friend at thy side' (i. 272. 1).

His opinions were of a sort that could not be communicated without risk, and this fact, together with his caution and necessity, which he disliked (cf. i. 34. 2), is the source of many superficial contradictions in his writings. The suggestion that his ideas were dictated and controlled by the complex form of rhyme which he uses throughout the Lusummiyyat is inadequate as a general explanation of the facts, although it may cover part of them. 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'arrī adopted certain ascetic practices and held certain religious and moral beliefs, his genius was essentially critical, sceptical, more apt to destroy than to construct. He could think for himself, but lacked the common sense to combine his speculations. Unable to find rest in any religious or philosophical system, he fell into a fatalistic pessimism tempered, as not seldom happens in such cases, by a mellowing of benevolence. He claims to unfold to his readers the secret thoughts of mankind (i. 260. 15), and it is true that his poems reveal the innermost spirit of contemporary Muslim 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 the problems of life. For the sake of convenience the subject may be classified under a few general heads.

(a) Scepticism. — In several passages of the Lusummiyyat Ma'arrī 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. 268. 13).

'In all thy affairs thou art satisfied with blind conformity, even when thou sayest, “God is One”' (i. 292. 2).

He disapproves of conformity (taqallud), not because it 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’ (i. 403. 15); cf. the celebrated verse (i. 263. 7 ff.): The Muslims are mistaken and the Christians are on the wrong road. And the Jews are all astray and the Moslems are in error. I mankind fall into two classes — 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, i. 195. 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, 195. 3, 404. 2, 409. 9). All of them are tainted with falsehood; no community possesses the truth (Ass. iv. 177. 10). Ma'arrī does not shrink from applying this principle to Islam, though here, as has been remarked above, he speaks with two voices and there are positive statements of disbelief. In the case of other religions bias is restrained; thus, referring to the Crucifixion, he says (i. 409. 7 ff.):

'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 defeated Him? He disbelieves in miracles (i. 252. 11), anguish
While castigating his neighbours and contemporaries, Ma'arri does not spare himself (i. 48. 7). Hatred intensifies to the future:

If this age is bad, the next will be worse yet (i. 171. 17).

(c) Asceticism. He earnestly desired to withdraw from a society of knaves and hypocrites and a world of bitter envy. "Our evil deed does not know what gave it its bitterness, nor honey why it is sweet. Ye ask me, and I have no power to show you: say any one who pretends to know is a liar" (i. 103. 6).

All his metaphysical speculations close on the note of asceticism:

"Some men assert that nothing really exists, but have they proved that there is neither misery nor happiness? We oppose them in this controversy, and God knows which of us is nearer to the truth" (ii. 381. i).

As regards the question of a future life, he admits that the soul may perhaps be immortal (ii. 171. 7). No one can tell whether it goes (i. 220. 7, 248. 6). It is a subtle thing, and, although it is confined in the body, the intellect cannot perceive it: "Will I be conscious of what befalls it hereafter?" (i. 211. 6). If mind accompanies it, it may have memory of its life in this world (i. 140. 6). The doctrine of metempsychosis is not corroborated by reason (ii. 99. 9 ff.). In other passages, however, he alludes to an infinite cycle of dissolution and re-composition, of death and re-birth, as the destiny of all living beings (i. 169. 13 ff.).

(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. 4 ff.). Reason, he says, assures him of the existence of an eternal Creator (i. 249. 9), whom he seems to have identified with an omnipotent, all-encompassing Fate. Whether his idea of God is truly expressed by the orthodox phrase, which it 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, 338. 15).

Ma'arri depicts the universal misery and wretchedness of mankind in terms that no satirist has surpassed. The world is a sea of raging passions which drive us to and fro until we are engulfed (i. 49. 6); it is like a caress, and we are the dogs barking around it (i. 224. 9).

"If you wish to be kind to your sons, leave them in your love" (i. 297. last line).

Children are burdens (i. 286. 12), and a man's son is his worst foe (i. 409. 2; cf. i. 43. 3 ff.). Fathers abuse and provide burdens for their daughters, but should warn their sons not to marry (i. 216. 10). Ma'arri describes the universal misery and wretchedness of mankind in terms that no satirist has surpassed. The world is a sea of raging passions which drive us to and fro until we are engulfed (i. 49. 6); it is like a caress, and we are the dogs barking around it (i. 224. 9).

"When you come back to realities, every human being is wretched" (i. 20. 7).

He repeats again and again that human nature is radically evil (i. 50. 8, 94. 3, 333. 11, 403. 5).

"Better is the best of them as a rock which commits no wrong and tells no lies" (i. 280. 13).

"He is come hither not, but evil and weaknesses for a long time (i. 270. 11 ff.). The proportion of good in the world is exceedingly small (i. 315. 3). Fate, not free will, is the cause of man's wickedness, and the crown cannot change its colour (i. 311. 6 ff.).

Do not seek to reform a world whose righteousness God never made and which is not, but the next will be yet worse. It follows that no human actions incur blame or deserve praise, and the poet says in one place (i. 79. 19 ff.) that only religious scruples prevented him from accepting this doctrine. Elsewhere he denies that men sin under compulsion (i. 324. 8, ii. 254. 3).

They are unjust to each other, but the Creator of injustice is certainly just" (i. 256. 6).
MACEDONIANISM. — I. Introduction. — In the closing years of the 5th and the first half of the 6th cent. the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians were regarded as the most important heretical groups deriving from the Arius controversy. Three laws of Theodotius, dating from A.D. 383 and 384 (Cod. Theod. Xvi. 11-13), are in the main directed against them, and the latest of these three laws contain the following objections: 'inter sacra religionis officia su proribus et suorum famosis nomina.' About three years afterwards Jerome (in Ep. 253) said: 'Dum quidem Gregorius, ille arius, in libro De Christiano, deus est, sum, sum et non sum, iterum et iterum, et non iterum.' As far down as 460, Nestorius (Liber Heracleidus, Tr. P. Nau, Paris, 1910, p. 145) linked together the names of Arius, Macedonians, and Eunomians in a similar way. Didymus of Alexandria, in his De Trinitate — a work which is not 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, and sometimes conjoins (II. 11 [PG xxxix. 661 B], ii. 12 [687 B and 688 B], as the most outstanding adversaries of orthodoxy. Augustine (c. 423) brings them before us as the non-Christs of the East (De Unit. cc. i. 6 [PL xxii. 395]; in 415 Jerome describes them in similar terms (Ep. cxxxvii., 'ad Constanctianum'). In 371 [Vall. i. 2, p. 1040 B = PL xxxii. 1159]) and Socrates places them in the heretical sects of his time (HE I. vi. 41, 15, 1, 1). As regards the heresy του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, του Εσκαρχον, το The formation of the Macedonians, however, the position is less favourable. It will therefore be advisable, first of all, to determine the characteristic 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 439. — As sources for inquiry we have, besides the historians of the 5th cent., the following works: (a) the De Trinitate of Didymus mentioned above (PG xxxix. 260-292); (b) the third of the five pseudo-Albanian dialogues, De Trinitate (ib. xxviii. 1201-1239: Αποκλιμήνας τεν ετος των αδρανοντων του Περιπαθητων Μακεδόνων διπλροτικά τεν Αρβανίτου); (c) the two pseudo-Albanian Dialogi contra Macedonians (PG xxviii. 1281-1300, and 1330-1338); and (d) the fragmentarily preserved Sermone Anarianum, printed in Migne (PL xiii. 593-630) from A. Mai's edicto princeps (Veterum scriptorum monasticarum collection, Romae 1825-28, ii. 206 ff.). Of these four sources, the Sermone Anarianum, which seem to have been composed c. 400, or some years later, in the Latin-speaking portion of the Balkan Peninsula, are of little service to us; they are, however, the only source for the life of Didymus, and the two sets of dialogues enumerated above, the present writer, in a recent paper (Zwei macedonische Dialoge, in Stiirzhebergher's Abstract der Rhenischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1897, 40-43, xxl. 1897 471-485, xxviii. 1898 489-492), D. S. Margoliouth, 'The C's Correspondence on Vegetarianism,' J.R.A.S. 1895, pp. 228-232; R. A. Nicholson, J. Liberty of the Arabs, London, 1867, pp. 315-316, H. Baerstein, Thesaurus Abii-I Professor, 1870, i. 4. The work of Abi-I, the Syrian, do. 1914; C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Weimar and Berlin, 1895-1903, i. 541.

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Macedonianism and His prophecy show (frag. 32, 12. 12-33, Dial. c. Maced. i. 4 [p. 1239 C, D]; frag. 12, Dial. de Trin. ii. vi. 18 [p. 545 B, C]; frag. 22, ib. ii. x. [p. 641 B]).

In the interpretation of the late Macedonian tradition, which the Macedonians distinguished between the Πρέσβιτος Αυγορος and the spiritual power of God inseparable from God Himself (Dial. de Trin. iii. 23 [p. 1220 A]), Maced. i. 6 [p. 1238 B, C]; cf. Dial. de Spiritu Sancto, xxii. [PG xxxix. 1035 A]).

As regards the Christology of the Macedonians, we have, as far as can be gathered, 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:

"Macedonianum pos habe causas (heath br, unhep, a lacuna in what precedes) corrigitur as et dicunt: Filium similum per omnia et in omnibus Deus Patris esse dicimus; hic autem dicimus esse differendum inter humum naturam et inter humum non naturam, non communiam, quia non plures idem etiam inter Deum nos naturam dicimus; quaeque hanc, quaeque virtutis Sorophanes, principem coenon, scriptis" (PL xii. 616 B, C).

Is it only the words here italicized that are ascribed to Soriphanes, or are we to regard the whole statement, i.e. also the affirmation of the doctrine Ἰησοῦς κατὰ φύσιν (and therefore κατὰ οἰκονομίαν), as a formulation due to him or some other Macedonian? Be this as it may, the present writer has now—formerly he advocated a different view (cf. PREB xii. 47)—no doubt that the sect of the Macedonians (and it is of the sect only that we are meanwhile speaking) was not a distinct, not a Homoean, in their mode of thought. This is, in fact, distinctly stated—even if we leave out of account the passage just quoted from the Sermones Arianorum Didymus de Trin. iii. xxxiv. [p. 437 A]: Ἰησοῦς κατὰ φύσιν καὶ κατὰ οἰκονομίαν ἔχει, by the author of the Dial. de Trin. iii. 11 (p. 1234 C): ἤσαί [cf Macedoniana... , οὐ οἰκονομίαν λέγεις καί οὐ χρυσαπάσιν], and by the writer of the Dial. c. Arian. i. xiv. [p. 1235 B]; and there are good grounds (cf. Loofs, 'Zwé Maced. Dialogue,' p. 649 f.) for supposing that the passage in Dial. de Trin. iii. 16 (ἐν τῷ τόπῳ δέλερξης, γύρω ἐκ τούτων ἔσομαι) is borrowed from the longer Macedonian dialogue. There is in addition the fact that the so-called Confession of Leucius (Athanasinon, de Synodo, xxii. [PG xxxvi. 721 B]), which the Macedonians, to judge from their own utterances (cf. Loofs, 'Zwé Maced. Dialogue,' p. 550 f.), would seem to have regarded as their confession, does not contain the Homoean. The doubt that the Macedonians of the closing years of the 4th cent. and the first half of the 5th cent. were Homoeanians in their mode of thought, statements to the contrary are not, and among Western writers who did not know the facts (Augustine, de Hæres. iii. : de Patre et Filio recte sentiunt, quod unus sint eiusdemque substantia); also Philastrius (see below), or among Arians and Eunomians, who regarded the Homoeans as no less objectionable than the Homoeans (Sermones Arianorum [PL xiii. 611 A]: 'de Patre et Filio convenit illis'; on Philostorgius cf. J. Bode, in the pref. to his ed., Leipzig, 1913, p. 99 f.). Moreover, in circles where the Homoean orthodoxy of the later Nicenean differentiated the τριδοκαςία in an almost polytheistic fashion (Dial. de Trin. iii. 6 [p. 1239 B, C]; and perhaps: 1300 A), the distinction between the Homoean and the Homoean way of thinking was so slight that even the author of the Dial. c. Maced., who was acquainted with the Homoean teaching of the sect (ii. [pp. 1239 C, 1336 C]), could represent the Macedonian as saying to the orthodox: τριδοκ πον τοῦ καθε λέγει (L. 29 [p. 1239 C]). As regards their Christology in the narrower sense, it seems to me, according to the Dial. c. Maced. [pp. 1239 C, 1333 C], the Macedonians, like the Arians, denied
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that the Θέσανθος, or Θέος ἐφρονίσως, had a human soul.

The relation between these Macedonians and the Homologians of the 4th century.—What we know of the teachings of the Macedonians in the period between A.D. c. 381 and c. 480 (cf. § 3) would make it necessary to assume (even if we had no direct information on the point) that the sect was historically connected with the Homologian or semi-Arian party. In point of fact, however—even apart from Rufinus, Socrates, and Sozomen, whom we have already alluded to (cf. § 3)—that connexion can be traced in the older sources. Jerome, who, when referring (c. 380) in his Chronicae (ad annum. 342 [ed. R. Helm, Leipzig, 1913, p. 255 f.]) to the installation of Macedonius as bishop of Constantinople, does not fail to add, 'a quo nunc haresis Macedoniana,' regards the Homologian doctrine alone as the 'Macedonianum dogma' (ad annum. 364 [ib. p. 248 f.]) and in the famous twenty-four anathemas of Damasus (A.D. 380 [2]), given by Theodoret (HE v. 11 [ed. L. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911, p. 258 f.; in Latin, PL xix. 306 f.; A. P. Pelletier, p. 11xxii]), all that is said of the Macedonians in

'σωματικά ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καταστάσει σώμα τῆς ἁγίασμα ἀλλά ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι.'

Further, Auxentius of Dorestorum writes (c. A.D. 385) of Ulfila as follows:

'Αυξέντιον οὖν δίκαιαν ἐφεστία, πολίτην, λαμπρούς λαμπρούς κατά τὸν ἄγιον ψυχῆν ζῶντας ἐν τῷ πνεύματι.'

As the anathemas of Damasus in their opening words impugn Pneumatomachian ideas—though without applying any heretical designation (we may probably infer that Damasus was acquainted with the doctrine of the Spirit held by the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians. And Auxentius of Dorestorum does not mention the Macedonian doctrine of the Spirit is that, like Ulfila, he had nothing to criticize in the so-called Pneumatomachian ideas. For, like Origen, all the theologians who in the Arian controversy rejected the Homologian view of the Son (Nilometer, ed. C. Courau, p. 466), inclusively, in part at least, the same as the Macedonians. Jerome. Nicetas likewise, hardly before 381, speaks distinctly of the 'Macedonians' as holding views distinct from those of 'the questionem de Spiritu iuxta Aulaxentum.' (de Spirit. v. 2 [PL iii. 553 B]).)

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5. Macedonians and the Macedonians.—This question leads us to a consideration of the life of Macedonius. It will not be necessary to discuss here the difficulties regarding the date and circumstances of his elevation to the episcopal throne of Constantinople (on these matters the present writer may perhaps refer to his article, 'Macedonius,' in PREV, and to E. Schwartz, 'Zur Geschichte des Athanasius' ix., in GGG, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1911, p. 476 f.). We here need merely state that Macedonius, who (1) the bishops Caesarius of Aquitania and Patricius of Aquileia, to whom he alludes in Ep. ad Serap. iv. 7 [p. 484 B], were (2) although V. Schulte ('Abhandl. Städte und Landschaften': 1. Konstantinopel, Leipzig, 1913, p. 45, note) regards the present writer labouring on this subject (ibid. p. 468), he does not write more than twenty years earlier by Franz Fischer ('Die patriarchalischen Constanitopolitaner, catalogus et chronologica, auctor is primierum patriarcharum', in Commentationes philologicae et historicae, iii. (1863) 279-380), yet the present writer has been able to arrive at the doctrine established by a comparison of his words with the doctrine of the South is far more than an expression of the present writer's opinion of what he regards as a theory of the doctrine of the Spirit, i.e., in GGG, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1911, p. 476 f.).

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according to Socrates (II. vi.), had as an aged deacon (τὸν ἀγέταν διάκονον) contested the see of Constantinople upon 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 (SE, 1999, p. 524) calls the "second deposition of Paul" (IV. 349). He had been raised to the dignity by the anti-Nicene party, and, as regards his theological position, must have belonged to it, although, as the presbyter of Paul, he must have been in ecclesiastical sympathy with the latter (Athar. Hist. Ar. v. vii. [PG xxv. 701 A]). This does not necessarily imply that he had been an 'Arian'; for the later Homeoniannis also belonged, till a.d. 359, to the 'Arian' church, although, according to the statement of the church historians, it was united to the Nicene party by the later Homeoniannis of the see of Constantinople. The name of Paul (359) is found in the cartularies of the see of Constantinople, and preserved by Sozomen (IV. xii. 2 f.), names him first among the persons addressed. Diocletianus (Hist. xliii. 23 and 27 [ed. D. Petavius, Paris, 1622, 870 D and 875 C; C. C. A., iv. 145 A, 456 B]) recognizes him as one of the Homeoniannis of the see of Constantinople, who was (from 359) opposed to the Acacians, the later Homeoniannis, just as his presbyter, Marathionis, subsequently bishop of Nicaea, and Eusebius, whom he succeeded, was bishop of Cyzicus (Soz. II. xxxvii. 4; Soz. IV. xx. 2), were partisans of Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebaste. At the Synod of Seleucia (359) he was associated with Eusebius, bishop of Nicaea, and other Homeoniannis in supporting Basil against the Acacians (Soz. IV. xxvii. 7 ff.), and, like Basil, Eusebius, Eustathius, and other Homeoniannis—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. 369 [ed. Helm, p. 241ff.]; Philostorg. v. 1 [ed. Bidas, p. 60; cf. p. 254]; Soz. II. xlii. 3; Soz. IV. xxvii. 1), and, according to Sozomen (IV. xxvii. 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 365, but, as his party after 364. In the interval between his deposition and his death, according to Socrates (IV. xiv. 1-3) and Sozomen (IV. xxvii. 1, 2), he founded a new party. But this cannot be ascertained (cf. C. P. Caspar, Alte und neue Quellen, Christiania, 1879, p. 42 f.).

Sozomen (IV. xxvii. 1) is more explicit:

επισκόπους μὲν τις Θεού θεὸν ἡμῖν δόθηκεν καὶ πάντα ταῦτα τα ἐναντίον εὐθείας τίμησεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καταθέσεων, διότι καὶ προαγωγέων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν βασιλεύων λέγειν τι οὐ δικαίως.

Rufinus (HE i. 25 [ed. T. Mommsen, Leipzig, 1908, p. 80]) is somewhat earlier makes a similar statement. It refers to reality in the earliest public appearance of the Homeoniannis, not of the Macedonians, and it displays even less knowledge of the actual beginnings of the Homeoniannis party some two years previously than does Philostorgius (IV. 9 [p. 62]). Then, in the further course of the narratives of Socrates and Sozomen, the term Macedonians' becomes, in conformity with that report, the regular designation of the Homeoniannis generally. Thus the 'Macedonians' in the reign of Valens, draw closer to the orthodox party; they accept the theological positions and, by the death of Valens, they come to an understanding with Pope Liberius, and, especially in Constantinople, live in religious communion with the orthodox (cf. esp. Soz. VII. i. ii. 2), until at length (cf. IV. 3), after the death of Valens, they no longer stand forth as a separate party by themselves. But, although the Macedonians have been in reality universally designated Macedonians, as Socrates and Sozomen assume, we should certainly have found some evidence of the fact in Athanasian literature. One is prompted to ask, nevertheless, whether the statement of Sozomen (V. xiv. 1), viz. that during Julian's reign of ἀφιερώματα, ἀποτρήματα καὶ καταστάσεις ἐποιεῖτο ἡ πόλις, can possibly be based upon mere error. We are compelled to assume that, just as in Antioch, after the installation of Eusebius, the loyal adherents of Meletian came to be called 'Macedonians', so in Constantinople the followers of the deposed Macedonians who did not attach themselves to the church of Eusebius, his successor (Soz. IV. xxvii. 7, VIII. 1, 7), were presently designated 'Macedonians'. The connexion between Macedonians and the later Macedonians would thus simply be that the latter gained ascendancy from the Homeoniannis, which the Macedonians of the early Christian era, as dwellers in the metropolis, formed the best-known group in the Balkan Peninsula. This solution of the historical problem—a solution which surrender the literal significance of the name (Jerome, Auct. circ. Joc. 6, 5) and, consequently, the Macedonians, are 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. xxviii. 4, IV. 5); and it is from Constantinople and its neighbourhood that, with a single exception (Damascus), our oldest authorities for the use of the name (Jerome, Auct. circ. Joc. 6, 5) are derived, while both Socrates (cf. IV. 9) and Sozomen (cf. II. iii. 10) wrote largely under the influence of the same local tradition. In view of the active intercourse between Asia and Constantinople, the single exception of Damascus does not mean much. Rufinus, again, may have gained his information from Jerome through literary channels (cf. Jer. Chron. ad ann. 364 [ed. Helm, p. 243 f.]; Ruf. II. 24 f. [ed. Moltke, p. 96 ff.]; cf. M. Heffter, 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 (IV. xxvii. 2), the Macedonians were also called 'Marathionis'; and Sozomen (loc. cit.) even expresses the opinion that, in view of the personal and material support which the party were indebted to Marathionis, the name was not inappropriate.

Still, it is quite intelligible that K. Holl (ZKG 385 ff.), especially in view of the witness of Didymus, should put forward the question whether the connexion between Macedonians and the Macedonians was not, after all, of a more substantial character. The present writer is of the opinion that the information preserved by Didymus is less than Holl makes out. Didymus seems, e.g., to have regarded Marathionis as the successor of Macedonians (de Trin. IV. xxv. 3 [p. 633 A]): "Ἀρσενίκης τοῦ διδασκαλίου τῆς Αμαρθίωνος" (Macedonians caluit "אזרך מיסג屍ון")—and if, as the present writer thinks possible (cf. "Zwei mazed. Dialoge", p. 544), the person addressed in de Trin. VIII. 1, 7 (p. 413 G) is not the author of the Macedonian dialogue, but, by a figure of rhetoric (cf. frag. 17, Did. de Trin. VII. 3 [p. 516 A]), Macedonians themselves, then the information given in de Trin. VIII. 1, v. that Macedonians 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 Didymus obtained all or at least a part of the information regarding Macedonians from the Macedonian dialogue used by him. Yet the correspondence between what that dialogue tells us regarding the Macedonians and what is mentioned by the Arians must be based on the hypothesis that Didymus knew when he wrote his Epistles to Scarpion that this letter had come into Scarpion’s hands. This would explain how the Alexandrians had obtained information regarding the Macedonians at a relatively early stage. It would also explain the information possessed by Didymus regarding the alpoexdnuia Macedonon, and also the account given by Socrates (and Sozomen) of the origin of the Homoiouian party. The hypothesis is not impossible; for, if the first letter of Athanasius to Scarpion 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 Homoiouianism among the Macedonians. There is still another question to be considered. Athanasius wrote as if the Macedonians were in opposition to the synods as opposed to the Deity of the Holy Spirit felt themselves repelled by the Arian ‘blasphemy’ against the Son (Ep. ad Serap. I. i. [p. 529 f.]), and, like other heretics, he repudiated their views (ib. I. 3, p. 605 B); this fits in remarkably well with the situation of the beginning of A.D. 390. Somewhat later the Homoiouian (‘Macedonians’), as a consequence of the victory of Liberus at a synod held at Tyana in 397, passed completely over to the side of the Nicene Creed (Basil, Ep. cccxvii. 5 [PG xxxii. 917 D]; Soc. vii. xii. 2 f.; cf. Sabinus, Soc. vi. xii. 11). Thereafter, as we read (Soc. iv. 2; Theodoret, vii. 3), the Macedonian party had come to power. At that time there was neither a church nor a bishop in Constantinople (Soc. iv. xxvii. 6, viii. 17), maintained ecclesiastical communion with the Homoiouians, as opposed to the Antiochus. It is in the period since it seems to us that the later Macedonian doctrine was Homoiouian. Basil (Ep. cccxvii. 9 [PG xxxii. 924 B]) tells us that, as a synod held at Cyricon in A.D. 376—during the exarchate of Eustathius, as the synod of 375 discoursed with the Macedonian court-bishops (Basil, Ep. cccxvii. 7 [p. 921 A, B]; cf. S. 920 A], cell. 3 [p. 928 B]; cf. Loos, Euchologien, p. 76 f.)—Basil is of opinion that the fundamental Arian tendency of the Macedonians had once more manifested itself (Ep. ccccx. 1 [p. 564 A, B]). Was this a return of the position of Eustathius to the Homoiouian—an act that (as he merely suppresses, without overtly rejecting, the Homoiouian) did not as such altogether exclude recognition of the Arians at the later position of the Macedonians? 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 purport given by Sozomen (vii. ii. 3), and less fully by Socrates (v. iv. 2 ff.), regarding a synod held at Antioch in Caria (379). These historians record that, when, after the death of Valens (9th Aug. 378), the Emperor Gratian enacted a law (not now extant) conferring freedom of worship upon all religious parties except the Manichæans, the Ptolemaeans, and the Eunomians (Soc. v. ii. 1; Soz. vii. i. 38), the Macedonians seceded again from the Homoiouians, with whom they had hitherto been in communion, abandoning the Nicene Creed, and on their preference for the διωκτησιν as against the ἡγεμονία. From that time a section of the Macedonians (Homoiouians) had continued to exist as a distinct party (διυκτητικοι, while another, breaking away from the latter, had united themselves all the more closely to the Homoiouians. 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. 6 (cf. the words ανάγονται διωκτησιν, κ.α.), which obviously refers to this reappearance of the Macedonians, points to the reign of Arcadius, as the notice in question is manifestly erroneous. The reference in Soc. vii. xii. 4 (and 397) and of v. ii. 3, clearly derived from Sabinus, and providing fresh difficulties! In vii. xii. 4 likewise we read of a synod in the Cariæan Antioch, where the Confession of Lucian was made the standard. This synod, however, was held subsequently to the synod of Tyana (367), and in opposition to these members of the Homoiouian party who had gone over to the Homoiouian party. The present writer is of the opinion that this finding this ‘doublet’—if it is a doublet—gives rise to a disturbing element. Still, it is possible that, as H. Valens (Adnot. to Soz. vii. xii. 4) assumes, there were two Homoiouian parties in Cappadocia (A.D. 368 and 375); and, in fact, if the bishop of that city was an intransigent Homoiouian, there is much to be said for the theory. If we accept it, we must regard it as probable that the second 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 since that the Macedonians became later Macedonians. For Macedoniana was simply the Homoiouianism which, on account of the doctrine of the Spirit, broke away from the Macedonians adhering to the Nicene Creed. The fact that Epaphroditus had also heard of certain Pneumatomachians who were 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 Whiteounds sermon of the year 381, addressed the Pneumatomachians as τοις των Θεογνησιων (Or. xii. 8 [PG xxvi. 440 B]). Gregory had as valid ground 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 negotiations with Liberus (Soc. v. vii. 7; Soz. vii. vii. 4). The breach which had been started by the rupture between Constantine and Basil, and the synods of Cyricon and Antioch in Caria, was rendered absolute by the Council of 381. The Pneumatomachians withdrew from the Council, and were condemned by it (cf. § 4), and the amicable overtures made at the instance of Theodosius 1 to the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians at

1. J. Bidez has kindly informed the author of this act, that all the MSS read 'Pneumatoi.'

2. ἐφεξον τοῦ ἐνδυσκαλεῖσθαι Μακεδονον. If you refer here in referring mainly to the time of Valens, this would point to Gratian’s reign.
MADAGASCAR.

The sorcerers, who are called sanazainy, omboas, maxasa, etc., according to the different provinces, have as one of their occupations—and that not the least important—manufacture of amulets or talismans (ody), which generally consist of small pieces of carved wood, bulls’ horns ornamented with glass beads, or crocodile’s teeth. The horns and teeth are usually filled with earth or sand and various small objects such as gilt nails, iron-fillings, and so on. After invoking the god and sprinkling the talisman with grease, the sorcerer, for a consideration, bestows it on the purchaser, who then hangs it round his neck. The result is supposed to be that the wearer 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 ody.

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 Keliama-

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 ody generally works evil. The fady, which occurs throughout the whole of Madagascar, is extremely curious, and recalls the taboo of the Oceanians. There are some places which are fady for everyone, and others which are fady only for certain families or even for certain individuals. There are fady days, when no one should begin anything new or start on a journey. It is child is born on one of these days, it is killed—or, rather, it was until quite recently, especially in the southern parts of 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 sacrifices.—Human sacrifice has now been abolished in Madagascar, but it is not very long since it was the custom, when a Sakalava king was shaving for the first time, to dip the razor for this important operation in the blood of some famous old chief killed for the occasion. This ceremony was still in vogue when the king of Ménabe, Toera, who met his death in the attack on the village of Ambaky by the French troops in 1897, reached the age of manhood. Not many years ago, in accordance with an ancient custom practised in S. and W. Madagascar, the favourite wife of a great Mahafaly chief was killed on his grave, that he might not be alone in the other world; four of his servants were also put to death and their bodies laid under those of the chief and his wife, so that they might not touch the ground.

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 god.

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.
Madagascar

Justice was meted out by the king or the village chief, and in certain tribes—as, e.g., the Betakiloe—by an assembly of the leading men of the tribe. The *leza talons* was in universal use. The principal crimes were cow-stealing, failure to pay debts, and the greatest crime of all: sorcery, which was always punished by death.

6. Ordeal and oaths.—In cases of doubt, recourse was had to trial by ordeal. The poison test, or *tongkin*, which has made so many victims among the Hottentots, is one of the best-known methods, and another test consisted in making the accused cross a river infested with crocodiles, or an arm of the sea where sharks abound, these animals being supposed to eat the guilty and to do no harm to the innocent.

Another interesting practice is the "water-oath." Into a bowl half full of water are put a bullet, some powder, earth from a sacred spot, the horns of the old kings of Madagascar especially a bit of gold. The accused, or the two litigants in a lawsuit, drink this water, vowing their good faith during the process; and all the ill that death befall is to be supposed to fall on those who swear falsely.

There is another ceremony similar to this—the "blood-oath," or *falan-ferid*, 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-relationship.

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 breast or on the flap of the jaw, and the sharer of the blood washes the arm and the mouth in the bowl, an act which marks the union of the two. The accuser then adds a bit of gold to the water, and calls upon the dead to inflict the most severe punishment if either of them fails to keep his oath (cf., further, *Baert's Madagascar*, 49).

7. 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 for the cure effected. This is practised chiefly in the west and south of the island, and is termed *bito* or *salama-manga*. Those who are submitted to treatment of this kind are supposed to be possessed of a devil, which must be driven out.

The patient is led out of the village to a large open space where a platform or 12 ft. high, with a primitive ladder immediately ready for use, is prepared for the occasion. By 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 libations of focka (rum), large sums of money are consumed by the spectators. The patient, drunk with alcohol, noise, and the rest of the bull, has 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 favourable to him and he will get better; if not, his case is hopeless. Once he is safely established on the mast 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 especially for him, particularly newly-killed oil-fish. If he eats it, or even прогулка a piece of cake, it is a sure sign of his speedy recovery to health and long life. The tumbling of singing and shouting then begins again with renewed energy. The sick man lies lying there, several feet above the ground, sometimes for a very long time, while those who have assisted at the ceremony intonate them with run and urge 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 most characteristic customs of the Malagasy are those connected with burial. 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, and the dead are buried in the sight and sound of men; others, again, bury their dead by the side of the high road or right in the midst of human dwellings. The former, who are terrified at death and everything connected with it, are mainly found among the coast tribes, except in the south-east, where the people are of Arab origin. The latter, who like to live within sight of their last resting-place, belong to the centre of the island, and consist chiefly of the Merina, Betakiloe, and other tribes civilized by the Malays.

The eastern tribes put the dead body in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, closed with a badly-fitting lid in the form of a roof, and this improvised coffin they leave stone on the ground or on a small platform in the middle of a palisade roofed over with branches and leaves.

The Antankarana make their cemeteries in natural grottoes or rock-caves found in the numerous small islands along the coast or in the limestone mountains of the north, and here again the coffins, with beautifully carved lids, are simply laid on the ground. Some Betakiloe and Bara families follow the same custom, and bury their dead in the hollows and caves which abound on the higher reaches of their mountains.

The other natives of the island bury their dead beneath the ground. The western and southern tribes—the Sakalava, the Malaho, the Antandrano, and most of the Bera—cover their graves with a heap of loose stones in the form of a long parallel pile, with a small mound on top. The Merina cemeteries also consist of a hollowed-out mortuary chamber, above which they usually build a small house for those of noble birth, and for the Hova, or freemen, a small rectangular wall, where they gather together glass stones or small pieces of quartz, with a raised stone at one end. The head is generally turned to the north.

All the Malagasy have the same idea of the impurity of a dead body and its power to bring misfortune to others. A funeral procession must never pass in front of the king or anywhere near his residence, and it must also avoid the neighbourhood of sacred stones. Those who have taken part in a burial ceremony must cleanse themselves before going home.

As may be gathered from the prevalence of ancestor-worship, all the dead are buried in the family tomb. When a Malagasy (in particular a Merina) dies away from home, his urgent wish is that his relatives should come. No matter how long after his death it may be, and carry his bones back to his native land. This desire is respected in almost all cases, and even to-day it is no rare thing to meet little processions of Hova carrying back the mortal remains of a member of their family wrapped in a white cloth hung on a long bamboo pole. In many cases they go as far as five or six weeks' journey from Tananarivo. When the body cannot be reached, the pillow or mattress of the deceased is buried in his stead, or a stone or a post is erected to his memory at the side of the road or near his native village.

In Madagascar mourners cut their hair short and keep it dishevelled; they wear coarse dirty clothes, and are not allowed to wash or look in a mirror, even if they possess one—this burial is unkempt as possible so as to keep other people at a distance. On the death of, or—as the phrase goes in Madagascar, where ordinary everyday words would never be used in such high and exalted personages as kings—"on the departure," of a sovereign, a number of sumptuary
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 enforced on the death of Radaana I. (1810–29): all the inhabitants of the kingdom, with the exception of the king himself and the throne, had to shave their heads, sleep on the ground instead of in beds, use neither chairs nor tables, pass each other without greeting in the street, neither play any musical instrument nor sing, if 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 clothes, and, in the case of women, keep the shoulders bare. As in the East, white, not black as in Europe, is the colour of mourning.

Several Malagasy tribes—e.g., the Beteleiso and the Beraniko—have the peculiar and repugnant custom of not burying their dead immediately after death; frequently they even wait till decay has set in, and in many cases the putrid liquid is collected and set apart. Their funeral wakes are not naturally far from agreeable, and, to be able to live at all in the midst of the nauseating odours, the relatives and friends of the dead man drink rum all the time and burn quantities of incense,的真实 and every like. This custom, which is of Oceanic origin, comes from the desire not to bury any putrefying or impure matter along with the bones. Even the tribes which do not have this practice generally have 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 thrown into the family tomb. Sometimes, as in Imerina, the body is put into the family vault at once, but it is wrapped round with several silk lamboas and is not placed in a coffin. Later, at a certain specified time, the ceremony of the manana- dika takes place. This consists in changing the soiled lamboas, 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.

Feasts 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 important are the orgies that are indulged in. Shots are fired and bullocks 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. Rum flows like water, and as long as 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.


G. GRANDDEZ.

MADHAVAS, MADHYAVARIS.—The Madhavas or Madhyavaris are an Indian sect, one of

1. The Madhya-varis are known as the so-called Vaisnavas, because of the Vaisnava tradition which they follow. They are also known as the Sikdes, or Sikdesvaris, because of the veneration which they pay to the Vaisnavas.

2. The Madhya-varis are also known as the Vaishnavas, because of the Vaisnava tradition which they follow. They are also known as the Sikdes, or Sikdesvaris, because of the veneration which they pay to the Vaisnavas.

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MADHYAS, MADHVACHARIS: 233

brought up in great poverty, and (as a slab at the moment sub-
sequently, when he was older) it is related that in his boyhood he
could count only one thing at a time, never being able to see a
crew of ducks. Later, however, his memory improved. As a
patron of Sahas, he quickly mastered the sacred books (16).
He then goes to teacher to teacher, but is turned off by them
for his devotional views. He invents his doctrine, described as
Śrāda-dhāra and nirāsārasa, and is hailed by the demons as the
 awakened one. On advice he joins the Buddhist and
Buddhist mission of India. He makes it with no comment,
and equates Brahman with nothing-
ness (śūnyatā). He becomes a Śrādhaj, and messages of
Bhāravi, who confers upon him a magic spell (61).

The next section further describes further diagnostic events in Sa
kara’s life. He seduces the wife of his Brahman host (62).
He makes converts by magical arts. He falls sick and dies. His
last words are addressed to his disciples to uproot the learned
Śrāda-jñāna, the last of the great teachers of the true Vedic
devotees.

In the 5th sarga we have the doings of Sahasakara’s followers.
They present their opponents, burning down monasteries,
destroying cattle-pens, and by magic arts killing women and
children (2). They forcibly convert one of their chief opponents,
Śrāderas, and compel no one else (Śrādas) (63).

The next sarga describes the life of the early Madhvas in the
field system (5). These, however, still secretly adhere to the
true religion, and, after counting the Śrāda-jñāna, determine to
cause one disciple to become thoroughly learned in the field
system, who should start a line of disciples, outwardly Māyā, but
morally devoted to Hari (i.e., Viṣṇu). In this line of disciples,
came, in due course, Aচyukta-prakṣa. In his time the Loca, i.e.,
Vām, became incense of Madhva, in the house of Madhyas,
and studied under Aচyukta-prakṣa (54 ff.). The book ends
with a brief account of Madhva’s work, specially mentioning that he
communicates on the Vedanta on the Vedanta while utterly destroy-
ing that made by the thief Mādām-Sakarā.

It thus appears that Madhva, like Bhūma, was an
incarnation of Viṣṇu, who came to the earth to
destroy the Māyā field of Saṅkarā and all their

teaching, that the true religion was delivered to
the present age by Kṛṣṇa and Bhūma, that it was
upheld by Kumāra in the Pāśupata-Māyājñā, and
the same religion, as interpreted by Madhva, the
devoted to by the Śrāda field system was declared to be only Buddhist in dis-
guise (prachchhama-Buddhaka [Me. i. 51]). There
is no trace whatever of any attempt to reconcile the
Śrāda teaching with Viṣṇuism. Here also must be mentioned one
different doctrine of Madhva not referred to above, and of
considerable

importance—that salvation can be obtained
only through Vām (i.e., in the present age, through
Madhva), and through no one else (K. p. 68).

In the 1st sarga sums up briefly the
contents of Mūrja special stress being again laid
on the Māyā field (50), and on Bhūma’s close
connection with Kṛṣṇa: and the life of Viṣṇu (41). The incarnation of Viṣṇu
is plainly stated in ii. 24. The rest of the work is
a prolix account of Madhva’s life, too long to
analyse here. The main facts are as follows:
Madhva, called Śrāda-bhūta. Madhva’s father (Me. ii. 9, 14), was a Brahmana living at Rajatapiṭha (8),
close to the modern Udipi, a town on the sea-coast
of the present district of S. Kanara, and about 40
diles due west of Shringeri, then, and still, the
head-quarters of the Śrāda followers of Sa
kara-chārya.

The ancient name of the country now comprising
the Districts of Dáhavar and S. and S. Kanara, together
with the western portion of the State of Mysore, was Tulva, the modern Tulu, and it is here
that the Madhvas have always been strong.
No certain figures are available for their number,
but a very rough estimate of the materials avail-
able leads us to put it at something like 70,000.
Elsewhere they are very few.2

After the usual natal rites, the boy was named
Mahādeva. A few years later he was known as
Mahādeva. The most probable date of his birth is
the Saka year 1119 (A.D. 1197), but some authori-

1 Numerous tales are told of his youthful exploits and of miracles
that were referred to below. His prowess in

2 It is, however, important to note that the Vaishnavism of
the Chaitanya Chātars (p. c), is an offshoot of Mahāyāna
(see Pradeśa-Rūpa, Bhāravi-samudrakara, Lucknow, 1881, p. 46).

ties put it as late as A.D. 1238.1 A

terminology of that kind is to be explained by the fact that the
name 'Śrāda-prakṣa, which is still used by the followers of Śrāda
chārya, who use the name of Śrāda-bhūta, often means the same
thing as the name of Śrāda-bhūta, who uses the name of Śrāda
field system, or the name of Śrāda-bhūta, who uses the name of Śrāda
field system, or the name of Śrāda-bhūta, who uses the name of Śrāda
field system, or the name of Śrāda-bhūta, who uses the name of Śrāda
field system, or the name of Śrāda-bhūta, who uses the name of Śrāda

1 See Subba Rau, Bhāgavata-Gita, p. 41; cf. Bhandarkar,
Fugnenta, Samudrakara, and Minor Religions (Hindu and Jaina),
Dharawad, 1899, p. 58.

2 See Bhandarkar, p. 69. A list of the thirty-six works
attributed to him is given in Bhandarkar’s Report on the Search
for Saṅkarācārya, 1899, p. 297.
2. Doctrines of the sect.—Madhvaism rejects not only the monism of Sankara but also the \textit{Viṣṇu-pūjā-dōtsīta}, or qualified monism, of Rāmānuja (see art. Bhakti-Mārga, vol. ii. p. 545). Its followers call themselves Saiva-Vaiṣṇavas to distinguish themselves from the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava followers of the latter. The basic point of the philosophical system is dualism or dualism. By this it is not meant the dualism of spirit and matter, or that of good and evil, but the distinction between the independent Supreme Being (\textit{Paramātmāna}) and the dependent principle of \textit{vākya}. There are five real and eternal distinctions (pātākhabheda), viz. (a) between God and goddess, (b) between God and matter, (c) between the soul and matter, (d) between soul and another soul, and (e) between one particle of matter and another. The account of the order of creation given in \textit{Mn. i. 2 ff.} closely follows the well-known Śākhya-Yoga system, as modified by the Pānñas, and need not detain us. Viṣṇu, Narayana, or Pārā Bhagavān, not Brahma, is the name given to the Supreme Being. He is endowed with all auspicious qualities (\textit{gosa}), and has a consort, Lakṣmati, distinct from, but dependent on, him. By her he has two sons, Bhrāmā, the Creator, and the Vāyu mentioned above, who is the Saviour of mankind. \textit{Māhāya}, or salvation, consists in release from transmigration (\textit{punarāvartana}) and residence in the abode of Narayana. Souls (\textit{jīvas}) 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 \textit{nāgīra}, and a few other select classes of the good; these are destined to salvation; (b) those who are not sufficiently good to belong to the first class nor sufficiently bad for the third; their ultimate destiny is transmigration (\textit{nāgīra}); and (c) demons, etc., and sinners, especially followers of the \textit{Nāyika-dōctrine and other heretics who reject Viṣṇu}; 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 \textit{māyā}, is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell—a logical symmetry that is missing in the other religions of Madhva's time.

The natural soul is characterized by ignorance (\textit{avidyā}), and this ignorance is dispelled, and salvation is obtained, by right knowledge of God. This knowledge is obtained by souls of the first class, and eighteen means are described as necessary for its attainment. Such are distant of this world (\textit{vānīya}), erotism (\textit{śāma}), attendance on a guru, or religious teacher, \textit{bhakti} directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies (cf. the \textit{Pārā-Mānavīnā}, reprobation of false doctrine, worship (\textit{śrādha}), and so on. 1

Service to Viṣṇu (i.e. to God) is expressed in three ways: (a) by stigmatization, or branding (\textit{nākara}) the body with the symbols of Viṣṇu; (b) by giving his names to sons and others (\textit{nākara}); and (c) by worship (\textit{bhaveśa}) 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, (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith. Worship is the dedication to Narayana (i.e. God) of each of these as it is realized. 2

The custom of branding symbols of Viṣṇu on the abdomen is peculiar to the followers of Madhva, being also adopted by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas; but among the Madhvās, instead of being occasional, it is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the \textit{Śrāvaka-dōctrine}. It is said that the former, whether male or lay, are branded. The chief of each math, or

1 The complete list is given by Sambhadrak, p. 691.
2 Sāra-darśana-satra, ñ. 91.

monastery, tours among the faithful, and every time he makes his rounds the laity undergo the ceremony (K. p. 40). The sectarian marks, common to monks and laity, are, besides these brands, two white perpendicular lines on the forehead, made with \textit{gopi-kamala} earth, and joined to the root of the nose. Besides, black lines made with incense-charcoal, and terminating in a spot of turmeric. Madhva did not allow bloody sacrifices. The old sacrifices were retained, but he enjoined the substitution of a fictitious lamb for the goat, and of rice-meal as the victim, instead of a lamb of flesh and blood. 3

Madhvaism is also remarkable for the extreme lengths to which fasting of great rigour is carried out. The life of an orthodox Madhva is one continuous round of fasts, and, according to one writer, this has had an injurious effect on the average physique of the members of the sect (K. p. 70). A full account of these fasts will be found in the \textit{BG xxii. 29 ff.}

The chief \textit{māṭha}, or monastery, of the sect is at Udir, and is said to have been founded by Madhva himself. He also founded two others at Madhva-tala and Subrahmanyag—both, like Udiri, in the coast district of Mangalore—and gave a \textit{śrāvaka} to, each of the three. The main settlement he divided into eight sub-monasteries, each of which he and a few others selected classes of the good; these are destined to salvation; (b) those who are not sufficiently good to belong to the first class nor sufficiently bad for the third; their ultimate destiny is transmigration (\textit{nāgīra}); and (c) demons, etc., and sinners, especially followers of the \textit{Nāyika-dōctrine and other heretics who reject Viṣṇu}; 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 \textit{māyā}, is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell—a logical symmetry that is missing in the other religions of Madhva's time.

The natural soul is characterized by ignorance (\textit{avidyā}), and this ignorance is dispelled, and salvation is obtained, by right knowledge of God. This knowledge is obtained by souls of the first class, and eighteen means are described as necessary for its attainment. Such are distant of this world (\textit{vānīya}), erotism (\textit{śāma}), attendance on a guru, or religious teacher, \textit{bhakti} directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies (cf. the \textit{Pārā-Mānavīnā}, reprobation of false doctrine, worship (\textit{śrādha}), and so on. 1

Service to Viṣṇu (i.e. to God) is expressed in three ways: (a) by stigmatization, or branding (\textit{nākara}) the body with the symbols of Viṣṇu; (b) by giving his names to sons and others (\textit{nākara}); and (c) by worship (\textit{bhaveśa}) 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, (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith. Worship is the dedication to Narayana (i.e. God) of each of these as it is realized. 2

The custom of branding symbols of Viṣṇu on the abdomen is peculiar to the followers of Madhva, being also adopted by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas; but among the Madhvās, instead of being occasional, it is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the \textit{Śrāvaka-dōctrine}. It is said that the former, whether male or lay, are branded. The chief of each math, or
that there is little resemblance between Manichaeism and Sankhara's theology. The former is dualist and the latter is monist. But Mani's dualism taught the existence of two beings—light and darkness. Light being such a deity must have no god at its head. There is a certain resemblance between this and Sankhara's Brähman obscured by māyā. At any rate, it is possible that the Life of Madhya, who (K. p. 19; Mr. iii. 22 f) was the first representative of the Mīchehiyas (foreigners), may have become acquainted with Manichaeism, and may have assimilated it in this way with Sankhara's theory of māyā. The question deserves more investigation than has hitherto been given to it.

LITERATURE.—The Mahānṇasājar and the Madhyānījavas have been already mentioned. Several editions of these have been published in India. A useful summary of Madhya doctrines will be found in p. 303 of the Saktidelika-vāma-matā-sūtra-sūtra, an anonymous work published in the Pāñcaratna Series in 1867. A full account will be found in Pāñcaratna-śāstra, Madhyāvīhāra-bhāsa, Bombay, 1883, quoted by Bāndhārakar, p. 39. Finally, there is Madhyāvīhāra, Sārva-dārvīsa-sūtra-sūtra, of which many editions have been published in India. Of this there is an Eng. tr. by L. B. Cowell and L. E. Gosse (Ed.), London, 1871. The system of Purāṇas also, especially Mahāvīhāra, will be found in ch. v. p. 2177 of the translation.

As for works in English, the earliest among them is the Mahāvīhāra is contained in 'Account of the Mārā Gooarc, collected while Major Mackenzie was at Hardwar, 5th August 1808, printed on p. 2177 of the 'Characters' in the American Review, vol. 1, 1837. We next have H. H. Wilson, Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, republication of Eng. text, vol. xi, xvii and xviii of Ancestral Researches, London, 1861, i, 199 f. A useful little book is C. N. Krishnamoorthy Aiyer, Sri Madhyāvīhāra and Madhyāvīhāra, Madras, no date. This has been largely utilized in the foregoing pages. See also the following: K. G. Bāndhārakar, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism and the Mahāvīhāra, Calcutta, 1879, p. 2407, vol. xx, 'Bhāvavikā, Bombay, 1884, p. 164 f, of the author, who in this he borrows from Christianity, quite possibly promulgated as a rival to the central doctrine of that faith.

A. Tract of Manichaeism.—In the two papers already quoted, Burrell points out that the Persian immigrants were welcomed in this part of India long after the time of Cosmas, and that before the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D. they had acquired sovereign rights over their original settlement of Manibra, by a grant from the pārānāi, or local chief. Burrell goes on to suggest that these Persians were Manichaeans, and that the name Mani, their settlement 'Mane', Mani-mercantile,' not 'Jewel-town,' a term compounded might ordinarily mean in Sanskrit. Burrell's theory was attacked in the same journal and, according to L. H. Collin's, a completely controverted by K. Collin. To the present writer it seems that, in the discussion, Collin failed in his main point—

the meaning of 'Māni' in Mani-grāma—and that Burrell's suggestion, though certainly not proved, may possibly contain more elements of truth than Garbe was prepared to admit. It seems that Burrell's suggestion that 'Māni' refers to Mane rves some confirmation from the Mahāvīhāra theory of the Madhyas. It is intelligible that Bhima should be selected as the hero, but it is unintelligible why the altogether unimportant Mani-grāma should be selected as the origin of the arch-herculean Saimka. Bhima killed many more notorious demons, who would have served Madhya's purpose better; but so small a part does Bhima play in the Himalayas, play in the epic 2 that Madhya's story according to the legend, actually to get Vyāsa's permission to re-write the story, so as to make it complete. It must, on the other hand, be admitted

1 The following are the references to the whole controversy. Garbe (loc. cit.) refers only to one of Collin's communications and does not notice any of Burrell's replies: I.A. ii. 318 (Burrell); ib. i. 213 (Collin); ib. i. 281 (Burrell). 2 Rājā Coochh’s, v. (1850) 25 (Burrell).

2 For the references see E. Scheler, Index to the Names in the Mahāvīhāras, London, 1894, p. 456.

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 large one. In any case, the Madhyamaka school must be held responsible for a considerable proportion of the Great Vehicle.

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’ (marga, pratipada), and had qualified this path by ‘middle’ (madhyama = madhyamika), doubtless, as has been often said, because he repudiated two ‘extremes’ (cetasas) — an exaggerated asceticism (tapas), and an easy secular life (sukhavida). But he had also condemned other ‘extremes,’ viz. contradictory theories, such as: ‘Everything exists,’ ‘nothing exists,’ ‘The person who feels the same thing as sensation,’ ‘the person who feels a different thing from sensation,’ ‘The Buddha exists after death,’ ‘the Buddha does not exist after death,’ and some other texts, but explicit — prove that, at the time of the redaction of the Pali Nikayas, ‘middle way’ meant a ‘way between certain negations and affirmations.’ This way is simply the philosophy of the dharma and of the negation of the individual (pudgala, ‘all’), which is almost exactly the philosophy of the Canon, and finds, from the very clear and skilful expression in the Theological Foundation (patichca sammutpadda, pratityasamutpada).

The Canon teaches that there is no individual (pudgala), one and permanent, of whom we can say that he is identical with sensation or different from it, or that he survives or fails to survive the destruction of the body. The individual does not exist in himself (pudgala-niratmya); he is merely a mass of dharma following one another in unbroken succession, cause — and effect.

What is meant by dharma? This word, as Max Müller said, is difficult to translate, though easy to understand. Man is a collection, a ‘series’ of dharma; every thought, every volition, every sensation, is a dharma. His body is composed of material dharma. Sound, colour, smell, whatever can be struck or touched, is composed of material dharma. The organs of sense and intellect (manas, indriya) are dharma of subtle matter. Consciousness, hatred, and delusion are mental dharma, ‘co-ordinated with thought.’

The dharma are ‘realities,’ things which actually exist, and nothing exists but these elementary realities, which are all doomed to destruction; some — e.g., the mental dharma and the dharma forming the successive instants of the existence of a flame — perish moment by moment, while others sometimes last for a long time. Just as a waggon is nothing but the collection of the parts of a waggon, so man is simply the collection of the elementary realities, material and spiritual, which constitute his individuality. Apart from dharma, man and waggon have only an ideal existence — an existence of designation (prajahati), as a name only. In any case, it will be observed that none of these elementary realities exists in isolation, but that every dharma combines with other dharmas to form a more or less solid complex. The four chief elements (mahabhutas) combine in the first, and every material thing. Anger presupposes, besides delusion, an elaborated complex of intellectual dharma — contact, sense-}

1 See in. [1956] 51.
an end to existence by this method, for existence is void of reality in itself, since the dharmas do not exist at all. - for put an end to a process of "void" (śūnya) dharmas which renew themselves in "void" dharmas. It is important to know this, for the only knowledge that can arrest the renewal of unreal dharmas is knowledge of the void, and fundamental reality.

The ancients saw that the essential nature (ārya-dharmatā) of things (dharmas) is to be produced by concurrent causes (pratityabhāsā-pratisthā-pratipoksha-dharma) , dependent on the fact that things do not exist in themselves, do not exist 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 undeniable, immanent in fundamental 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 exists by being confused with the term vacuity (śūnya), 'ether-dull', '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 things. For them, things are not void because of vacuity (śūnyatā-gatvā) —conceived as exterior to things— but because they are void, and they are 'void' because they are produced by causes. Vacuity means a dependency on causes and is only an abstraction, a mere word; 'void' means 'produced by causes.'

Existence (svarūpa), therefore, is a complex phenomenon which has 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 shadows in a mirror (āyatam-pratibhūmipratipoksha)—we might say 'contingent' dharmas—give birth to dharmas that are equally illusory. Like begets like.

True objection to phenomena, conceived as pleasant; purity is complete detachment from phenomena. Ignorance is a clinging to the substantiality of phenomena, which induces attachment; wisdom is the knowledge of the vacuity of things.

Nāgārjuna himself formulates this difficulty, and answers it. Existence is the continuous production of phenomena not substantial but actually existent, because they are existent by the only existence that there is—void existence, or existence produced by causes. Nirvāna is the end of the production of these phenomena. Impurity is attachment to phenomena, conceived as pleasant; purity is complete detachment from phenomena. Ignorance is a clinging to the substantiality of phenomena, which induces attachment; wisdom is the knowledge of the vacuity of things.

Nāgārjuna, Chandrakīrti, and Śāntideva very aptly took this point of view, which is quite within the logic of Buddhism and not unreasonable. But in order to give a true picture of the Madhyamika as it is, we must add that our teachers often go much further.

ii. Just as their criticism destroys all ideas of experience and religion—the notion of movement, of time, of 'passion' (āsā, the connection between the passionate man and passion 'does not bear investigation')— it also destroys the notion of causality; not only do the dharmas not exist substantially, but causality is also non-existent 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 almsbowl; he does not see them, for the knowledge which he has of them does not exist any more than its object. This is pramāna, or knowledge of 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.'


I. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSEIN.

MADRAS AND COORC.—In the Census for 1911 the vast majority of the population in the Madras Presidency are classified as Hindus. Out of a total population of 41,870,469 (in the Presidency and the union territories included in it), the Hindu number 37,230,094. The rest of the population are classified as follows: Muslims, 2,764,467; Christians, 1,658,515; Animists, 658,469; Jains, 27,005; Buddhists, 697; Parsis, 489; Brahmin Sanātins, 374; Jews, 71; while 42 are classified simply as others.

I. Christianity.—The most progressive of all these religious bodies is the Christian. Excluding the 40,026 Roman Catholic and Anglican Christians, whose numbers do not largely vary from decade to decade, we find that the Indian Christians have increased during the decade from 1901 to 1911 by 163,964, or 17 per cent—a rate more than double of that of the increase in the total population, and one which compares favourably with an increase of 8 per cent among Hindus, and 11 per cent among Muslims.

The main cause of this increase in the Christian population is the movement among the out-castes of Hindu society towards Christianity that has been in progress in S. India for the last sixty years.

Conversions to Christianity from the higher castes of Hindus or from the Musalmins have been comparatively rare. On the other hand, the out-castes are being gathered into the Christian Church in the village districts in increasingly large numbers, especially among the Telugs in the northern part of the Presidency. The causes that have led to this great movement are mainly social. The out-castes are the last castes in the Hindu system, and have been kept for many generations in a state of abject poverty and utter ignorance. They have seen in the Christian Church the hope of a better 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 when they first join the Christian Church, shows that the movement is due to something higher than a mere desire for immediate temporal gain. This great movement is bound to have a very striking influence in the future. India is today only uniting in its religious life 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 strata of Hindu society. The consecration 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 Brahman in the S. Hindu. This is due to the social and political conditions of S. India. The Vedantist philosophy and the monism of Sakkar is more widely held in the South than in the North, mainly owing to the doctrine of Mu. But in Ceylon, on the contrary, Mut, which has its basis in teaching on the unity and transcendence of God, has had less influence there than in S. India. The stern and gloomy worship of Siva, the Destroyer, is much more common in S. India, which has a附件 of elements of the old animistic cults, is the predominant form of Hinduism; but the worship of Vishnu, the Preserver, in all his manifold incarnations, has a deep influence, and, having a special attraction for the lower castes of S. India, has been 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 (385,468) classed as animists in the Government Census. The large majority of the Hindus in the villages, with the exception of the higher castes, all the devotees of Vishnu and Siva, are also animists. Worshiping the village deities, the Grāma-Devattas, 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 complex of religious beliefs, customs, and ceremonies which are often gathered together under the term Hinduism. In almost every village and town of S. India may be seen a shrine or symbol of the Grāma-Devattas, which is periodically worshipped and propitiated. As a rule, the shrine of the village deity is far less imposing than the Brahmanical temples in the neighboring towns; 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 famine or disease makes its appearance, it is to the village deity that the whole body of the villagers turn for protection. Siva and Vishnu may be more dignified beings, but the village deity is regarded as a more 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 mixed with boiled rice and sprinkled all round the village site, and also the sacrificial feast upon the flesh of the victim, connect the sacrifices to the Grāma-Devattas in India very closely with the primitive systems of animal-sacrifice which are found all over the world. traces of human sacrifice, too, are often found in connexion with these cults. In Mysoor State itself that the movement is due to something higher than a mere desire for immediate temporal gain. This great movement is bound to have a very striking influence in the future. India is today only uniting in its religious life 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 strata of Hindu society. The consecration 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.

The special features which broadly distinguish the worship of the village deities in S. India from those of Siva and Vishnu are three. (1) The fact that the village deities are male attendants, all of whom are supposed to guard the shrine and carry out the ceremonies. (2) The fact that one male deity, Iyayar, has a shrine to himself, and is regarded as the night watchman of the village. In the Telugu country there is a being called Pothu-Ba, who is sometimes husband and sometimes as the husband of village goddesses, and sometimes as an attendant. But, with the exception of Iyayar and one or two other deities, all the male deities are so distinctly subordinate to the goddesses that they do not contravene the general principle that village deities are male and not female. (2) The fact that the village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices, and that the shedding of blood is low and irreligious. The animal sacrifices are regarded, therefore, as offered to the male attendants of the goddess and not to the goddess herself. (3) The fact that the Pothu-Ba, i.e., the man who performs the worship and officiates as priest, is not Brahman; he serves the Goddess of the village instead of the Brahman, in the performance of the sacrifices. While the Brahman is the priest of the goddess, the Pothu-Ba is the priest of the village. 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 Brahmanical influence. Some details of the ceremonies used in them seem to point back to a totemistic stage of religion; some of the deities are the spirits of the dead, 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 Cholera and smallpox, 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 widespread throughout S. India and have become incorporated in popular Hinduism. Almost every village has its sacred pipal tree, representing a
female, and a mangrove 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 Brāhmans (called Madhvas [g.v.] or Raojas) there is a tulasi plant (sacred to Viṣṇu). The snake is closely connected with the worship both of Viṣṇu and of Śiva. A cobra forms the offered vehicle of Śiva, and the king rides, and Śiva is always represented with a cobra in his hand. At the entrance of almost every village of S. India there are figures of the cobra carved on stone in bāja relief erected on raised platforms for the adornment of the public. Brāhmans and Śūdras alike make offerings at 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 the deadly cobras which are reputed to swarm in their houses and carry their benediction to the brāhmans and the lowest castes of the family without ever doing them any injury.

Demonology is very prevalent, especially in the Southern part of the Tamil country, and the belief in demons, as among the Arabic nations, is accompanied by a large number of supernatural beings who are supposed to exercise a controlling influence over the lives of men. These include the gods, the ghosts, the spirits of the dead, the demons, and the genii. The demons are often represented as evil spirits, but they are also regarded as beneficent deities who bring good fortune to men. The belief in demons is widespread in South India, and is particularly strong in the Tamil Nadu region. The demons are thought to possess the power to control the weather, the crops, and the health of the people. The demons are also thought to be able to cure diseases and to protect people from harm.

The innumerable superstitions connected with popular Hinduism are excellently described by Edgar Thurston in his Owners and Superstitions of Southern India.

Madura—Madura is the name of an important District in S. India. It is about 350 miles south of the town of Madras. Its capital, Madura, had a population of 154,130 in 1911, and is situated at 10° N. lat. by 78° 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 is hardly any horse power of steam used in the whole community—by which it may be known that modern improvements in the East are not necessarily connected with the use of modern industrial appliances and forces.

Madura is a town of considerable antiquity. It was occupied by the Pāṇḍya kingdom whose fame spread westward through the Greeks and Romans even before the advent of the Christian mission. Even to-day 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 famous Madura College was the source and inspiration of Tamil classical literature for centuries. Many of its most popular legends gather round its peeps in the narrative of whose struggles and conflicts is a perennial source of delight to the people. But it is its great Mābhats temple that is the source of its pride and vehicle of its life. The town is built around its sacred precincts, 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 Kāfir, the famous general of the Mughal emperor, Alā’ud-dīn, 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 disension 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 Nayak dynasty, by far the most prominent of whom was Tirumāla Naik (1623-39).

S. Indian temples are the most spacious in the world. The Madura shrine is the third in size, but is the first in architectural effect. It is in its upkeet, and most thoroughly devoted to its religious purposes. Its outer walls, which are 25 ft. high, form almost a square (380 ft. by 730 ft.) and enclose an area of about 14 acres. Each wall is surmounted at its centre by a richly embelished 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 not marked 986 in number) is the culmination of its architectural claims. Of this J. Ferguson writes: its sculptures surpass those of any other half of its class I have acquainted with.... but it is not their number but their marvellous elaboration that makes them the wonder of the place ۔(12). This hall is eclipsed, perhaps, by only one other, the so-called Choultry, or Pathm 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 Tirumala Naik about 350 years ago, is 250 ft. by 156 ft., and is supported by 154 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 padded halls predominate. Its many gopuras are pyramidal in form, and are a striking development of the ancient stupas or pagoda, of Buddhists.

The temple is one of the most distinguished of S. India, 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 temple which is most closely allied to the cult of its Vaishnavas to the cruel demonology of the aboriginal people of that region. This temple and its worship also admirably illustrate the post of the Brahmanic propaganda, which never antagonized a new and contigious faith, but rather fraternized with it, then adopted its leading features, and finally absorbed it entirely. The magnificent temple of this shrine is the Sākkingunam or Sundareswara. The first name is Dravidian, revealing the non-Brahmanic or non-Aryan origin of the god who was adopted.
MENADS

from the pantheon of the Dravidian cult to that of the Aryan. Later, this S. India manifestation of Siva polarized the northern faith among the people of Madura by his 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 pantheon. By this marriage the Aryan cult of the north was wedded to the supreme faith of the south, and the great annual marriage-festival of the temple celebrates and perpetuates the growth of diverse cults in that region. In that most popular festival there is another interesting feature: Minakshi is said to be the sister of Ailaha, a popular Vaisnavaya demon-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 Saiyavites and Vaisnavites, fasten together and bring their offerings to the aggrieved god. Thus, upon this occasion, we find all three cults of that region, Saiyavism, Vaisnavism, and demonolatry, most strikingly brought together.

In many ways the worship of this famous Hindu temple reveals a fact which outsiders can understand 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 is completely impregnated with Dravidian and Aryan 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 mythical demons, and find their chief religious comfort in appeasing them. The many demon shrines which are found in every town and village. Even Koli, the chief consort of Siva, who also finds a prominent place in this temple, is so Dravidianized and demonized with a bloodthirsty passion that no one can separate her from the many Dravidian ammans, 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 characterized the Dravidian mind and been time impossible. The Aryan has given to the religion its outer form and décot; 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.


J. P. JONES.

MENADS.—The character of the Menads was long a subject upon which the most mistaken ideas prevailed. The accounts of them given by poets, mythographers, and historians were all mingled together, and were mixed upon by the representations of the cult of Dionysus in art, and, again, these artistic products were not submitted to 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 Minor. The first to reduce the literary and artistic data to order, and to give a clear impression of the development and character of the Dionysus-cult, was A. Rapp, in his 'Die Mâne in griechischen Kultur, in der Kunst und Poesie' (Rhein. Mus. xxvii. [1872] 1–22, 562–611; cf. Roscher, ii. 2243–2283). Then at length the powerful movement introduced into Greece by the new deity, and the influence of that movement upon the spiritual life of the people, were exhaustively delineated by E. Rohde (Psychet, Tübingen, 1907, ii. 5 ff.). The researches of the folklorists among other peoples has only brought to light interesting parallels to the ancient Dionysian cult and custom; but great caution must be exercised with regard to the ideas of 'vegetation deities,' 'spirits of fertility,' etc., to which the modern tendency to trace analogies everywhere has given rise (cf., e.g., O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, Munich, 1906, p. 905 f.).

Dionysus, the lord of the Menads, of the 'Reheux,' 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 Thrace (cf. Herod. v. 7, and the notes of W. W. How and J. Wells, London, 1912), where he was worshipped under the name of Sakos or Sabazios (schol. Aristoph. Vespas, 94 ff.). It is true that Sabazios is also spoken of as a Phrygian deity (rhet. in Rohde, ii. 7, note 3), but, as the Taracians and the Phrygians were, in the remembrance of the ancient, closely related peoples, we need not be surprised that the worship of the Phrygian national goddess Cybele should show so many points of contact with that form of the Taracian cult of Dionysus. The latter was a non-Greek cult which was celebrated upon the mountain heights of Thrace in the winter of every alternate year (annually, 58), and was called the râmpes (cf. râmpes, râmpe). At these celebrations women danced in wild frenzy amid the glare of torches, whirling dizzyly to the clangour of rule music—the clashing of the bronze roll of large drums (cf. Cybele), the shrill whistling of flutes—and with loud shouts of oâ (which afterwards became euchos, euo, and finally evai). These raving creatures were called meandrites, and were accompanied (as Hom. II. xxvi. 460), with their dishevelled hair streaming in the wind, were clothed in long flowing epoa (whence they were also called Berspoides), over which they had a lene (cf. isch. frag. 64, and the pictorial representations), and in their hands they carried serpents (animals sacred to Sabazios [Theophr. Char. xxx. 4: cf. the pseus of Pseny. in Asclepius, 190 C. c.]), daggers, or thyrsus. In their religious frenzy they served upon the sacrificial animals, tearing them in pieces with their teeth (Eur. Bacch. 736 ff., sect. sp. xvi. 1 xv. eis tâv âvov òpov tâv tâvais tevâv kâvâv), a notable analogy to these practices is found in the leaping of the Perchias in the Tyrol; here, on Shrove Tuesday (cf. art. CARNIVAL, vol. iii. p. 208, esp. p. 229), the Perchias (so named, like the Kneissus, after the deity whom they thus honour) work themselves into a frenzy. Their raving is carried to such a pitch that at length they think that they actually see Perch herself in their midst, and in the maddening excitement she has sometimes mangled her worshippers (P. A. Voigt, in Roscher, i. 1044 f.).

This tumultuous cult, whose votaries were also called Klâos and Kallase, maintained itself till later times; even Queen Olga, the mother of Alexander the Great, was devoted to the wild
practices of the Thracian religion, and her tame snakes, which would suddenly wriggle out from amongst the ivy or from the sacred winnowing-fans, met with opposition as it spread through Greece.

What mythology tells us, now of Lycurgus and the sacred mountains in the region of Dionysus and his θησεως (so Hom. Il. vi. 132 ff.; some details regarding the θησεως are lacking), as of Pentheus, and now of the Minyads and the Plectides, shows at least that at some time the Bacchus cult had once or often encountered enemies in various districts to which it spread. Its complete triumph throughout almost the whole of Greece is, of course, a commonplace of history. The new religion, with its outlandish features, whose nature must have naturalized that its alien origin was almost forgotten: Herodotus speaks (iv. 79) of the Bacchic frenzy as a peculiarly Hellenic characteristic in contrast with the Thracian and the Lesbian; the Spartan Menads, the βασκαρις, raved over the heights of Taygetus (ref. e.g., in Rohde, ii. 45, note 2) and Galen (de Antid. 8, vol. xiv. 46 [Kühn]) could speak of a Bacchic rending as still practised at the Bacchic festivals.

But the educative power of Delphi was now at work, and Apollo exercised his softening influence on the fierce and overwhelming cults, for it was with very different rites that the women performed their worship of Bacchus on Mt. Parnassus. Here, every two years, about the time of the shortest day, the Thyiads "awaked" at Delphi, the god who lies in the sacred winnowing-fan (Πλατ. de I. et Osr. xxxvii.) here (Rapp, Rhän, Mus. xxvii. 6) a caste of priestesses was employed, who attended to the rituals of the winter festival on Parnassus. With such rites, too, the Attic Thyiads celebrated at similar intervals the orgies of the god at Delphi. Thus the celebration had now to do not with Dionysus only, but with Apollo as well (Paus, i. xxxvii. 7). Of this cult, whose Bacchic vestments had been refined by Apollonian moderation, we find a picture in the celebrated chorus of the Antigone of Sophocles (1136 ff.), which tells indeed of the torch-swinging and the dancing of the goats, the ground flows with milk and wine, and the stroke of the thyrus upon the rock causes a spring to break forth; ferocious animals are on a friendly footing with the Menades, who offer the beast to fawns and young wolves, while ill-disposed men flee before the hurrying thyrus (Bach., passim).

Investigators have had great difficulties also with the portrayal of the Bacchus cult 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 gained that corresponds to the literary account. On the artistic side it is pre-eminent that the Attic vases merit consideration. On the earlier specimens of these we see the orgiastic dance 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 Lenaia, the festival of the reverberating (Lena), which had been brought from Boeotia (on all this cf. A. Pickenhaus, Limenmäser [Programm zum Winkelblumennfeste der archäol. Gesellschaft, xx], Berlin, 1912). This connexion is also shown, others showing a distinct background of mythology, and here we also find names of the Menads, such as Maigra, Ophel, etc. (cf. C. Fränkel, Sättys- und Bacchensagen auf Vasenbildern, 1873, 1912).

Then later art brought the depiction of that furious, almost hysterical, ecstasy to its most vigorous expression, and even extended it, most unnaturally; this intense expression of feeling is seen in its finest form in the Menads of Scopas (M. Trea, in Melanges Perrot, Paris, 1902, p. 317 fig.). Nearly everywhere in art, however, the representation of the Menads is an expression of satyric-religious emotion, and the vase-paintings designedly set forth the strict reserve of the Bacchus in contrast to the loose merrymaking of the satyrs. The introduction of the Bacchic procession, with its troops of men and women rolling wantonly along, and the transformation of the primitive festival, attended by females only, into a turbulent orgy were the work of the superficial art of the Hellenistic age.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

J. GEFCKEN.

MAGADHA.—Magadha, an ancient kingdom in India, was the scene of the greater part of Buddha's preaching and the last stronghold of his faith in India. It was equivalent to the modern districts of Patna, Gayas, and Bihar, and to a vast area which had been inhabited by the Dravidian branches of the Aryan race. Buddha was not born in Magadha, but in the country to the north of it, at the group of Lumbini (q.v.), near Kapilavastu (q.v.), the Sakya capital in the Nepaless Tarai. Magadha was the home and the nucleus of two of the greatest Indian empires, the Maurya and the Gupta. It is celebrated in Sanskrit literature 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 interest.

Its earliest capital city was very ancient hill fortress named Girivrajra (Pāli Giribāja), built, according to tradition, by an architect named Mahāgovernā; its place was taken in the 8th cent. B.C. by the better known capital, Rajagir (Pāli Rājagaha), built at the foot of hills on which Girivrajra stood; Rājagirā is the modern Rājāgarh, which, however, stands about a mile to the south. Its walls still exist, and are probably the oldest stone buildings in India. Rājagirā had reached its zenith about Buddha's time, soon after which it declined with the growth of Pātaliputra (the modern Patna). The modern town of Gaya, although now a place of pilgrimage for Hinayana and Mahāyana Buddhists, 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 Buddha is said to have attained the first enlightenment (bodhi). To the south of Gaya is the hill of Dhongra, the Prāgbodh (Pālo-ki-pa-ti) of Hiuen Tsang, with a cave in which Buddha once rested. Pañthar, a little north of Gaya, is rich in Buddhist sculptures; to the south of it is Hasagā, which has been identified with the Kukkutapādāgi of the Chinese pilgrims.
A. Cunningham, however, recognizes the latter in Kurukult, which lies some miles to the north. Gumeri, Bharatwar, and Kavadar are all rich in Buddhist remains, the latter unnamed with a colossal stone image of Buddha, Jetavan, or Jakhthikam, is the Tavvihna (bamboo-forest) of Buddha's wanderings; near it at Tapoban are the hot springs, visited by Hixue Teiag, at which Buddha bathed. In this neighbourhood the Chinese pilgrim visited a cave, a place which had been used by India and Brahman for pouring sandalwood to anoint Buddha's body. In the side of Baibhar hill, near Râjaâr, was the Sattapannâi cave in which the first Buddhist synagogue met in 544 B.C. According to Cunningham, this cave is the modern Son Bândar cave on the southern side of the hill. A hill on the adjacent hill of Ratnâgiri is the pipai-tree cave of Fa-Hian in which Buddha used to meditate after his meals. On the top of this hill there is still a small Jain temple; Ratnâgiri is the Pandav of the Pali chronicles and the Râjgiri of the Mahabharata. The extensive ruins at the modern Baragona are the ancient Nâlandâ (q.v.), the greatest centre of Buddhist learning in ancient India. Near Girik on the Panchâna river a bathing festival is held annually to commemorate Buddha's crossing of the river here on his way to challenge Jarsandha. An annual bathing festival of Sompur, held in November at the junction of the Gandak and the Ganges, is one of the oldest and most popular in India; it was here that Visnu received the garuda from the crocodile, and here Bândar built a temple. At Asar there is a fine sculpture of the ardhâ (boar) avatâra of Visnu.

J. Allin

MAGAS.—See SURA and MAGAS.

MAG.—Magh, or, popularly, Magh. Makkah, is the name of a group of Indo-Chinese tribes numbering 128,456 at the Census of 1911, and practically all confined to Bengal. The derivation of the name is uncertain. A. P. Phayre (Hist. of Burma, London, 1884, p. 506) connects it with Magda, the ancient name of modern Bihâr, and L. Vivien de St. Martin (J. W. Mcrindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Calcutta, 1877, p. 133, note), identifies the Magh with the Maccoallans of Pliny (En VI. xxi. 8).

All Maghs are Buddhists of the Southern school, and respect the Northern Buddhism of Tibet as wholly unorthodox. The wilder sections of the Thongaia, however, retain some vestiges of an earlier animistic faith, which bids them sacrifice cattle, goats, and swine, and make offerings of rice, fruits, and flowers to the spirits of hill and river. Among the Marans, on the other hand, the tendency is to follow after modern Hinduism, particularly in its Zoroastrian developments, and to add the grossness of Siva and Bhraga to the simple observances prescribed by their own community. It thus comes to pass that while the Burmese Maghs of Prome and the recognized priests of all the tribes, considerable respect is shown to Brahmanas, who are frequently employed to determine auspicious days for particular actions, and to assist in the worship of the Hindu gods. Among the Thongaia and Maghs, who frequently perform the described ceremonies, are regarded as some sort of priestesses, and are called ‘ari’ (from the same word as ‘ari’ (H. H. Riceley, T. C. U. L., 1894, ii. 81). The people thus described are the Khyungtho of the hill tracts of Chittagong, who, as T. D. Lawin states (Am. Journ. of Ethnology, 1907, p. 37, Wild Races of S. E. India, London, 1870, p. 93), are known to the Bengalis of the plains as ‘Hill Mugh,’ and are to be carefully distinguished from the true Maghs of the Chittagong District, otherwise called Rajbanshi, who are the offspring of Bengali women by Burmans. The true Maghs, however, of the famous Magh cooks, well known in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. The true Khyungtho are Buddhists and believe in the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls. Their Buddhist worship is of a simple character—the presence of a priest is not indispensable; prayers are made and offerings of flowers, food, etc., are placed before the shrine of Gautama by the people themselves.

Many villages have no priest, except wandering friars, who are not so much ministers of religion as recipients of alms. Each village has a temple (kangin), a small table for offering food, and a shed under the shade of some tree or 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 hood, and a shield 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 who may happen to be passing. By the side of the image hangs a small stand of bells, which each villager, after removing his turban and bowing to the semblance of the Teacher, rings to announce his presence. Each day at noon, for hours, he prays for his children, and in the evening the prayer for himself, except that now and again a father may be seen leading his young son by the hand and teaching him how to pray. Each year, before the commencement of the burning of the jute for the purpose of sowing the 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 the priest's responsibilities. Women do not participate in this rite; but it is common for a man to perform it two or 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 mercy which he has received.

Letter A.—The authorities are quoted in the article.

MAGI.—The name Gr. Mânu, Lat. Magus, from Old Pers. Maga is familiar to us from the classical writers, and from two appearances in the NT. It meets as first on the Behistun Inscription of Darius, where the king describes (Dbb. [Pers. text] i. 35 ff.) the usurpation of Gama the Magus (Gamaata tyca Maga) and his own successful plot against him, by which he became the Achaemenian dynasty to its ancient throne. There is nothing in the inscription to show what Magus meant, and we must fall back on our Greek sources, Herodotus first, and the rest, e.g. Strabo, and the text (Greek text). In Herod. i. 101 we are told that Maga, Mânu, and four others were Mycena iaro. The six names were explained as Aray caste-titles by J. Oppert long ago (Le Peuple et la langue des Medes, Paris, 1879, 77), and again, on different lines, by A. J. Caunoy (Museon, nev. ser., ix. [1898] 121 ff.); the tolerable certainty that five are Aray makes a strong pre-supposition that Mânu must be interpreted from the same language group.

The etymology, however, must be left undecided. Putting aside some attempts of Semitists to clinch it, we have at least two plausible accounts from the Indo-European side. Camou (loc. cit.) compared maga and Mayur with the meaning ‘leader, ruler’ while Mânu (Greek Titan) is an etymologically distinct word. The word *mânu* (Pers. maga), pp. 439-450 connects Gothic magus, O. fr. mag—a connexion which Caunoy accepts, but in a different sense. The Gothic word translates ‘venerable’ and *nav* (‘servant’) elsewhere. The latter meaning is that of the Irish word; we may also compare (Etruscan) *magus* and the ‘mânu’ (‘servant’) of the Etruscan text. The significant fact that it means ‘to carry’ once in the Avesta, and that in a prose passage (Y. vi. 7)
obviously late, speaks for the meaning 'servant'; the Magi were thus the leading tribe of the aboriginal population, enslaved or conquered by the Medes as the subject by the invading Aryans. But the whole history of the word is open to great uncertainty. The authority of T. Noldkær and G. Besold (op. cit., Bartholomaeis, Abhara, Wirtschaftsd., Strasbourg, 1894, p. 1115) may be referred to against the Semitic claim.

2. While the Magi were thus a distinct caste of Medes, and apparently the recognized leaders of the subject population in the time of Aryan invasion, 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 reformed Iranian nation, as Herodotus (i. 131 ff.) states, they only had to emphasize certain clear points of resemblance between their own religion and that of the Aryans, veneration of the sun and of the dead. The true Persian religion is not the inconsistent mixture of an Eastern sun-worship with the worship of the dead, as is traditional in the B'ahishta, but the consistent union of both, as we find in the later Parsi Scriptures (the Avesta has nothing one way or the other). On one side there is the official view that planets were malign; on the other we find them named heroes, as we see in the ancient Persian sources, including Ormazd himself. These names are simply equivalents for the Babylonian terms, like those which we ourselves have taken over through the later Greeks and the Romans, so that the whole system of Persian Magianism is but a late attempt to recapture the ancient and provide a true system of thought for the post-Avestan period. But it seems probable that the Magi played a part in the creation of Ahriman because of their irregular position, while the Parsees generally believed in the god of nature, and this is the same kind of discrepancy as in the views of mountains, which in Aryan and Semitic mythology alike were venerated as divine, but by the Magi were treated as places of the sun's burden, to be smoothed over when the regeneration came. It will be seen that most of these peculiar traits, by which we may distinguish the Magi from the people whose religion they adopted and amalgamated, are incompatible with either Aryan or Semitic affiliation, or at least do not suggest the one or the other. It seems a fair inference that they were aboriginal Medes, who, like the Elamites, belonged to neither of the two great races which divided Asia between them. To what stock they belonged we may not be able to say. L. H. Gray (Zypr. xxv. 1914) points out that there were Magas in India, about whom we hear in the Beaviana Puruska and the Bphastonhita; he thinks that these were probably Magians, accepting the general view of them which has been outlined above, and he believes them to be immigrants from Persia.1

It must be premised that the foregoing view of the ethnography of the Magi and their religious origins is to some extent new, and has not yet had the benefit of full discussion. The extent of approval expressed (by J. C. Cauburn, Dec. 23, 1935) and L. H. Gray (loc. cit.) encourages the writer to epitomize here the thesis set forth in his Early Zoroastrism, ch. vi. and vii. (of also K. G. F. and Chelsea, 1910, 1910) of 590.

4. Pursuing this thesis further, we are led to credit the Magi with having adopted that which is fairly called "dualistic" in Persiai. There is nothing really

1) It may be noted that a str. Maga cannot be directly translated into Greek with "Magus"; but Magi may be translated from a foreign word with altered declension (the form Maga also occurs in the Brani. text). This would imply an Iran. origin, which suits our theory. See, on the Magas, art. URABANIS and MANDAN.
that in Plutarch's quotation from Theopompus\(^1\) we should translate ‘Iades is to be depicted,’ which agrees with the other accounts of the testimony of Theopompus. The absence of any doctrine of immortality in Tobit can hardly be regarded (as in Moulton, p. 410) as an argument against Ahriman.\(^2\) 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 mechanical division of the world into creations of Ormazd and creations of Ahriman. This is practically absent from the Gāthās, and even from the Yaštās, 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 Gāthā ḫaŋkhahûići)—which by the loss of metre and the presence of much Gathic grammar in its own utterance (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 human and divine, etc. in Avesta-worship, and those of an Ahrimanian. Every yazata has a deific opponent; but we note that the balance is imperfectly completed, and that the structure, often of a late origin and vague, functions, so that we should suppose the work of correlation to have been rather half-heartedly undertaken as a concession to theory. The type of this new assimilation is vastly different from that which apparently called forth the declaration of Is 46\(^5\). The presence of such a system in Babylon during the Exile suits our view of the Magi as shamans exercising influence far beyond their own land of Media; and the presumption adds something to the case for recognizing the Rab-Mag as an avšogyān. We may observe that, if Zoroastrianism emphatically denied this dualistic assigning of darkness to an evil demonise, Zarathushtra himself was no less clear in his claim that Mazda made the night as well as the day (Yaś. xlii. 5). People are reduced mainly to conjecture when we ask what was the Magian eschatology. That death must be abolished if Ormazd is at last to conquer Ahriman—foru-mahrēna, 'many-slaying,' accustomed to his stand in Dīstān—Avesta epithets to the Magi, a natural inference from their first principles. We know, further, that they pictured a regenerate world in which such asymmetrical 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,\(^3\) 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 Fire-worship in his religion, in which case even the Magi were its long-established priests. But the extract apparently connects this immortality with a doctrine that looks rather characteristic of the Magi themselves. The reference of late to Plutarch, already quoted, is ordinarily taken as silent as to any doctrine of a resurrection among the Magi. But E. Böök (Die Urowandhâch der jañat-christi, with the postscript Urowandhâch des babyl. Alten, 1905, p. 102) argues

1 De Is. et Osir. 46: 'Zoroaster the Magus... taught them to sacrifice to the other (Abrahamic) offerings for averting ill, and things of gloom.' The blood of a wolf is specially mentioned. The creation doctrine of Zoroaster is thus described (Kisch, A. M. Zoroaster, p. 330): 'The Magi, besides having a beginning, have a cessation, too.' See Moullon, pp. 455, 453 f., for a full discussion.
MAGIC (Introductory).—1. History of the term and meaning. 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 and religious world. And yet it 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, theory, or interest in different and at times 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 may be instructive, then, to begin with a glance at its meaning as a popular expression. It is, of course, the literal descendant of the Gr. μηχανή and the Lat. magia, which in their strictest sense refer simply to therapeutics, and various practices of the Persian Magi, or parts of the sect of Zoroaster, in the form in which they became known to the West (see art. MAGIC). Such matters, however, being both foreign and ill-understood, would naturally be more or less suspect. Hence the word tended from the first to carry with it the unfavourable associations summed up in the notion of witchcraft (see, for instance, Hesychius, s.v. γιατρός, which he identifies with μηχανή, and Pliny, H.N. xxi. 11; and for further references, cf. H. B. L fond in, in Barthen-Saglio, s.v. "Magia"). These associations the equivalent words in the various languages of modern Europe have never lost. Even the attempt to rehabilitate magic as natural science in its operative aspect (de Augentius Scientiarum, iii. ad fin.) proved quite abortive. Thus it comes about that the modern anthropologist in attributing magic to a person or group of persons has to do without 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 1870 E. B. Tylor laid down that the "confusion of objective with subjective connexion, ... so uniform in principle, though so various in details, ... may be explained by recalling the words of Rosetta and the more modern Roger and Chavannes, till it almost seems as though we were coming near the end of his list, and might set down practices not based on this mental process, as exceptions to a general rule. (The Early History of Menkind, p. 129.) He adds that the same state of mind will account for the same puzzling features of the savage, for instance, depending on the belief that the general assumption is that of the human being to be dominated by the forces that are uppermost in themselves. (ib. p. 133.) Such an attitude of mind he characterises as one of "gross superstition and delusion" (ib. 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," (pp. 119, 120). 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 understanding" (p. 119). He adds a disquisition on the futility of magic arts, in which he maintains that "in the whole monstrous farago there is practically no truth or value whatever (ib. 135). 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" (ib. 159). The symbolic magic of the savage and the magicalism are alike harmful superstitions born of fallacies to which the human mind is naturally prone (see ch. iv., præsum, esp. ad fin.). J. G. Frazer (The Golden Bough) maintains a position which in any respect 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 invariable order without the intervention of personal agency. The character is the view involved in sympathetic magic (GB 1, 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 (1899) 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. Oldenburg (Die Religion der Völker, Berlin, 1894), F. B. Jevons (Introduction to the History of Religion, London, 1896), and A. C. Lyall (Aesthetic Studies, 1st ser., London, 1899). 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 2, 1, p. 46). 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 "less the bastard sister of science." All magic is necessarily false and harmful; for were it ever to become true and truthful, 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. 62). Religion, on the other hand, is opposed in principle both to magic and to science, since it is based on the assumption that the powers of nature and of 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
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 had not yet thought of courting 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 to a 'tardy 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. 72, 75). In the third edition (1811) 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 misapplied association of ideas:

**Symphatic Magic**
*Law of Sympathy*

- Homoeopathic Magic
  *Law of Similarity*

- Contagious Magic
  *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>Magic</th>
<th>Theoretical</th>
<th>Practical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Magic</td>
<td>(Magic as a pseudo-science)</td>
<td>(Magic as a pseudo-art)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Magic</td>
<td>Sorcery</td>
<td>Tabu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See GB*, pt. I, The Magic Art, I. 54 and 113.)

The view that tabu is a negative magic did not appear in earlier editions of The Golden Bough. Frazer holds that, if not the whole doctrine of tabu, at all events a large part of it, would seem to be but a special application of symphatic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact (ib. p. 111 n.).

E. H. Hartland (Ritual and Belief, London, 1914) writes on a full discussion of 'The Relations of Religion and Magic' (p. 26 f.). He insists at the outset that they spring from a common root.

'To express the emotional response to his environment, in his interpretation in the terms of personality of the objects which encountered his attention, and in their investiture by him with potentiality, atmosphere, orvoda, mana—call it by what name you will—we have the common root of magic and religion' (p. 56).

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 orvoda. 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 influence or control the affairs of men—who has, in a word, the orvoda. The lines of the two professions in one person are not at all; it is probably fundamental' (p. 61 f.).

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.

Magie covers the notion of power, by whatsoever means acquired, wielded by the magician as his own, and not as that of the god or of God; it is only obtained by supplication and self-abasement' (p. 93).

On his view prayers and sacrifices are magical processes just as far as a constraining power is attributed to them; and he asks, 'Have analogous beliefs in the magical powers of a rite even yet disappeared from Christianity?' (p. 87).

Religion, on the other hand, is'subjected to external systems, whose objects, so far as they are personal, are endowed with free will, are to be approached with true worship, and may or may not grant the prayers of their supplicants. Where the object is impersonal, or is but vaguely personal, it is none the less treated with reverence and submission, as by the transcending man; it is the object of an emotional attitude, activity directed towards it. Thus magic is an individual matter, even when it is not personal, tends to become so' (p. 89).

A. Lehmann of Copenhagen (Abertlauhe and Zauberere von den alttesten Zeiten an bis in die Gegenwart, Stuttgart, 1886) defines superstition (Abertlauhe) as any belief which either fails to obtain authorization from a given religion 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 engendered by superstition, or is explained in terms of superstitious notions (p. 61 f.). By insisting on the essential relativity of these two ideas he claims to have avoided many difficulties that puzzled former inquirers. For instance, if it be asked how magic is to be distinguished from miracle, the reply is that it is a question of standpoint. Aaron performing miracles when his Egyptian rivals are mere magicians (p. 9). For 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 ('Essai d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in L'Anthropologie, 1901) start from the conception of rites. Rites are traditional acts that are efficacious in a non-mechanical way, thus involving the notion of mana (p. 14), or wonder-working power (p. 14: cf. p. 153). The formalist theory underlies the idea of the sacred as implied in a religious rite like sacrifice. A magical rite, though non-religious, involves ideas of the same order (p. 2 f.). The differential of magic and religion consists in the fact that they do not form part of an organized cult, and therefore 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 ways of trafficking with the miraculous. Finally, magic, as being always the outcast of society, becomes charged with all the effects of disrepute and rejection, and so is gradually differentiated from religion more and more. This very ingenious and weighty study of magic, to which a short sketch cannot pretend, has at least the merit of making it 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 Rites 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 indissolubility of the relation between the theoretical and the practical sides, since the theory divorced from the practice passes into metaphysics, while the practice found on another theory becomes science. For the rest, the mysterious forces which underlie objects of magico-religious theory may be conceived equally well under an impersonal or a personal form; and, correspondingly, magico-religious practice, whether it issue in positive operations—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 (cosmist; impersonalist)
   - animism (dualist, etc.; personalist)
   - totemism
   - spiritism
   - polytheism
   - theism
   (with its intermediate grades).

2. Practice (Magic)
   - (Elites)
   - sympathetic contagious
   - direct
   - indirect
   - positive
   - negative
   (taboo).

Wilhelm Wundt (Völkerpsychologie, vol. ii. pts. ii. and iii., Leipzig, 1907-08) makes myth or belief the ultimate source of cult or ritual, since the latter is but the former put into practice. There is, however, a logical idea at the back of all rites, namely, the idea of soul; and from it are generated in succession three forms of cult, magic, fetishism, and totemism, which by reaction cause the evolution of soul to develop in a parallel manner. 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 incantations are supposed to perform no action from a distance, when the soul-influence makes itself felt indirectly by means of a symbol (ii. 46 f.). Thus Wundt is entirely opposed to the Fantasion 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 animals at the intermediate stages of fetishism and totemism. Here the force must end the survey of representative views, those selected for examination at least summarizing the wide diversity of the notions which 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.

2. 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 what Wundt would call abstraction in proemio—a "pre-religious" stage, as it might be termed. Now, since the word "magic" means an unfavorable something, 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, "unhappily" 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 oldest form of religion. In either case magic answers to something to which is assigned an unfavorable, because inferior, place in the evolutionary scale as compared with religion at its most characteristic. Anthropological science, however, is becoming increasingly chary of constructing any such scale on 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 civilized man, so that typological and historical primitivism cannot be identified offhand. 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 cultural development. In so far as such 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 (if so it may be termed), the product of sheer unreflective habit, which preceded the growth of the ideating habit by a better account of what was being done. Certain recurrent situations in the social life—and, as for the individual life, it is wholly subordinate to the social so long as mere gregariousness prevails—the social causes of emotional intensity. The emotions must find a vent somehow. This they do either through activities directed to practical ends, such as hunting, lighting, and love-making, the performance of which is the performance of the emotion itself at its most intense. In either case the emotion impels towards the activities in question all sorts of more or less functionless accidents; and the presence of these unaccountable details helps to make the whole performance seem mysterious to the person who is still more to the civilized onlooker. When the activity is of the directly practical kind, say, hunting, whereas the tracking, the killing of the game, and so on, explain themselves, the only thing enjoined by custom which do not explain themselves so readily—for instance, wanting such and such a garb, uttering certain words, and the like—may well seem to call for an indication that it is 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 affecting 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 inasmuch as there is no discipline of hard fact to impose bounds on the action. Meanwhile, in proportion as these secondary activities conformed to the same stimulus as the primary activities of which they are the byproduct, as for instance, when the hunting interest overflows into a pantomime rehearsal of the chase, they will wear an imaginative appearance, though in reality little more than simulations of things. When, however, an ex post facto justification of them becomes necessary, it is quite natural that the doctrines that they have 'power' should involve even less that their seemingly initiatory character has something to do with their efficacy. It is putting the
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cart before the horse to say, as Frazer seems to do, that the belief that 'like produces like,' or what he sometimes calls 'the sympathetic principle,' is, on the contrary, a symbolic ritual — 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 a matter of fact, the so-called 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' indulses in rites which are symbolic and sympathetic throughout and through is reached by picking out the abstract element of imitativeness which runs through primitive cult (and to no small extent through the more advanced types of cult as well), and ignoring everything that is like nothing but itself, yet forms just as persistent a part of the approved ritual. If, then, we are going to use the word 'magic' in general, let us at least identify the magical quality, not with the imitativeness, which is a secondary feature, but with the customariness, which is the real core of the value attaching to these non-utilitarian accompaniments of the more exciting moments of the practical life — these 'superstitions,' as the civilized colonists often call them in the rest, in so far as these relatively undirected discharges of the social energy need any supporting doctrine, they would seem to find, not in any philosophy about like producing like, and so forth, but in the history of thought — but in vague notions of the mana type (see MANA). In other words, the savage comports himself with no theory of how the magic 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 be spread gradually), they have power and efficacy in them or behind them. It is just this faith in them, we reason, that distinguishes nascently 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 overshadow practice in all sorts of ways that make for hope, courage, and confidence, whereas aesthetic enjoyment, however intense its source, does not thus point beyond itself. It remains only to ask whether 'magic' is a suitable word for the designation of the most rudimentary type of cult. On the contrary, we may put this justly 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 too question-begging to predicate religion throughout (unless, indeed, one is prepared to follow van Geenep and predicate magic throughout 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 classificatory apparatus ready-made from the hands of the theorist. If such an 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 ceremonies 'hunting magic,' 'agricultural magic,' 'ritual magic,' and so on. But it is just as easy to speak 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, falses can be better treated as a part of the 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 even natural. The proposition is the more obvious the nearer it is to speech. It may even be said to be now a recognized working principle that the first-hand observer should class all magico-religious phenomena under one general heading, and leave the theorists to determine how far, and along what lines, the differentiation of the magical and religious elements involved in the complex assemblage to be pushed (see Notes and Queries, p. 19)." The Royal Anthropol. Institute, London, 1912, section on 'The Study of Magico-Religious Facts,' p. 261.)

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 an rudimentary cult as a whole, may be said to draw a horizontal line from the former rest, in so far as these relatively undirected discharges of the social energy need any supporting doctrine, they would seem to find, not in any philosophy about like producing like, and so forth, but in the history of thought — but in vague notions of the mana type (see MANA). In other words, the savage comports himself with no theory of how the magic 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 be spread gradually), they have power and efficacy in them or behind them. It is just this faith in them, we reason, that distinguishes nascently 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 overshadow practice in all sorts of ways that make for hope, courage, and confidence, whereas aesthetic enjoyment, however intense its source, does not thus point beyond itself. It remains only to ask whether 'magic' is a suitable word for the designation of the most rudimentary type of cult. On the contrary, we may put this justly 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 too question-begging to predicate religion throughout (unless, indeed, one is prepared to follow van Geenep and predicate magic throughout 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.

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(a) Magic as the rival of religion. — Starting once more from the fact that the word 'magic' tends to stand for something mysterious and supra-sensible in the modern or superstitious sense, it is possible to treat magic as a general name for all the bad kinds of trafficking with the occult and supra-sensible in vogue in a given society, while, conversely, religion may be taken to comprehend all the good kinds of trafficking. Obviously the power of bringing wonders to pass is a two-edged sword, since surprising things may happen for evil and for good while, again, immoral as well as moral persons may seek benefit from miracle. It is, indeed, eminently characteristic of ideas of the mana type that they are, from a moral point of view, ambiguous, overweening, and a source of đang the efficacy of rites, whether they be beneficent or maleficent in their intention (see MANA). Now it is easy to see how rites of an ill-intentioned kind will come to be practised as ill 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 depicting an absent enemy in pantomime. Moreover, the very fear which causes and makes awake 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. The 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, it may be, with the malevolent aggressor. Anthropological literature is full of striking examples of the tendency which W. E. Roth (North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin no. 6, Brisbane, 1905, p. 28) calls \textit{chanatomania},
namely, the suggestibility leading sooner or later to death on the part of one who satisfies himself that he is doomed. Both has had personal experience of genuine or faked cases of death, 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 all sorts of accidents to nature medicine: 'the illness weighs upon his mind, and after a time he becomes more and more moody, and then the disease has been called "poling" - the magungi (death-bone) at him. I.e. that a "bone," pimple, itch, etc. has been put inside him and his blood removed.' (W. E. Both, 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. Various more or less impersonal forms of evil—such as the arunogwilha of the Arunta (Spencer-Gilpin), London, 1896, p. 545 n.), the opgen of the Eingana (Spencer & Gillen, op. cit., iv. 1902 37 n.), or the bals of the Malays (W. S. Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1906, p. 94)—are regarded as malign and destructive agencies in their own right, very much as one takes the blame of the plague or of the influenza. In short, there is always more or less of black magic 'in the air' for the panic-ridden savage. For this reason, and seeing also how much the healer of diseases and the exorcist of demons do 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 is almost tempted to say that the sorcerer is a mere bogy, the creation of abject fear wedded to ignorance and credulity. But this would be to go too far. There seems good evidence that in Australia, men and 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. Both own black servants, a mere layman, actually dared to point the bone at a native doctor, the latter dying about a fortnight later (N. Queensland Ethnography, Bull. no. 5, p. 36). At least, there may be hundreds of cases in which there are far more false accusations; and, in short, generally, in every 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 disrupting purposes. Thus among the Arunta of Central Australia such magic is chiefly resorted to in order to do bodily harm to a woman. It is to be despised, 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, from the material tendency not to be bound in the long run to become tolerably manifest.

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 ever 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 an entirely different order. Broadly speaking, all public rites have this common quality of being lieit and reputable, since the fact that they are the recognized custom of the community is taken as a sufficient guarantee 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-amines, are exactly in 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 elementaires 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 the age of magic. Indeed, no better instance could be cited to illustrate the incompatibility between the horizontal and the vertical classification of religious conceptions. It is not only the totemic man, exactly in the same place in the life of the people as is filled by the rites of the Church in a Christian country, but also the magico-religious idea of the Primitive, as stated by Robertson Smith (The Religion of the Semites, London, 1894, p. 293 f.), it well-nigh amounts to this:

'It was the community, and not the individual, that was being thought of in the making of the permanent life-size image of the totem. It was a national not a personal possession that was taught by ancient religion. So much was this the case that in purely personal concerns the ancestors were very apt to turn, and to be regarded as dead and illogical'. According to Robertson Smith (The Religion of the Semites, London, 1894, p. 293 f.), it well-nigh amounts to this:

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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. Leading to ideas of personal and spiritual upstanding with the rite to conform to a common type, now to that of mana and now to that of spirit (cf. Huvelin, op. cit. p. 2). After all, it is no wonder that differentiation should so naturally have been brought about; and that, so long as society is represented by an aggregate of small groups living in a state of perpetual discord, what would be evil if practised on a friend becomes good when practised by the same person on the people past the way. Or, again, society may halt as it were between two ethical opinions, with 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 Kumai tribe of Victoria, where marriage by elopement verges on the position of a recognized institution, while these 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, 1877, p. 130.)

The man in his capacity of tribal head-man may use his supernatural power to punish offenders against the laws of the group, such as the novice who betrayed a plan to his initiation companions; or the man who attacks another by means of evil magic; but he will likewise in his private capacity use his power against his enemies, and will even bring about on the death of his power of Darmakamali, the great anthropomorphic god of the mysteries, the very embodiment of all that is most religious in the eyes of the tribe (Howitt, pp. 543, 592). Cleanly, it is the act of the differentiated societies that we must look for an accurate evaluation of the purposes embodied in rites, leading sooner or later to their organization in ritual 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 cult and, indeed, of the social organization as a whole, must lurk in dark places, and develop only by internal systematization, however merely as does a rubbish heap, by the casual accumulation of degraded and disintegrated rite 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 utterly deficient 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, then, do they rest on the principle of compulsion as opposed to compulsion, that being mere rite, lacking the support of any consistent scheme of thought, they have to depend for their validity on the bare fact that they appear to work. Religion, on the other hand, is an ethically organized body of knowledge and practice which tends to inculcate the same virtues and to develop the same ideals. On the whole 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 mere 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 (GB, pt. 1, The Magic Art, i. 230) 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 and on the idea of supernatural causation 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 world, and further by means of characterizing magic as 'occult science.' It makes a fatal difference if, after the manner of Frazer, this qualification be omitted. Magic thus stands in far closer affinity with religion than with science, inasmuch as religion and magic equally consist in dealings with the supra-sensible and differ not as regards the means employed but simply in regard to the ends pursued, since the one tries to bring blessings to pass by means of miracle, and the other to bring curses. On the other hand, at no known stage of his evolution does the existence of man consist in one continuous round of mystic practices. It is mainly at the crisis, periodic or occasional, in the social and individual life that the need to draw on unseen sources of support is felt. In the intervals of the workaday world of affairs, and in the absence of immediate and spontaneous perception, stands in the foreground of attention; and this is the world in which science has always been at home. Chipping a flat stone against a flint is an act of nascent science, whereas bringing up a quartz crystal mysteriously from one's inside is a magician's religio-logical proceeding belonging to quite another order of experience. But the rate of modern science has originated in technical processes of a directly utilitarian and 'lay' character. Thus European geometry would seem to be the outcome of a simple and more or less differentiated societies that we must look for an accurate evaluation of the purposes embodied in rites, leading sooner or later to their organization in ritual 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 cult and, indeed, of the social organization as a whole, must lurk in dark places, and develop only by internal systematization, however merely as does a rubbish heap, by the casual accumulation of degraded and disintegrated rites of all kinds. 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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 remedial properties can be claimed. Among the commonest of these are bleeding, massage, poultices and fomentations, dressings for cuts, the use of splints for fractures, and so on, are 'lay' methods of treatment which rest on a basis of what we would call scientific theories. But the fact remains that these are recognized as 'science,' i.e. a more or less organized common sense. At the same time, the lay mind is likewise addicted to what the modern doctors would regard as pure superstition, such as reliance on charms, amulets, the sucking-string, etc. But at any rate the atmosphere of mystery with which the professional faith-healer surrounds the exercise of his craft is absent from these applications of communal lore to the ills of life. Further, the professional enters into competition with the layman in order to demonstrate how superior his wonder-working is to the humdrum procedure of the ordinary folk-medicine.

Thus both religiously note that 'among the Balinese blacks, there are indications of a desire on the part of the medicine-man to claim a share in the cure, with a corresponding reward.' The common cure for snake-bite being a vapour-bath, which apparently is the only thing every man undertakes to help it out by operating on the snake. 'The doctor himself goes out at once, after the accident has happened, is shown where the snake lies hid, digs it out, and lets it glide away a few feet before commencing to pit it with sticks. During this process the medicine-man gradually becomes harmless, when it is carried back to camp, where the medicine-man, turning his 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.'

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, such as relying on charms, etc., that he is a professional and hence has the public against him, according to the principle that whatever is private in rude society is suspect. As Havelin points out, 'It is long as society remains undifferentiated, all custom rests on the common belief and wears a religious character, so that every manifestation of individuality is destitute of sanction, when it does not actually amount to a criminal offense.'

Havelin further emphasizes that social organization begins to come into existence through the division of labour, individual activity is oblige to disguise itself under a cloak of religious ceremonies, and that the logia of the primitive character, not only in the eyes of others, but even in his own eyes, since others suspect, while he himself is obscurely conscious, that powers and practices of which originally came into being for the public service are being exploited for private ends (Havelin, p. 46). Whether it be the professional doctor or the professional smith, his right to be a specialist has been purchased at the cost of seeming, and being, something of a humbug.

Passing to the subject of divination, we have an even clearer case of a pseudo-science, since, whereas faith-healing has been to a certain extent purged of its supernaturalism and incorporated into modern medicine, divination has no part or lot in the science of to-day, unless we detect its aftermath in the celebrated postulate that the goal of science is prediction. On the other hand, divination has in certain of its developments all the appearance of science so far as concerns the organization of its principles and the amount of genuine observation. It is also to be noticed that here the practice of the art depending on this body of knowledge was thoroughly respectable, being, in fact, a branch or department of the official religion (see DIVINATION [Assyro-Babylonian]). It is not, in fact, until it migrates into Europe that the Babylonian astrologer becomes a professional victim of theologian, and the opposition between the two becomes apparent. Again, at a lower stage of social evolution divination can fill the place of science in so far as it calls out the reasoning power of the mind and supplies some sort of intellectual gymnastic. Thus H. A. Junod, a missionary, who gives an admirable account of the use of the divinatory bones among the Thonga of S. Africa, spends long hours with his native teachers trying to acquire the principles of this system of theirs which they call 'The Word,' and vaunt to be superior to the missionary's Bible:

"So I had as opportunity of reaching the depths of the Bantu mind, that mind which has perhaps invented nothing more elaborate and more magical than the divinatory system. Of course no sensible person would for a moment believe in the objective value of these practices. Yet their astrologers have ascribed to them a more real value than they have to Chiroiomy, Fortunetelling, and all the other "mammis." But I am obliged to confess that the Thonga system is far more clever than any other which I have met with, and that it admirably answers to the wants of the Natives, as it comprehends all the elements of their life, photographs them, so to speak, in such a way that indications and directions can be obtained for all possible cases" (The Life of a South African Field Missionary, p. 72).

It remains to show how science in the modern sense has managed to shake itself free of its rivals, the pseudo-sciences. As far as relates to what has been called 'the European epoch of the human mind,' the mother of science is undoubtedly ancient Greece. There the human spirit shook itself free of the domination of the magico-religious, thanks to its interest in the things of the world. 'Between Homer and Herodotus, Greek Reason has come into the world. . . . Man has become the measure of all things; and things are worth observing and recording according as they are as they do, or do not, amplify human knowledge already acquired, or supply us with fresh attempts to classify and interpret them.' In this high meaning of the word all Greek records are utilitarian, relative to an end in view; and this end is ever netherpoetic, it is nothing less, but it is also nothing more, than the Good Life, the Wellbeing of Mankind' (J. L. Myres, in Anleitung zur Geschichte der Philosophie, ed. Macth, Oxford, 1909, p. 125).

There is no violent breaking with the old-world rituals and the associated beliefs; but colonization, trade, and the growth of science itself begat a secular frame of mind which dismisses theological prejudices in so far as they conflict with technical improvements. 'All allusions are from Gaetan's; 'writes Hippocrates, 'no one of them being more divine than another, or more human either, but all alike from God's point of view, but growth, and nothing comes into being without a process of growth.' Wherefore he turns without more ado to the study of these physical causes (cf. p. 251). Meanwhile, in philosophy, which at first stands by 'nature' something eminently supernatural in its potency for making wonders happen, there gradually develops a scientific tradition by the side of a mystic tradition, the former of which affirms the reality of the many things of the sense, world as against the reality of the one transcendent world-soul conceived by the latter (cf. E. M. Cornford, From Religion to Philosophy, London, 1912, p. 144 f.). The former view culminates in the atomism of Democritus, which has prevailed in the sphere of physical science until the present day. Now this whole scientific movement is opposed in spirit to magic and religion alike. It contradicts the whole tenor of the magico-religious type of procedure whether by manual or by incantation and hence cannot be identified or equated, after the fashion of Frezer, with magic regarded as equivalent to the earliest phase of cult in general. Nor, again, has it a real affinity with the various parallel developments, save in so far as many technical processes undertaken by experts are at first more or less suspect as private exploitations, as has already been explained. Natural science
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 shows 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 practices the man who tries to make a living out of the credulity and idle fears of weak humanity. In practice, however, both find it to distinguish between the delinquent and the innovator, so that the line between evil magic and charlatanism, on the one hand, and mere heterodoxy, on the other, tends to be even more of a somnolent fluctuating kind. As for black magic, it has almost disappeared from view in civilized society. As the folklorist knows, however, a permanent possibility of demonizing superstition lurks in human nature, and only education in regard to both physical facts and moral truths can keep the monster down.


R. R. MARRETT

MAGIC (Arabian and Muslim).—The word used in Arabic for this notion is *sifr*, connected with the verb meaning 'to produce illusion' on the eyes (Qur'., vii. 110); it seems, therefore, to be in origin the causative of the verb *hârâk*, 'to be bewildered,' and is explained by the verb 'to frighten' (i'tikhaba), whence the whole phrase resembles *mâyâris wa ilâdâr* in As 88. It is probable that the Hebrew *shârad*, used twice by Isaiah for 'conjure away,' is identical, and the Armenian *shkronnasc*, '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 *sifr* was revealed to the two angels in Babel, Harût and Mûrût, who taught it to mankind, without concealing the fact that they were recipients of it; the *sifr* showed how to separate a man from his wife, i.e. was the contrivance of a love-philtre. Isaiah (47:1) connects the *shârad* with Babylon, which, according to classical writers also, was the heart of the magic region. *Tune* Babylon Persic liceat, secretae Memphisi Omne vehementer solvât penetralium /Magorum* (Lucan, Pharsalia, vi. 491); Haâtât und Mûrût seem from their names to be Arabian 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 *sifr* are always subjective only or may be objective; and some commentators think both possible. When, therefore, a miracle is branded as *sifr*, it may be regarded either as an optical illusion or as an illusive magic or the employment of demons; it is true that Solomon employed them (according to the Qur'an), but this may have been a prophetic privilege. And a theological difficulty still remains, that the *sifr* was revealed to two angels, as what is revealed ought not to be evil. The orthodox view is that magic can be objective; but some Mu'tazilite doctors and some members of the Shâfi'ite and Ḥanâ'î schools took the other view; and even those who believed that it was objective thought that it could affect accidents only, and could not tranmum value.

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 (Qastallâni, Commentary on the Masûlîn Ladhmiyyah, Cîrî, 1278, vii. 116). Acquisition of the theory was, however, permitted, and the agent, a duly in absentia on certain members of the community, as protection against those who practised the art.

The recognition by Islam of the existence of jinn furnished a basis for the belief in magic, to which, however, the attitude of the educated and of serious writers is about the same in most countries; it is not commonly recognized as an agent in the course of events, yet may well be admitted into tales of wonder and delight, whereas the superstitious may resort to it for a variety of purposes.

It figures on one occasion in the biography of the Prophet, when an illness was brought upon him by a Jew named Labi ben al-As'âm; 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 others, the object hidden was a string with a number of knots upon it. The latter version is doubtless suggested by the penultimate *sîrâ* of the Qur'an, which is a spell against eclipses and witches who breathe or spout on knots. The practice against which these spells are directed is similar to, if not identical with, those which are enumerated by classical writers (e.g. Lucan, vi. 460 ff.). Others, of which the Arabian Nights offers ample illustration, also has analogies in the literature of classical antiquity; the transformation of men into animals by a witch's potion is found as early as the Odyssey. In Arabic there is a special word for this process, *mâshî*. *Ujâj Khalifah* (Lecion bibliograph. it encycloped., ed. G. Flügel, London, 1835-58, iii. 584) classifies the various magical methods as follows:

The Indian consists in suspension of the soul; the Nabataean in the employment of spells thatlatable to the gods; the work in compelling the service of the spirits of the spheres and the stars; that of the Hebrews, Copts, and Arabs in mentioning names of unknown meaning—this method being a variety of that by inscription, those who employ it professing thereby to press into their service the angels who have power over the jinn. This last expression recalls Lucan's

*habeb hauc carinam certum imperio demn, qui mundum cogere, quiunici cognitor (poet i. 697 ff.)*

The classification cannot be maintained, though it is possible that the tendency in the case of the different nations corresponded roughly with the methods assigned; thus doubtless the theory that conjugal practice won command over the gods was carried to greater lengths by the Iranians 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 containing practices which are supposed to be of such a nature that man is able by his 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 relation of magic to religion (see 'Introductory' section above), we may say that this generally accepted use of the term has great advantages for the classification of material. And it corresponds 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 natural, whereas, according to the religious concept, power is derived from a background 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 some of 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 the collection of traditions by Muslim (Cairo, 1299, ii. 180-185) evidence is adduced to show that Muhammad sanctioned the employment of spells or magical prayers for treatment of the evil eye, snake-poison, and disease generally; the expert who employed the Qur'anic texts for this purpose might even charge a fee, out of which the Prophet would accept a royalty. The word rug-yah is employed for charms of this kind, and in the case of snakes it would seem, from a story told by Jabir (Zoology, Cairo, 1906, iii. 124), that their effectiveness depended on the loudness of the charmer's voice.

The name for collections of oracles is, as has been seen, Malakhim, and this word is applied to those prophetic works wherein the future is regularly read (e.g., the Book of Daniel), as well as to less authoritative books. Others were of the sort known as Consulting-books, i.e., books wherein the future could not be read by oral tradition, and to be learned only from the persons who performed them or from travellers who have made careful observations (e.g., E. W. Lane, Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, 1839).

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article. Cf., further, Divination (Musul.), Oracles and Amulets (Muharrm.).

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whose power or influence the sufferer had fallen, whether by his own act or through the machinations of a hostile sorcerer or sorcess. Such spirits and powers of evil were legion, and were ever on the lookout to inflict bodily harm on men. They might be ghosts of the under world, or gruesome spirits—half-human and half-demon, or, lastly, fiends and devils of a nature corresponding to, but lower than, that of the gods.

The sole object of the magical texts was to enable the priests to control and exorcize these demons, or to break in some way the malign influence which they exerted on their victim. And, in order to bring about a successful natural function—such as the ghosts of women who died in childbirth. As a rule, such spirits haunted ruins or deserted places, and, if a man wandered there, they might seize the man and plunge him in a sea of woe or doom. 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 cutting drinking or dressing in his company. From these instances it will be seen that a man was liable, through no fault of his own, to supernatural attack, and precisely similar results were believed to be brought about by such ceremonial and moral offenses. To touch the chair or bed of a person already affected by such evil influence or ban was, according to the texts, quite as dangerous as committing a moral offense, 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 sorcess who had cast the spell. In a large class of texts prepared for the use of the magician their purely magical character is sufficiently apparent from their contents. In others, where the context refer more to the possible causes of his misfortune or the means to relieve it, the essentially magical character of the communications sometimes be detected in notices or 'rubrics' which give directions for their recital and for the performance of accompanying rites and ceremonies. For the rites prescribed were imbued with an intimate connexion with the subject-matter of the prayer or incantation. Sometimes the offerings and the accompanying rites have, to our eyes, only a vague relationship to the character of the god or goddess addressed. But in other compositions the media employed in the incantation are specifically named in the recitative, or liturgical, portion of the text. In fact, a study of the rubrics makes it clear that many present a certain general resemblance in giving directions for the recitation of the main text over something which is mentioned in the accompanying formulae. The relationship between text and ritual may be illustrated by the following group of rubrics from the Sixth Tablet of the Magia series, col. iii. lines 8-32, which give directions for the due recital of incantations on the Sixth Tablet of the series and the performance of accompanying rites.

(a) The incantation (beginning): "Thou art good, who in a pure place art born!" over a good offering shall thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shall thou place it.

(b) The incantation (beginning): "Come, my sorcerer or my enchantress!" over twelve pieces of sand shall thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shall thou place it; and with an upper garment shall thou envelop the bed.

(c) The incantation (beginning): "Come, my sorcerer or my enchantress!" over twelve pieces of sand shall thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shall thou place it; and with an upper garment shall thou envelop the bed.

(d) The incantation (beginning): "Come, my sorcerer, my witch, whose pains are over all the world!" over two caged locusts shall thou recite, and to the right hand of the enchanted man shall thou set them.

(e) The incantation (beginning): "Come, my sorcerer, my witch!" over a stone from the mountain shall thou recite, and in the court of the house shall thou lay it.

(f) The objects for ceremonial burning (incense), which belong to the incantation (beginning): "Ellil my head," all that are described as pools against locusts, shall he place together and make to go up in smoke. The incantation (beginning): "Ellil my head," shall thou recite.

This rite of the locusts, which may be regarded as typical of a great body of Babylonian ritual, will be seen, when examined, to be an obvious example of sympathetic magic. The locusts were set, one on each side of the sick man's door, to represent Lugal-girra and Meshal-tum, who, as gods of the watch, would be ready to pounce upon the sorcerer and slay her. The magic would work and the gods would act at the second recital of the incantation.

In many of the rites and ceremonies the use of fire was essential, and it would seem that, after the recital of the correct formulæ, the destruction 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 parity, such as frankincense or myrrh, or gold or precious stones; and it is probable that, except for powerful or wealthy clients, the magician would make the same fragments do again and again. But the objects used by the magician also included plants, pieces of wood, various sorts of seeds, vegetables, dates, palm-splashes, sheep-skin, wool, etc.—all perishable substances which could easily be consumed. And in their use 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 clear from the destructive sub-section, in which the employment of images is prescribed in place of unfashioned natural objects or substances. The images were to be fashioned in human form, to represent the hostile sorcerer or sorcess, and the destruction of these by fire, to
the rectal of the correct formula, was obviously believed to synchronize with the destruction of the hostile person whose figure had been imitated. These images could be made of wax, honey, bitumen, silver, gold, or other materials. When metal was employed, we may assume that the mere passing through the fire was sufficient for the purposes of the magic. Evidence in favor of this interpretation is found in Baba. There is no indication that fire in Babylonia was sacred. There is no indication that fire in Babylonia was sacred. The fire was used to cleanse and purify the object. The magician engaged in exercising a demon from his patient, and, having gained control by the necessary formula, he transfers him to some object, which may be an animal or a plant. In one such case the medium is a pot of water, which is then broken and the water spilled; in another case a clay image is fastened to the patient's body and after being consumed, the image of a pig might be spread upon the sick man, and afterwards thrown out of the house. In these cases we have a physical transference of the hostile power from the sick man to the object employed. In other rites, such as the knotting of cords, the weaving and unweaving of coloured threads, and the like, it is not clear how far the physical action was believed to exercise a direct influence. It is possible that we shall explain such rites on the principle of imitation, which is the basis of sympathetic magic.

But it must be confessed that with regard to a considerable section of the ritual the writer is still not in a position to follow the underlying trains of thought. The large class of so-called medical prescriptions were, no doubt, essentially magical, and, although in some instances the substances prescribed may have actually had curative effects, the associations which led to their employment by the Babylonians are still obscure.

Most of our knowledge of Babylonian magic is derived from purely textual sources, for we have recovered but few amulets, in which we may be said to deal with magic in a concrete form. It is true that we possess several group of amulets, sprinkled with similar insulting to the plague, and intended to be hung up in houses to keep off the plague；we have also recovered the figures of human limbs, sometimes inscribed with incantations ; these, too, were doubtless employed in propitiation or defence. But the only magical apparatus, in the strict sense of the term, that has come down to us may be seen in certain rectangular plaques of earthenware, moulded on the face of the figure of a sick man lying on a couch, attended by the magicians or exorcizers, and surrounded by various hostile demons and protecting spirits or their emblems—arranged in horizontal registers. On the back is the large figure of a demon in relief, with his head usually protruding above the top of the plaque. From the subject of the reliefs it is clear that the plaques are to be classified under the general heading of sympathetic magic, but the precise manner in which they were employed by the magician in cases of sickness is not certain. Another class of objects, consisting of little clay figures of deities or birds, which were buried below the pavement in the main doorways of a temple or a palace, may be treated as magical in their application, being thought to ensure the safety of the structure, to check the special hauntings of foundation-deposits. It may be added that the magical beliefs and practices of the Babylonians survived their racial disappearance, and, largely through Jewish, Syrio, and Mandaic channels, contributed in no small degree to the great and composite body of medieval magic.

LITURGIES.—General treatises on the magico-religious practices of Babylonia and Assyria, such as M. Jastrow's Babylonian and Assyrian Mythology, 1890; A. H. Sayce, The Religions of Ancient Egypt, 1910; and W. Robertson Smith, The Religion of the Semites, 1894, have much to say on the liturgical side of the divinities. Some of these are dealt with in the special section of this article. For the most complete survey of Babylonian religious texts, see C. L. Tollaad, Das religiöse Leben im alten Babylonien, Leipzig, 1904; A. Hoehner, Das Religionswesen der alten Welt, 3 vols., 1905-11; and A. B. Bierhorst, The Mysteries of the Ancient Near East, 1954. For the Babylonian liturgy itself, see W. F. Albright, 'Religious Literature of the Ancient Near East,' American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 1925, 1927, and 1929, and A. M. E. F. K. Kees, Der Tempel des Kronos, 1930.

MAGIC (Buddhist).—If we rightly understand the real character of Buddhist magic, we 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 life, to attain freedom from passion in order to reach freedom from rebirth, i.e. eternal, blissful nirvana. All the machinery of intellectual and moral life is organized with a view to this. Buddhism does not deny that there are good (karmic) acts that ripen into happiness in a future life (svarupa, 'paradise'), but monks consider them not only as of no avail for, but even as obstacles to, nirvana. Ascetic and religious acts (sitara, tapasa) have no place in the training for nirvana, and it is a very grave and delusive heresy 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 every-day or trivial magic is concerned, its efficiency is acknowledged, but Buddhists are strictly forbidden to practise it; all kinds of magical arts and performances—even of a benevolent nature—are regarded as pernicious. But the 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 a superhuman 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 raddi)—in the word of Birtha Davida, the mystic wonder, wondrous gift, magic power, power acquired by pious works, by penance, and also by formula, and especially by contemplation.

There is nothing (pre-natural) in the rddhi, and the natural character of the 'miracles' performed by only a few instances in the following list: in the other continents, and is sometimes performed by the relations concerned with the transmigration of souls (karma) and other 'constrictions' (sramana).

2. On the position of the Buddha and regard to magic see F. W. Fohn Davida, Dialogues of the Buddha, i. (SBE II), London, 1899, 272.

1 These are *mandana* ('blessing') good acts, in contrast with *sacrilegious* ('beggarly') ones, such as *supramandana* ('beggarly') of words, which the relations concerned with the transmigration of souls (karma) and other 'constrictions' (sramana).
a complete survey of the magical power of the bodhisattvas. It is said to be twofold: āparīṇāmauddhāya, power of transformation, when a bodhisattva modifies the nature of an existing thing; and uddhāsa, which creates something or some person. The created person (nirmita, nirmitaka) are frequently mentioned in the Mahāyāna works; but they are not unknown in the Hinayāna, both Pāli and Chinese. Elaborate theories on the nirmitakas are to be found in the Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvastivāda (Lokaprajñāpati, 1st cent. A.D.), which embody the views of the Sunakrti Hinayāna; and in the Abhidharma-brahma (ch. vi.), where the creative power of Buddha and of the gods (nirvāṇapati, etc.) is discussed.

2. Paritā. Another very orthodox form of magic is paritā, or rākṣa, guard, safeguard. It plays an important part in Sinhalese Buddhism under the name of pīra (Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism, ii. 249, Manual of Buddhism, do. 1890, p. 47; J. D. Gogerly, sri lankan Buddhism, ed. A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1906, pp. 327-328). Good examples are found in Pāli literature.

Taking refuge in the three jewels (rātra, rattana), Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, forms a charm called sattvajāta, the jewels, which is very efficacious against illness:

Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all spirits be happy, and then listen attentively to what is said. Therefore, o spirits, do ye all pay attention, show kindness to the human race who both day and night bring them offerings; therefore protect them strenuously. Whatever wealth there be here, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, it is certainly not equal to this. By this truth may they be salvation.1 In the same way: 'Nothing is equal to the Dharma, to the Sangha!'

So also, in the Peacock Jātaka, sun-worship ("the only king, the one who beholds, the light of the world") is connected with that of the Buddhas:

1 worship these, golden and luminous beings: May I spend this day under thy car! Homage to the omniscient sage! May they protect me! Homage to the Dharma and to the illumination, to the delivered and to the deliverer! ...

When Sakyanuni 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 'satta (or charm) of the peacock' in use as a preventive and as a cure for serpentine bites.

In these examples the magical character is not very prominent: there is nothing pagan in the formula, which are, above all, acts of Buddhist faith; there is nothing bizarre; nothing really magical in the efficacy ascribed to the pīra. The non-Buddhist gods are clearly subordinated to the Buddha: it is almost a dogma that the Buddha converted gods and demons;1 and it is quite reasonable to believe that they will grant their favour to the disciples of Buddha. It is believed also that benevolence (maññati) possesses a power in itself (maññati-dána), in the world of protecting the benevolent person against all the consequences 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.1 This magic of benevolence.

2 sattadāna (Sutta-Nipata, ii. i); Ry. Davids, SBE xxxv, 213.-139; J. Elliptical (Buddhism, ii. 3); Marutājata, Jātaka, ed. V. F. Faber, London, 1877-78, ii. 33. 1 It is a dogma for the Sarvāstivādins, both Pāli and Chinese. See Le Fèvre, 'Analyse du Kandjou,' AMR (1881) 167.
3 the Pali verses admit that there are still wicked gods (Dīptas, xxvii).
4 See Chullavatta, vi. 4, and v. 6. (SBE xx, 1891) 471.
volence is the most noteworthy invention of Buddhism in connexion with the subject which we are discussing.

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—in a word, all that any man may accomplish with the help of certain secret recipes and a technical method. Holy men, in ancient as in modern India, priests or sorcerers, had only 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 sheltered from this temptation, and drew up a long list of "wrong means of livelihood," of low arts, that were strictly prohibited. The great Brahmins 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 dorminey, bastards; to keep a man's face fixed; obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror, or through a glass; healing by smiting with a rod, as a witch might with a bridle; making a man impotent; invoking Sīt (Sūrī), the goddess of love; worship of sun, etc.

2. After precautions the Order took to avoid all paganism and superstition, there is, nevertheless, a Buddhist magic. It was impossible to guard against Hindu infiltrations. At no time could the people be totally ignorant of the sun or the inferior deities; a day came when the infiltrations became "streams," when paganism—gods, rites, theurgy—under a thin Buddhist veneer, took its place in sacred literature. Of course, we find popular magic always condemned in principle (loves, rites, elixir of life, etc.). What is more serious, official worship and mysticism are permeated with Hindu elements, heavily laden with magic; 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 sūtras, the mere reading of which efficaces sin; (2) the great value attached to sacred names (e.g., the name of Amātākshita); devotion turns to superstition pure and simple; (3) the name revered, frequently sanctified by mystic formulae (see Avalokiteshvara), represented, when carried to an extreme, by the Tibetan "prayer-wheel;" it has been noticed that, in the Lotus of the True Law (q.v.), 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 Buddhas (Tantrism).

MAGIC (Celtic).—1. Wielders of magic. Magical rites resembling those used by other races abound in Celtaic paganism. They were performed by the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann being later regarded as superman wizards, by kings (a reminiscence, perhaps, of the origin of the kingship in Irish paganism), and by all members of society, but, above all, by the druids as the official magical class. There is evidence that they had ousted women as the earlier magic-wielding persons; this is the evidence of agrarian and the procession.

1 See Ryba Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, l. 23, a collection of interesting documents on the ancient life of India.

of much primitive lore having been first of all in the hands of women, and these rites being largely magical, they were par excellence magicians. With the gradual encroachment of man on woman's domain, with the growing supremacy of certain goddesses, men became also greater magicians. But women still professed magic, and their claims were never forgotten. The so-called druidisms of the later empire, the priestesses of Senus, and the virgin guardians of Brigit's fire were magic-wielders. The 'spells of women' were feared even by St. Patrick; as they had been in earlier times by Conna's father, and in the Irish texts women as magicians, performing all magical rites ascribed to druids, are much in evidence. But their magic was, so to speak, non-official; hence, when the druids were proscribed and destroyed, a great many of them retired to the forests, where they continued to work their arts. Their powers, and much mediaval witchcraft is directly connected with them. Women, as the earliest, remained also the latest, magicians, though in time they were proscribed and destroyed. On the other hand, many of the druidical magical rites were later ascribed to the filid, or poets, and also to Christian saints. Whatever view may be taken of the origin of the druids, it is certain that the Celts believed firmly in magic, and did not require to learn the supererogation of any of its branches from the races which they conquered.

For the druids as magicians in Gaul and Ireland see Davies, p. 7. Their prominence is seen in the fact that in later Celtic literature 'druid' is the equivalent of magus, 'magician,' as in the lives of Celtic saints sung 'druids,' while in angles and folk-tale 'druidism' = magic.

2. Elemental magic. The druids, who claimed to have created the elements, claimed also to rule them. They could cover the dry land with the sea to destroy their victims; they produced enchanted mists in which to hide people or places; they changed day into night, or caused blinding snow-storms. These feats are ascribed to them even in the lives of early Celtic saints. They caused showers of fire to fall upon enemies during battle. In other cases they dried up all the rivers and wells in an enemy's country by means of spells, though the druids of the latter caused water to flow again by shooting an arrow into the ground. They even claimed to remove mountains and dash them against an opposing host. Druids accompanied the warring hosts of Erin, and these marvels usually occurred on such occasions, the rival magicians striving to outdo each other. The foretold and other powers—e.g., rain-making—were later claimed by wizards (tempestarii) and witches in Christian times over the Celtic area. Rain-making was usually associated with a sacred well, whether the people went in procession, probably with an image of a divinity, which was sprinkled with the water; in some instances it was sufficient to beat the water with branches, sprinkled on stones, or throw it in the air. In certain cases the Church took over this rite by making it a part of an elaborate ritual, including a procession with an image of a saint, the priest offering "sprinkings." But in pagan times the presence of a druid was probably essential. The control of the elements by tempestarii, which was denounced by the Church, was directly borrowed from druidic magic. Until comparatively recent times, the
priest in rural French parishes was believed capable of causing rain in time of drought, or of averting tempests.

3. Magic affecting human beings.—The druids could make themselves or others invisible, and this was also done by Celtic saints. A spell used for this purpose, or by which the person using it appeared in another form to his enemy and so escaped, as well as the effect produced, was called *fasth *kada* (*‘the wild beast’s cry’*). By it he and his followers appeared as deer to their foes. The power of such an incantation is still spoken of 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 druids of Ireland were sworn to run through the area of their stepmother, the daughter of God Buri, while Odin’s mother became a fam through the power of the druid Fear Duibhseach. P. Kennedy, *Legends of the Celtic Druids*, 1866, pp. 39–40, suggests that the druid could take any shape (Pomfret, *Mal. iii*, 6), and many tales of goddesses or women assuming the shape of birds are found in the sagas. In some instances the belief is evidently connected with lassism, as explaining a tale upon eating certain animals by saying that they were human beings transformed.

‘Rimming’ people to death—a practice used by the *fíldi* as well as by the druids—was connected with the power of the spoken word, though it may also have been connected with the actual power of violent 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 he was followed, sooner or later, by death. The satire was probably a magical spell, and the fear of such a spell brought about the result automatically. CealÉire pronounced the first satire in Ireland upon Ri’s, king of the Fer-morians, and many other instances occur in the texts. The power of the satire 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 Doedal’s lap, as well as by the songs of the *fíldi*. 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, then exhaustion. But it may also suggest the soothing power of music. Similar magical sleep was caused by the music of divine visitants (see Bricer, *Athen. o. 711* [Celtic], §§ 2, 4). In other cases sleep was produced by a ‘drink of oblivion,’ probably some narcotic made from herbs; but sometimes the effect was curious, as when Cúchulainn, 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 senseless, 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.

The power of ‘glamour’ produced by 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 ‘glaomen’ in which the modern Celt believes is little else than hallucination. The druid might also turn a man into a madman by throwing a wisp of straw at his face after saying a spell over it. Even more primitive was the method of killing a person by throwing a spear into his shoulder. The victim died of fright and from him and sticking pins into it or placing it in running water, so that he might suffer or waste away. This image is the *corp creith*, still known and used in remote Celtic regions.

4. The Airbre Draud, or ‘Druid’s hedge,’ was an invisible magic barrier made by the magician round an army, probably by circumambulating it sunwise 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.

5. Magical rites connected with stones and trees.—The cult of stones and the belief that sepulchral 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, and it is surprising that the method used throws light upon the earlier pagan customs. These are of a magico-erotic nature, and, like similar rites among savages, are founded on the belief that the spirit of the stone can kill or perhaps may incarnate himself 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 dolmens. Pregnant women do the same to ensure an easy delivery, or unmarried girls to procure a husband. Similar practices are used in connexion with boasters or stones which are not sepulchral, and probably these were anterior to the use of megalithic monuments. In these cases the stones believed to be the abode of spirits, or perhaps manifestations of the power of the Earth divinity, who gave vitality or fruitfulness to those who worshipped the rites. A small offering was usually left on the stone. Such practices may already have 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 hole in a 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 feath or kind had been dipped procured healing when it was drunk—a method still used by druids. Other magical rites with stones were used in cursing an enemy.

*Códary, Magicians and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, ii, 220.


2 *Páide de Judalinev*, p. 387.


4 *A. Carmichael, Corfht Gatholog*, Edinburgh, 1800, ii, 256.

5 *Rícht uil. i*, *O’Curry*, *p. 245.


7 Windisch, *ipt. i*, *O’Curry*, p. 255.

8 Windisch, *ipt. i*, *O’Curry*, p. 255.

9 *Joyce*, *p. 270.

10 *Joyce*, *p. 55; *Rícht xxiti* (*1907*), 94.
6. Celtic saints and magic.—Much of the magic of the druids was popularly ascribed to the saints who combated them.—with this difference, that their power was held to come from God. In the Lives of Celtic saints we find them opposing the druids with their own weapons—neutralizing their magic, controlling the elements, producing rain, rendering their crops fertile, producing marvellous supplies of food, and causing transformation of confusion through their curses. The popular belief in magic could not be eradicated, and they who now filled the places of the ancient priesthood were freely dowered by the people and by their biographers with the ancient powers.

See also CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).


J. A. MacCulloch.

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 childish credulity of its authors and the extravagance of their speculations, it is nevertheless worthy of more patient scrutiny and analysis than it has yet received from anthropologists and students of folklore from serious students of Chinese life and character. In this article we cannot do more than touch the fringe of a subject which deserves much of its importance from the fact that in magic is still a living force in 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 men as well as female witches, though 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 some such combination as wu-p'o), which means 'witch-wife,' has persisted throughout the ages, and is still in common use. In pre-Chinese days the wu held a recognized position in the social organization of the country. They were entreated even in the course of kings' trials to pronounce sentence of divine excommunication and compromise. Judging from the somewhat meagre accounts which we possess of the beliefs and practices of the sorcerers, the most common were those of mimetic dancing, drum-beating, chanting of esoteric 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 literature, which was 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 Confucian priesthood. The sorcerers 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 representatives of the ancient wu, whose name they still bear.

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 superstitious multitudes, and whose connexion with the State-cult or predominant religion of the time was little more than nominal. They were usually sorcerers of this type that were aimed at in certain anti-witchcraft regulations (reminding us of Plato's Laws, xi. 933) which we find in the Li-king—the canonical 'Book of Rites.'

Those who gave false reports about spirits, about seasons and days, about omens and tidings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes; these were put to death. ('SUN xi. 257 f.) They may have been the same fakir inventors of 'wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements,' hence have such things raised 'double among the multitude' (29.)

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 these forces seemed to be showing hostility to mankind.

In the year 523 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. Evidence as to the deformity of both individuals is afforded by the acts of the duke's minister—who seems to have been far in advance of his time in his attitude towards popular superstitions—the barbarous custom was not carried out.4

The ceremonial dancing of ancient China was not always magical. There were six classes of officials who, under the Chou dynasty, of which only one (the Huang) had anything to do with ritual dancing. Ceremonial dancing is not yet extinct in China, for it still forms part of the ritual performed at the Confucian sacrifices. For an interesting account of the ancient Chinese dances see H. A. Giles, A-textatically Studies, Shanghai, 1909, p. 129 f.4

1 See To Ch'uan, in Legge's Chinese Classics, vol. v. pt. 1. p. 179 f.

2 See S.S. xiv. 201. It has been suspected by commentators that the two stories refer to the same historical incident.

3 Ch'iao Li (Hsu's tr., ii. 193).

4 The ceremonial dancing of ancient China was not always magical. There were six classes of officials, of which the Shih, the Hsi, the Hsiao Hsin, the Shu, and the Hsin, of which only one (the Huang) had anything to do with ritual dancing. Ceremonial dancing is not yet extinct in China, for it still forms part of the ritual performed at the Confucian sacrifices. For an interesting account of the ancient Chinese dances see H. A. Giles, A-textatically Studies, Shanghai, 1909, p. 129 f.
accompanied by music; and, if there is any truth in such ancient legends as that of King Mu (whose
reign ended in 247 B.C.), we may suspect that
some of the ancient relics are means of producing
rain. We are told that the method adopted by
that monarch for putting an end to an excessive
drought was to play magic music on his flute.
Magic music is not entirely a matter for
the popular festivals in China are undoubtedly
a magical character, and are intended to regulate
the rain, to expel disease and misfortune, to
ensure health 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 (hui-shou),
or headmen. Ceremonies which at one time were
doubtless carried out with pious cerea and
with something like religious awe, we have in my
many cases become mere village games and pastimes of
which the original significance has been partially
or wholly lost. Such are the lanter-dances and
the walking on stilts of the children of N. China at the
full moon of the first month of the year. Few of those who take part in such merry-making
understand that by the skilful manipulation of their
lanterns they suppose to be helping and encouraging the moon to go successfully through her phases; that in getting up before
dawn on a certain day and cooking a dumpling which
they eat early that morning, they are helping
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 up to its full height. It is perhaps a significant fact (when we remember the
important part played by women in fertility-
magic in other parts of the world) that many of
the men and boys in these festivals
are dressed in women's garments.
Magical notions are also traceable in numerous
simple acts which practically every family performs
with a view to securing the blessings of the gods.
Such are the hanging of certain plants above
the doorways on certain days, the entwining of red
threads in the quenches of children to protect them from disease, the depositing of
pieces of scarlet cloth to the scrub-oak bushes to
ensure the protection of the shrubs and the silkworms against harmful insects and noxious
influences. At the New Year it is customary to
cover the outsides of doors and windows with
paper scrolls containing sage motifs, quotations
from classical and other literature, and words
expressive of virtues aims or suggestive of ma-
terial 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 ancestral spirits, and the taburung of personal
names are also essentially magical, though their
initial connection with religious beliefs and ob-
ersances makes it difficult to decide where magic
ends and religion begins.
In China, as elsewhere, magic arts are practiced
for personal as well as for public and
family purposes, and many persons who know of
no normal method whereby they may bring about
the fulfilment of their desires are glad to seek the
aid of magicians and witches. The witches of
China have had many illustrious clients. One of
them was the Ta'ang emperor Hsian Tsung, who
ordered certain Taoist necromancers to summon
before him the shade of his dead consort, the beautiful Yang Kuei-fee. 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 cent. B.C., the assistance of witches and
necromancers in his case was unnecessary—like the
king Seso I of Muhammadan legend
—was himself a king of magicians.1 Returning to
more recent times, we find that the great empress-
dowager, who died in 1908, put implicit faith for a
time in the magical arts of the 'Ancestors'; and, though the 'Sacred Edict' of the emperor
Kang-hi bids men abjure all kinds of heterodox
teachings and practices, among which the arts
of magic are numbered, it is apparent that in recent
years proclamations have been issued warning the
people not to allow themselves to be deluded 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 dem-
strated in the anti-witchcraft classes of the
Penal Code of the late Manchu dynasty. The
punishments inflicted on persons convicted of this
crime were extremely severe, though it is only fair
to add (in the words of a scholarly student of the
subject) that 'the images of Chinese history have
never been stained by such a mad epidemic of
witch-killing as disgraced 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 practising magic with disastrous
results to their little community. It was stated that he had
spelled the village headman, and had foretold the headman's death. 'And, added the petitioner in
these festivals, 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,
going to the shrine of the guardian-spirit of the village,
discovered there a slip of paper on which were written, in
theaccused's handwriting, the names of various people with
whom he was known to be in dispute. Later he 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 wrier of
this article, who is himself a member of the Anglican clergy.
He is somewhat uneasy in the somewhat delicate task of differentiating between real
and imaginary sorrows and grievances.
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 interpenetration
of religion and magic, and the junction seems to
have been brought about in this way. One of
the principal functions of the t' u-t' i, or village
deity, is to receive the spirits of the newly
dead and to act as their spiritual friend and guardian.2
Each village has its own little shrine dedicated
to the local deity, and this shrine usually stands
by the roadside a short distance outside the village.
When a villager dies, the members of his family
first go in procession to the t' u-t' i shrine to make a
formal announcement of the death, in order that
the deity may make arrangements for the proper
reception of the dead man's spirit. For the first
ight, there seems to be no obvious reason why an
1 For some of the stories of this magical exploits, which included
the transplanting of the sun with a needle in order that inut-
ipated days might be secured for the f ARM, see E. F. Johnston,
Lion and Dragon in Northern China, London, 1899, p. 301.
2 E. T. Williams, in a paper on 'Witchcraft in the Chinese
3 For a full discussion of the Pictur8 and the 'Korcins,' see
Johnston, p. 311.
expert in black magic who wishes to bring about the
death of his enemies should expect the t'u-ti
—who is regarded as friendly to men and in-
terested in their welfare—will give him help and
countenance in carrying out his nefarious designs
against their lives. What, then, is the magician's
object in placing a list of the names of his intended
victims together with the village names of the t'u-ti?
The theory seems to be that, when the t'u-ti perceives
the list of names, he will assume that the persons bearing those names are already
dead and that his spirit will assume the form of the
living world for the reception of their souls. These
preparations will act with a powerful attractive
force upon the souls concerned, and will create in
them an irresistible inclination to sever their
connection 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
workmen and might perhaps arouse his
wrath; and, as it is strongly advisable, in the
interests of the community in general, to 'save
the face' of the t'u-ti and maintain friendly rela-
tions with him, the only reasonable course the
spirits in question adopt is to bow to the
inexcusable negligence in the presence of their
physical bodies.

It is therefore a religious theory of this kind that
are hardly likely to find Western parallels; but
many of the ordinary magical practices of the
Chinese are strikingly similar to some of those
found in paganism and primitive magic with
which we are familiar in Europe.

The great artist Ka-Kai-chih (6th cent. of our era), one of
whose paintings is among the most treasured artistic posses-
sions of the Chinese, has left an account of the
Chinese practice of magic. When spurned by the girl whom he loved, she 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, began to suffer pain in the region of the heart, and next
time her lover paid her addresses to her she did not
soon him. The artist then withdrew the thorn from the portrait, and, though his heartly protested, he
loved for him remained.

That many of the poets and artists of China have
been credited with a knowledge of magic is
natural in their relations to nature, and we know have
frequently their passionate love of wild nature
brought them into contact with the Buddhist
and Taoist saints and hermits, whose
philosophical and magical notions and which
spirits are supposed to be conductive to
immortality, and, when we learn that a noted
hermit was in the habit of sleeping on
pine-needles, we may be sure that this was not
done merely as a means of mortifying the
lust. The willow is much used as a rain-charm. In
times of drought in Shansi and the other nor-
provinces adults and children may be seen going about
with willow-wreaths on their heads. The peach
is famous for its magical properties, and for
this reason peach-bows and peach-wood are
frequently mentioned in Chinese fairy-lore. The
fame of the peachwood for the exercise of evil spirits is very
ancient, for the branding of peach-wood was
part of the recognized procedure of the professional
gu the royal courts under the chou kings and
probably at a much earlier date.

That large and important subdivision of Chinese
magic which concerns itself with charms and
amulets and divination 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, 1870, p. 81.
2 For a full discussion see De Groot, Religious System of China, 11. 146ff.; also see art.
Legends.
the 'Celestial Master' — usually described by Europeans as 'the Taotist pope' — who lives among the Dragon-Tiger Mountains in the province of Kiangsi. The practice of divination is also largely in the hands of Taotist specialists and is called  shui-p’o ; but Confucianism has always had under its patronage the complex systems of divination which are based on that astral classic the I King, or 'Book of Changes' (SBE xxvi.). There is a grass known as the  yang-shen which grows on the graves of Confucius and is carefully gathered and put up into packets. The stiff dried stalks of this plant are believed to retain some of the  tao, or spiritual efficacy, which lies latent in the sacred soil, and they are or were highly valued for divining purposes. During recent 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 earlier date. An inspection of these fragments throws a most welcome light on the classical and post-classical references to the ancient methods of fortune-telling.

Divination by the tortoise-shell and by the dried stalks of certain plants were the methods by which the ancient sage kings and their people believed in seasons and, to a certain extent, in the future. In the case of these methods (also by which they made them determine their political policies and settle their misgivings) (Le & T, t. 6, s. 27 [SBE xxii. 91]).

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 all familiar to the people of China; and there is 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 Chinese Buddhism, 1877, 2 vols., re-issued, 1887, and vi. E. Hoot’s Fr. tr. of the Chan Li (Le Théâtre-Lit. Paris, 1850) should be consulted for information regarding the official standing and functions of the wix (see esp. I. 7, 31). There are many references to sorcery and magic — some of them shamefully critical — in C. H. Hume’s Eng. tr. of (by A. Forbes) his 8th ed. (London, 1807), by M. Berger (Berlin, 1871). In J. Legge, Chinese Classics, Hongkong, 1863, the text is described as ‘that of the romance and magic tendency’. In J. B. Robertson (1851, 1854, 1856, and 1859, 1851, 1854, 1856, 1859, and 1859), English readers will find all the references to the wonderful which occur in the classical literature mentioned in the above article. Students of the subject of which will do well to consult H. Döré, Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine, Shanghai, 1854, (rev. ed. 1862, 1863), and L. Wingerd, Folklore chinois moderne, Paris, 1863. From a more popular point of view magic has been described in N. B. Denny, Folklore of China, London, 1874, and F. H. Ballour, Lessons from my Chinese Scrapbook, 1855. Interesting sidelights on popular notions of magic can be gathered from the collection of stories known as the  Liao Chai, tr. H. A. Giles, under the title of Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, London, 1886, new ed., Shanghai, 1888. The Chinese literature dealing with the subject from every conceivable point of view is voluminous, and hits only fragments of it have been translated. Good Chinese bibliographies will be found in the works of de Groot, T. E. C. and R. H. Johnstone. See also art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chinese), CHINESE AND AMERICANS (Buddhists), Divination (Buddhists), Feng Shui, Fortunetellers and Tarots, Chinese; FORTUNETELLERS (Chinese); FORTUNETELLERS, COMMERCE WITH THE DEAD (Chinese), COMMERCE WITH THE SPIRITS (Chinese).

H. F. JOHNSTON.

MAGIC (Egyptian).—I. THE EGYPTIAN VIEW OF MAGICK. — The Egyptians had been more self-analytic than they usually were; they might, from their own point of view, have described all their actions as either ordinary or magical. By ordinary actions would have been understood all those simple works of man which we should call those things and living beings which were suggested by habit, mother wit.

See, e.g., various passages in the I King, Huo King, Le King, and Li King. For an account of the new discovery to be found in RAS (North China Branch) XIV. (1914) 67.

or acquired skill. But, when inanimate matter proved occultsantra, and living objects removed by requests, prayers, commands, promises, or threats, there still remained, in their opinion, a method of achieving their ends by means of an art that they called  oop, or  r (SBE xlv.). There is direct traditional authority for translating this as a very ancient term by the English word 'magie' (myeison, myeison, Ac S-31), and the examination of the hieroglyphic and hieratic examples of its use proves it to correspond fairly closely to the modern word, and to be understood by 'magical power'. Wherever mysterious, miraculous knowledge was required to effect a purpose, that was  r ;  r was something different only in so far as it was personal and of everyday life, since it postulated special powers in its user, and always made a greater or less demand upon faith.

2. MAGIC AND RELIGION. — For our traditional Western thought magic and religion are always more or less consciously contrasted with one another, whereas students have often unwarrantably assumed that the two are radically heterogeneous, and that they represent successive strata in the mental development of mankind. Some investigators argue that magic is the earlier and ruder product (e.g., Frazer), while others (e.g., Erman) hold it to be a debased corruption of the science of the higher ritual of religion. So far as Egypt is concerned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that  r was part and parcel of the same  Helakanaunum as created the religion which it deeply interpenetrated, either defining 'magie' and 'religion' for Egyptological purposes — and we must insist on our right to frame our own definitions within the limits prescribed by the current, untechnical meaning of the terms — or not, it will be profitable to make a rapid survey of the facts to be distributed between the two provinces.

It is with active relations that we are here concerned, and with doctrines only so far as they are related to these. There are three classes of being that are affected, namely the living, the dead, and the gods. Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the Egyptians' view of the universe is the thoroughgoing and impartial logic with which they drew the consequences of their belief that the gods and the dead were beings of like nature with themselves, subject to human appetites and needs, and amenable to the same methods of persuasion or compulsion. Hence the practical unity of the priests was to keep those whom they served provided with food and drink, and to attend to them in the normal way, in the same way in which, if need be, they might be inclined to do the same service for a man called 'the servants of the god' (hem-sen) and 'the servants of the departed spirit' (hem-sen) respectively, even as the temple was called 'the house of the god' (hem-sen) and 'the essential portion of it' (the house of the departed spirit (4-v-4)). Again, the Egyptians conceived Of the other world as of the same nature and unexploitable way as one man sought help of another — ngr. of prayer, by questioning (asking for an oracle), and by writing letters (for letters to the dead, see St. I. 4- Darrn (Egyptian, S). But in their own everyday life, as seen above (1), the Egyptians regarded, when all else failed, to mysteries assist (r) to achieve various difficult aims; the method employed was not simply coercion, but coercion of an aboriginal and special kind. It would have been strange if the practice of  r had been restricted to the narrow circle of the living, when the living shared with the gods and the dead all their other modes of intercourse. In point of fact, it was like more than anything else that welded together the seen and the unseen worlds. The specific rites of the living, as we shall have abundant occasion to see, are full of trafficking with the gods and the dead. But the gods and the dead themselves had a use for the miraculous power called  r; Tuth and Isis were not the only deities to be handled by  r than to observe its transference from secular to sacred magic, and in a denotative story the dead priest Nebemut is merely the attempt to rob him of a book of incantations which had been buried with him in the desert, to the benefit of the well-being of the departed, one may often come across spells that would originally have been directed against the likes of snakes (e.g., Die alepp. Paramecide, ed. K. R. L. Leisten, 1889, § 6, 249) or of crocodiles (e.g., Book of the Dead, ed. K. R. L. Leisten, 1889, ch. xxxi., xxiii.), for example; even erotic charms may be found inscribed on coffins (cf. H. Schack-Schebeck, 1899, ch. xxxi., xxiii.).
MAGIC (Egyptian)

Zwinglosenthal, Leipzig, 1908, pl. 16. 11-13). Conversely, the book of the dead mentions the name 'Hapi', being the mythical
snake that was supposed to be the eternal foe of the sun-god
Re'; the rubrics of this book nevertheless declare that it will
prove the greatest advantage to the private individual who
receives it in the presence of the god. It may be added that the
wax, upon which the common contents of 'The Book of the
dead' are inscribed, as well as in such temple rituals as the 'Book of Overthrowing
Apophis' just mentioned.

This long text cannot be paraphrased as 'hapi' was as intimately
associated with the presumed existence of the gods and the
dead, and was supposed to have a certain influence over
both, further than this, a greater or less element of "hapi" may have
been inherent in all the dealings between man on the one side
and the gods and the dead on the other. The two last classes
of being were, after all, creatures of a world apart, elusive in
their nature and hard to reach by ordinary, matter-of-fact
means. The very idea of their existence put a strain upon
the imagination, and for this reason the terms of words,
indicative of an effort to break down mystical barriers, had to
accompany even such simple deeds of homage as the presentation
of food-offerings. In other terms, the gods and the dead could
hardly be approached save by the medium of that which is known as
"ritual," and the attribute which distinguishes ritual from
ordinary performances may have been just that attribute which
the Egyptians called "hapi." The point is not susceptible of
absolute proof, for it was naturally only in the more extreme
cases, where the sense of mystery and miracle-working had to
be emphasized, that the term "hapi" was actually applied; but the
view that "hapi" underlies all ritual is favored by the close
resemblance between the divine and funerary rites, on the one
hand, and the menial performances performed for living people
(both protective and similar rites), on the other. The formule of the
Book of the dead, which is supposed to turn over in substance from
the incantations which the Egyptians used to heal their own
mortal wounds, and those which they also recited through the
daily liturgies of the temples and the tombs (see A. Moret, Le Rite

From the Egyptian point of view we may say that there was no such thing as 'religion'; there was only "hapi," the nearest English equivalent of which is 'magical power.' The universe being populated by three homogeneous groups of beings—
the dead, the living, and the gods—their actions, whether within a single group or as between one group and another, were either ordinary or
uncanny ("hapi"). But the gods and the dead were somehow uncanny themselves, so that all dealings with them or performed by them were more or
less "hapi." It was only when men treated them ordinarily, and as man to man, that this quality of "hapi" was reduced to a minimum, as in the case of spontaneous prayer and the letters to the dead—

3. Magic as a private religion.—We shall hardly be able to avoid
rendering "hapi" in English by the words 'magic,'
or 'magical power'; but, if the Egyptian conception of
"hapi" be taken as an illustration of what is meant by
'magic,' it will appear that we shall have little or no
use for the word 'religion,' and a multitude of
facts which the common parlance would more
naturally describe as 'religions' will fall under
the head of 'magic.' It is advisable, therefore,
in defining 'magic' for Egyptological purposes, to
strike a compromise between the Egyptian connotation of
"hapi" 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
not necessarily contain between magic and
religion, or, rather, between magic and other
kinds of religious acts. It is fully in accordance
with the practice of Egyptologists, instinctively
adhering to the custom of the times, to carry on, to
contrast 'magic' with the 'cult of the dead' and the 'cult
of the gods,' as referring exclusively to those rites
which deliberately and in the first instance aimed at
the advantage of the living, or in which the
advantage of the gods was in this division
implicitly classed together as 'religion.' Magic
actions may therefore, for our purposes, be defined
as those actions which men performed for their
own benefit or for the benefit of other living men,
and which demanded their personal
presence for their performance. Warning must be given
against two misconceptions: in the first place, it
must be clearly understood that the gods and the
dead may, as indeed they usually do, be
involved in the "drunatico" processes of the magical
rite; the principle of division is not de quinque but cui
domino; in the second place, magic as thus defined did
not differ essentially in its mechanism from the cults
of the dead and of the living. It was therefore
regarded with feelings of moral repudiation.

For a similar definition see A. H. Gardiner, 'Notes on Egyptian
1890), though forming a very different estiimtion of magic from
here existed, accepts the same tripartite division of the
active aspect of religion into gymnastery, theurgy, and
theurgy. 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 papyri of the Middle King-
dom, in the Bannesseum end of 1896, still unpublished and in
the writer's hand. In the cases in which the manuscript has
been lost. Besides these must be named the medical-magical papyri (see
A. Monnert and Memmert (Egyptian), and the so-called 'Book of Horus,' of which the type is the Materiastrum Stele (ed. W.
Gebelnhart, Leipzig, 1879).

The abstract concept of 'hapi' is once or twice
found defiled, apparently in something like the
restricted meaning assigned to 'magic' in this
section. Two physiologists of the Old Kingdom, a priest,
besides the house of the god Horus in Heliopolis-

4. The purposes of magic.—In theory the
domain of magic was as wide as men's desires
supplying themselves, magical art supplying all those things
that were not procurable by simpler means. Our
existing materials, which minimize the
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 charmer is made to boast of the victory of
Ethiopia up to Egypt, to the place where
Pharaoh dwells, where he is to be beaten with five
hundred blows of the stick, and returned to the
land of Ethiopia again, "all in six hours" (Griffith, Stories of the High Priest, p. 59). It is
said to have been related at the court of Cheops
how one magician fashioned a crocodile of wax
that 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 (Eranan, Diu March di Japura Westy, Berlin, 1891, i. 86). The
magical contests of Moses with Jannes and
Ananias (Ex 7:9-12. 2 Ti 3) is thus quite Egyptian in spirit.
Passing from such fabulous reports to practical
magic, we may classify the attested uses under a
comparatively small number of heads:

1. Defensive—How important this class was may be judged
from the fact that in a general panegyric of god as creator He is
said to have 'made magic wands and other things that happened' (Ps. Peterburg 116 A (ed. Gesmecht, Petron, 1913), line 260).
The poison which was rejoicing; the heart of multitudes grieve for it; Horus has slain it by his magic. He who mourns is in joy. Stand up, thou who wast prostrate, Horus has restored thee to life. He who came as one carrying life to himself; Horus has overcome his foes. All men, when they beheld he, praise the son of Osiris. Turn back, thou snake, conjured by thy poison which was in any sink or in the coffin of the magic of Horus is powerful against thee. Flow out, thou poison, come forth up in the victim and be burned. The head of the magic of Egypt (Fam. 13). To be recited over a hair with two feathers on its head, being made of reed and incantated, open the wind and offer it bread and beer and income. Plate 10.

7. Analysis of the magical rite. — Except in certain border-line cases (prognostics, medical treatment, etc.), the magical rite is always twofold and comprises (1) 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 usually involved a struggle with some 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, persecuted, exalted, warned, threatened, or cursed, just like a human being.

A leading idea in defensive magic, which embraces no small part of our material, is that of 'possession.' The possible antagonists are often considered to be in a long line of descent—e.g., the "assassins of a god, the assassins of a goddess, the young goddess, the male assasins, the female assassin, the assassins of a dead man, or the assassins of a dead woman," etc. (Plate 30, 15); "enemy male or female, dead man male or female, adversary male or female." (Fam. 25, 15). Any god could doubtless attack human beings, but were savage or malicious deities, like Seth, the "murderer of Osiris or of Sakhmet, the 'lady of pestilence' and destruction of the earth, pagans, Egyptians, Byblius, negroes, or negroes, in this country, and the Near East (Plate 15, 15). The possessing spirit was particularly feared by the Egyptians of the 12th, a pagan or an Asiatic woman (Fam. 25, 15), and it was wont to come secretly, "arriving in darkness, hiding in its nose backwards and its face turned" (De 1. 9). In its mode of taking possession is, as a rule, desired; the 'demons' or 'Neb.' (De 1. 2) because often dwelt with or in the afflicted one (Bibbiana, 11. 9) and his body, or in the child of the lord of heaven. He raised his scimitar, and strangled the foreign born and thy throat. Thou shalt fall upon the ground on which thy only-child is spread, and there thou gropest in quest of thy heart. Do not say then, and the report goes forth in the house called to the gods of the magi and Horus has conquered the disease! (Fam. 25, 15) and the like, against the evil of the magic of the Egyptians, and incantated, open the wind and offer it bread and beer and income.

8. The magical rite. — A characteristic example of the whole in a single text, ste 6, the poison is hidden to flow forth through the earth.

Warnings frequently supplemented and reinforced such commands, as: —

Fall, upon his tongue: It is a serpent at the mouth of his house (Zamiego, 12. 11), it is the ruin of a long series of similar phrases)

Commands and warnings falling in their effect, a more persuasive means is tried: —

1. Command, lay the stone, departing to the place where thy

1. Command, lay thy stone, departing to the place where thy
More often the point of the narrative is merely implied; in the following short incantation against horses even the names of the interlocutors, namely a messenger and Isis, are omitted:

"Thy son Horus has been buried in the desert." "Is there water there?" "There is no water there. There is water in my mouth, and a Nilotic before me. I am thou, the king of the Nile."

(Ebers, 43-34; see H. Schäfer, in Z. Aeg. xvii. 1210-1213.)

Many valuable fragments of myths have been preserved to us by this 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 sun-god Re should be compelled to divulge his name; this she brought about by causing him to receive a snake-bite which none could cure save herself (Pap. Turin, 151-153). 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 decide his wicked uncle (Pap. Turin, 154). The importance of names in Egyptian magic was very considerable; the knowledge of names gave control, whether for good or for evil. It was thought that a rare proverb in an ancient hieratic might be cure by its name (Pap. Turin, 136. 6, 11, 134. 7, 8, etc.). Thus to be familiar with the names of the epagomenal days (Pap. Leyden 346, 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 magical efficacy, such as the words 'Protection behind, a protection that comes, a protection.' (Zauber- sprüche, recto 6. 2.) The magical potency of anything depends on a large degree on its mystery, and it is therefore but little wonder that baldistic gibberish (Pap. mag. Harris, verso C) and foreign spells were held in high esteem (Der Londerer medicinale Papyrius, p. 28. W. Wendrich, Leipzig, 1912, nos. 27, 28, 32, the last being in the Kufi language).

The significance attached to names and language is an aspect of the doctrine of sympatheic magic, for language may be said to imitate and image the things it expresses, and in so far verbal references to a desired effect may have been considered instrumental in producing it.

Sympatheic magic takes curiosities of many kinds; one or two instances may be singled out. In connexion with the importance of language reference may be made to the significance of puns. A magician says:

"I make a charm for him against these of 'afri-plant, which does injury, of onions, which destroy thee, and of honey, which is good to men and sour to the devil.' (Zauber- sprüche, recto 2. 4.)

The virtuous here ascribed to the 'afri-plant and to honey are of obscure origin, but the destructive
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property of onions is clearly due to the fact that the Egyptian word for onions was hoty (the vowel is that of £ot|y). (£ot|y) (1907:17). In order to tell whether a new-born infant would live or not, its first articulate cries were to be noted:

"It is says ny, that means it will live; if it says mšb, that means it will die." (£ot|y). The sound mšb resembles the emphatic Egyptian expression for 'no' (see ZA xlv. [1907]:182).

A widely different example of the supposed influence of like upon like is illustrated by the following passage 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" (£ot|y). A conditional curse that runs upon similar lines may also be quoted:

"He who is dear to this decree, may Osiris pursue him, may his pursuer his wife, and Horus pursue his children." (£ot|y). Ex ore prophetae: "The mystical potency attaching to certain numbers doubtless originated in associations of thought that to us are obscure. The number seven, in Egypt, was regarded as particularly efficacious. Thus we find references to the seven Hathors (Pap. med. Berlin, 21: 8; Pap. Turin, 177: 12; cf. al. érré Réw sbr w. sbr Réw (A. Disterich. Étude sur la magie égyptienne: Leipzig, 1910, p. 71)."

The seven daughters of Há (who 'stand and weep and make seven knots in their seven tunics' (Pap. Turin, 135: 1f.; and similarly, we read of:

"the seven hawks who are in front of the barque of Ré" (ib. 138: 3)."

Oral rites have occasionally been recited seven times (ib. 289: 9, 10), but the more usual number is four (Pap. Leyden 346, verso 2: 3, 5, 4, 10, etc.; Pap. mag. Harris, 7: 4), a number doubtless associated with the 'four pillars of heaven' (Éva in this world, 95: Paris, 1910, p. 71)."

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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 formula 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, 120-121; Petrie, Gizeh and Rîfîch, pl. 27 c), and of the various exorcisms through which the demon might transmit his baneful influences (Pap. Leyden 346, verso 2: 9, 9f.). This quasi-legal tattoo

ogy 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 rite.—(a) Active elements.—The employment of images played an important part in the manual side of magic. Sometimes it is the hostile power to be destroyed that is thus counteracted and done to death; so in the Book of O ner.

throwing Aophis, the words of the oral rite are 1 to be recited over an Apophis made of wax or drawn on a new sheet of papyrus and thrown into the fire" (Pap. Leyden 346, verso 2: 9, 9f.).

More often the object imitated represented a means of effecting the purpose of the rite. Thus in a spell to assist child-birth there was made "a dwarf of clay to be placed on the forehead of the woman who is giving birth" (Pap. Leyden 346, verso 2: 9, 9f.). Miniature hands, seals, and crocodiles were powerful to ward off evil, doubtless by slaying it, sealing it up, or devouring it (Zaubersprüche, verse 2: 9, 9f.). A great number of the amulets found in such abundance in Egyptian tombs were 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 Pétric, Amulets, London, 1914).

The materials of which such images and amulets should be made are nearly always specified, and it is evident that this was considered 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 ways. 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. Anthropo-myths assign a divine origin to various substances; thus the bees that supply the wax are said to have sprung from tears shed by Ré (Pap. Salt 352, 2: 6, 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 (dd nwt hr, passive), and this transitory and intangible kind of contact seems to have ensured their continuous efficacy.

In a fabulous story the magician Hor, the son of Pascha, made a litter with four bearers and 'pronounced writing upon it, gave it to the bearers, and made them live' (Gellhi, Stories of the High Priests, p. 10).

Elsewhere the ceremony of 'opening the mouth,' familiar from the funerary ritual, was performed over the magical figure (Pap. Turin, 131: 7) and offerings and incense were presented to it in token of its new 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, ib.; Pap. Turin, 31:77: 3); or the figures of the gods whose help was invoked could be sketched on the patient's hand, a method often resorted to by some one (Pap. Turin, ib.). At times the mediating image could be dispensed with; the magician pronounced his spell, and then spit on the diseased limb (Ebers, 30: 10).

Magically charged amulets, images, or beads were often attached to the person whom they were designed to protect or heal; some kind of contact was a prime necessity of Egyptian magic; e.g., we read of spells that were to be recited "before the left foot" (Pap. Leyden 348, verso 4: 3); but the neck was naturally the spot where most charms were worn (Zaubersprüche, recto 1: 3, 8, 3, and passive). The string or strip of rag employed for this purpose was usually tied into magical knots (qv.), seven being the favourite number. Such knotted strings have often been found and are to be seen in many collections (Ermann, 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 2: 6), it is not in connexion with knots. One view that seems to have been taken of knots is that they were obstacles, as e.g., in the following words put into the mouth of a magician: 1 "If the poison pass these seven knots, which Horus has made on his body, I will not allow the sin to shine," etc. (Pap. Turin, 135: 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. Offer to them bread, beer, and burnt incense. To be placed on the neck of a man" (Pap. Leyden 348, 2: 9).

Here evidently each knot was cast under the guardianship of a special deity, and thus formed a divinely protected barrier between the malignant influence and its possible victim.
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Initiative or significant actions were frequently performed with the apparatus of the magical rites; we have seen how a waxen image of Apep was thrown into the fire and destroyed, and similar cases could be multiplied.

At this point may be mentioned the composite stela known as Cippi of Horus; these are of composite form, and parts of them 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 two crocodiles. Such stelae seem to have been placed in buildings for their protection, and especially to rid them of snakes and scorpions (see Golenischef, Mitternachtsle; G. Daressy, Textes et dessins magiques, 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 WERE ORAL, OTHERS WRITTEN; MANY OF THEM DATED FROM ANCIENT TIMES.

Magical rites were also in demand for safeguarding men against dangerous periods of the year, e.g., in ancient Mexico (G2, pp. 4, 5, 8, 25, 34), the intercalary days, in Egypt known as the five epagomenal days, were fraught with exceptional risks. Against which enchantments were employed (Pep. Leyden 546); the user of these had to refrain from all work during the period in question (ib. 3, 4, 5).

It is easy to see in whom he would benefit by magic Book of Overthrowing Apep, 24, 19, etc., just as ch. 41, of the Book of the Dead was ordained to be recited by 'one pure and good man having eaten venison or fish, and not having been near women.' In another place, the user of a spell is charged to purify himself for nine days, and his servants are to do the same (Ex. 27, 1. Davyville, Destruction des hommes' line 79, in TSBA iv. (1876) 16).

It is essential in dealing with magic.

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planations, it explains by superstitions reasons. So far as medicine was practised without a sense of mystery and without making appeals to faith, it was a technique of ordinary life like any other; but whenever there was consciousness of its exceptional, occult nature, it might be said to lapse back into the domain of magic. Egyptian medicine was at its best in diagnosis and in its physiologically based materia medica, on the one hand, remaining permanently under the influence of magical conceptions. 9. The magician.—A Greek alchemistic treatise quoted by Meyerhofer (P.P., xiii, 1897, p. 159) exactly defines the difference between the physician (σαρκοδοκος) and the practitioner of magic. The former exercises his craft αρχισεβον... σαρκοδοκος, 'mechanically and by book,' while the latter is a 'priest (προστάτης), of the magician, his own religious feeling' (δια της ταιρίας του νομος του ἀνθρώπου των). There appears to be no common word for 'magician' (σάρκωτος, 'charmer,' e.g., in Ebers, 96, 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, for particularly those priests whose function it was to be versed in the sacred writings. The subjects of many of the books kept in the library of the temple of Edfu cannot be described otherwise than as magical (see H. Brugsch, Ägyptische Literatur, Leipzig, 1889-90, p. 150; cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi, 268). The 'lector-priest' (χρησιμος) is specially named as empowered to perform cares (παρακληται), and it is manifest that discoveries and incantations (Pap. med. London, 8, 12) and as being endowed with the gift of prophecy (Pap. Petersburg 1116 E, recto 9) and the wonder-workers (δικαιοποιηται), that the priests of the temple were all 'chief lectors' (see Ermann, Diener des Pharao, p. 13). A passage in the Ebers Papируs (99. 2) singles out the 'priests of Sakhmet' (τεθρος Σαχχρητ) for special mention as 'chiefs of Sakhmet, for special mention as 'chiefs of the magic-medical profession; this is because Sakhmet was a ferocious goddess who wreaked her wrath in inflicting disease; her priests were likely to know best how to cope with her. Priests, doctors, and priestly women alike received the final touches to their education at colleges called 'the house of life' (περικομή); of these we know but little.

An interesting time of Doctor Abdes describes how he was summoned by Pharao to restore the perikom (at Sekhmet) because his Majesty knew the value of this (the medicine) art (C.A. xxxvi, 1897). There was a perikom at Abydos, apparently attached to the temple (Cowsell A 30 A 33). The most interesting point in the religious decrees is rendered in the dedication as 'sacred of the house of life' (see Griffith, Kyklos Papируs, Manchester, 1900, p. 81, n. 13, Stories of the High Priests, p. 19). Magic could be learnt at the perikom (ib.; Pap. mag. Harris, ii, 16).

On the whole, we receive the impression that less importance was attached to medicine 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 procedures. Though 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 'knower of things (rahit) or skilful' (Ibid., Stele, 11, Ebers, 1. 91) point this is well brought out in a passage describing the all-wisdom of the Pharaonic Anubis:

"An unique king, whom Sethi taught, praised of the godness of his name. The presence of Thoth is beside him, and he gives to him knowledge of things, so that he guides seers according to the magic" (ibid., Stele, 11). The great of her (ibid., Stele, 11).

10. Celebrities in magic.—Egyptian-wise, we will begin with the gods. Thoth was the most powerful of all magicians; in the end this qualification of his gave rise to the fame of Hermeticism (see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 53). The skill of Thoth as a magician is associated with his reputation as the inventor of hieroglyphics and the sciences of mathematics; in the myth of Osiris he played the part of 'physician of the eye of Horus' (Pap. med. Heros, 14, 6). Isis enjoyed great fame as a sorceress, mainly on account of the charms which she devised to protect her infant son Horus (Pap. Turin, 3177. 6; Ebers, 1. 12 and passim). Horus himself was not devoid of magical abilities, though it was mainly in his skill in warding off attacks that this was displayed; the Horus of Lower Egypt 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, Uto or Buto by name; she is often referred to as 'Wrest-bike,' 'she who is great of magic' (Sethe, Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumskenntnis Ägyptens, v, Leipzig, 1912). According to Maneco, King Aha, the 43rd, practised medicine and composed anatomical books. Under King Zoser of the IIIrd dyn. lived the wise Imhotep, whose skill as a doctor led to his identification with the Greek god Asklepios, a son of Zeus, a famous man of the reign of Amenemis III (XVIIIth dyn.). Imhotep was in late times worshipped as a god (see art. Asklepios, v, 1906). The prince Hariden, the 6th, was similarly noted for his deep learning and wise utterances; he was the reputed discoverer of various books of magic incorporated in the Book of the Dead (see Ermann, Diener des Pharao, v, 1906). Another royal prince, who was high priest of Ptah, became the hero of many tales in which he appears as a great magician; this was Khamswes, one of the immemorial physicians of Egypt (see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 21). In the later Greek and patristic literature reference is made to various Egyptian magicians of note, such as Sothon, (ibid., vii, 1907), and the last native Pharaoh, who plays an important part in the legend of the Alexander the Great.

11. The nature of Egyptian magic. The magical ritual, as described in § 7, means 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 sympathetic, and the doctrine of propitiation, its 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 magic, 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 ritual is afforded by the consideration of its parts either severally or collectively; its explanation can be sought only in the concept of magic, which is a thing apart from, and, as it were, superimposed on, the methods and premises of the magical ritual, a sort of all-comprehensive background out of which this was made. 1 Without the concept of magic the magical ritual would doubtless have seemed to the Egyptians no more than what to us it appears to be, a puzzle, though not wholly meaningless, 1 For the good of this assertion see H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Économie d'œuvre, p. 97-102. (1905-06), pp. 97-98.
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combination of words and pantomime. There was not perhaps once a period when even the most gifted were not utterly ignorant of the limitations of their own power and that of the world outside; they saw forces which they treated personally in all kinds of external phenomena, and the law of sympathy seemed to them to be a very good law indeed. In this way the period magic and science were undif-

ferentiated. Later on, a distinction became gradually discernible between the simple techniques of ordi-
nary life and the systematic magical practices in them; in all respects, the effective means by which men sought to achieve more difficult ends, and the notion of hıké, or magical power, was precipitated. Hıké gathered round itself just those less matter-of-fact concep-
tions and circumstantialities, and unspecific notions that were inseparable from ordinary culture, and these became its methods. Now, the simple techniques are always able to detect, the complex environment in which they are necessarily performed, the actual determining fac-
tor in their results; not so hıké, which is therefore apt to regard the whole complex environment as essential to the achievement of its purposes. This is the reason for the mediocrities that hıké pays to detail, the set-form of words to be recited, the restrictions as to time and place, the purity of the officiant, etc. The more restricted the more powerful hıké became and the less success it was, the greater the necessity which it felt of insisting on its own inherent efficaciousness, and of diverting attention from its methods; hence its love of secrecy and its mysticism, and its inexpressible jargon to enhance the impression of the wisdom lying behind it. In this context mention must be made of two more ways in which hıké was sought to obtain for itself, namely the appeal to antiquity and the appeal to auth-

ority.

Such and such a rite was 'bound at nightfall at the Erechtheum of the temple of Coctos as a secret at this goddess (say) a lictor of that fame; the earth was in darkness, the moon shining, etc.' This, illuminating it on every side. It was brought as a wonder to King Cheops (Pop. med. London, S. II.13). The papyrus from which this quotation comes was written in the time of Amemoplis III., more than a thousand years after the reign of Cheops. A mythical origin is assigned to other spells.

One was said to have been 'invented by Cheb on his own behalf' (Pop. med. Herst, § 11); while others were devised by Nubi and written on the walls of a temple of Bel (ib. S. 3. 14, 15).

A more reputable way of appraising the value of a magical rite was by appealing to the test of experience; it is often claimed for a particular spell whether it has been successful on many occasions (see above, § 8). Where the claim has proved justifiable, or where it has seemed sufficiently so for the rite to pass into general use, the more mysterious elements rapidly disappear, and the rite becomes an ordinary technique; so in the case of medicine and, it may be here added, of legal oaths.1 Nothing can better illuminate the nature of hıké than the alterations which it undergoes in the course of its transformation into some ordinary technique.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the body of the article. See especially in Greek: A. W. Budge, Egyptian Magic, London, 1901; A. Erman, Apparatus Re- ligious, Berlin, 1866, ed. 1939; M. M. Warburton, Le Magie dans l'Egypte Ancienne (Bibliothèque de vulgarisation du Musée Guimet, XIX.), Paris, 1907; A. Windmann, Magie et Zauberei im alten Ägypten (Ber. d. oriental. Vol. 28, pt 1), Leipzig, 1907.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

MAGIC (Greek and Roman).—I. INTRODUC-
tory.—It is practically impossible to extract any principle, is more primitive and, for that very reason, more cosmopolitan, more literally devoid of distinguishable national traits, than magic. Anything which might be considered indigenous is usually secondary as well as comparatively unimportant, and, in any case, not the same. It is identified with certainty. This is especially true of the two great nations of classical antiquity. Here, as elsewhere, magic was believed and prac-
ticed by the common man, and even the literary record of magic that Zenodotus begins with Homer and continues with increasing volume and particularity until the latest times. But rich as they are, the records of classical magic are too cumbrous 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 essence of the intimate cultural relations between Greece and Rome, it seems best to deal with the two nations as one.

7. Magic and religion.—From more than one point of view the classical magic and ritual of the world is still quite justified in challenging comparison with that of any other period in history. No civilization has shown such remarkable capacity of almanacs, to observe, reflect, organize, and create in so many great departments of human thought and action. And yet among all the higher civilizations of the world there is none in which magic and the primitive and most archaically and essentially primitive—had such an abiding influence, none in which the religion of the people was based on magic in the same way as the religion of the farmers from the incantations of the philos-
osopher 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 impossible to distinguish it from magic on the basis of any essential details of ceremonial or of the generaliza-
tions 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—they were utterly unable to differentiate clearly between magic and religion on the basis of this or of any other criterion which, when seriously applied, would have left their religion unimpaired, and at the same time would have transformed their once reducible 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, an organized cult. Magic is prohibited, secret; at most it is permitted, without being prescribed' (N. W. Thomas, BR 11 iv. 109, 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 by its malevolent character. Religion, then, is the orthodox, magic is heterodox, it being understood, of course, that 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 the great mass of magic, are heterodox. Even orthodox gods must be approached only by prescribed ceremonials. This Graeco-Roman retention of the primitive distinction between magic and religion is our only guide in establishing meaning and coherence in
the bewildering array of phenomena with which we have to deal. For instance, it will be seen at once that the only effect of this criterion, 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, or in the efficacy of the rite from the very nature of the distinction, it takes them both for granted. Hence the persistence of magic in a civilization otherwise so advanced as was that of classical antiquity.

We must assume this test of orthodoxy, e.g., in the case of Cato's curse 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 official recognition. This device of naturalizing foreign cults and thereby embracing within the sphere of their influence harmony and peace as well as humanity, is several times illustrated in the religious history of the Romana.

All foreign religions, therefore, were classified as magic. This 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 it were considered that it were an older nation or a nation far away in space or time. Despite their native good sense, the Greeks were much impressed by the pretentious wisdom of the East, as after them the Romans by the complicated mummeries of the Etruscan. 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 reason than space. When a fairy has been superseded, it thereby becomes magic. In Italy the term la vecchia religione is known to be used as a synonym for 'magic.' So the older and more 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 Gods of Mysrae.

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 (Theban, or Egyptian, or Indian, or so-called imported brand. Helen's nepotism (Hom. Od. iv. 219), 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 practitioner had no vogue as compared with that of his rival who was, or pretended to be, from Egypt, Chaldaea, Colchis, India, or any other place but India. It is true, of course, that 'magic is prohibited, secret; at 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 Romans, in particular, disliked secret rites of any sort, above all, foreign rites with mummy-like images and statues, so much so that magic itself was heterodox. So far, then, we may be said to characterize magic as opposed to religion, the ultimate source of the distinction in Greece as well as in Rome was the criterion of orthodoxy.

To the same criterion is due the fact that, as a rule, men turned to magic for the things which they could not or would not ask of religion. Not, of course, was magic necessarily malignant; on the contrary, it might be distinctly useful and useful for long as orthodoxy was the test, magic was magic whether it happened to be white or black—and this, of course, explains why the Roman law never made any attempt to distinguish between the two.

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 history of magic 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, it is clear that, when owing to rapid expansion after the Second Punic War, alien beliefs and rituals came pouring in from every side. From the Decebalus to Theodosius and beyond, the Roman laws against magic were affirmed and reaffirmed, 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, so far as the legal aspect of magic is concerned, it may be emphasized anew that, whether in Greece or in Rome, the ultimate foundation and ground of procedure was always the old criterion of orthodoxy. It is clear, for instance, that the characteristic tendency of the law to extend its scope was both suggested and guided by this criterion. It was particularly useful whenever the law felt obliged to take cognizance of some system of activity more or less mental that was 'good in parts'—such, e.g., as divination (q.v.), which stands on the border line between magic and religion, or alchemy (q.v.), which hovers in like manner between magic and science, or, again, certain types of mysticism (q.v.), which were more or less an amalgam of magic and logical thinking. In every case what was to be considered legal and what illegal was determined by official recognition. Above all, the inclusion of foreign rites and religions within the legal concept of magic was entirely logical and entirely logical deduction from the test of orthodoxy. Not only so, but by the same test it was equally obvious that precisely those foreign rites were the most serious question in magic. How, e.g., shall we define the legal status of the native religions of the provinces? The final solution was again entirely logical. The Emperor was the civil and religious representative of the State. He was therefore entitled to investigate things and to make such use of them as seemed proper. But this privilege was his alone, and only by virtue of his office. In the hands of private individuals it was
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considered dangerous, and no doubt it was largely for this reason that magic was so rigorously proscribed and its illegality as audibly kept alive. The process and history of Roman legislation on the subject of foreign rites begins with the caudum celibre of its type, the Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus in 186 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 8-19), in connection with which it is plain that all books of divination and magic should be destroyed. The history of Roman legislation on the subject of magic, whether directed against sorcery or against magic as a whole, begins with the Decemviri (Livy X. II. 71). Notable in later days was the Lex Cornelia de Saceris et Veneres in 22 B.C. Dio Cassius (xix. 43) tells us that in 22 B.C. the triumvirs, Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus, banished the magicians and astrologers, and refers (iii. 58) to a speech by Mecenas against foreign religions and secret societies for purposes of magic. In a.d. 16 Tiberius banished the magicians and mathematicians, and in the same reign L. Pittunius was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock and P. Marcus was executed 'more price' outside the Porta Latina (A.D. 24), and Mamurensianus was convicted of escape after magic (ib. vi. 29). Under Nero, Servilius, the young son of Sosanna, was accused of selling part of his dowry to procure the means to save her father's life by magic rites (ib. vii. 21). The prescriptions of Tiberius were renewed by Claudius (xii. 92) and Vitellius (Suet. Vitell. 28). The ban on officials and magicians was established by the laws of Diocletian against the malefice, manichaei, and mathematici (Coll. XV. iii. 1 (Huschke)). Sometimes the law prescribed special penalties against those who practised magic as a whole, itself had extended by the 3rd cent. A.D. may be seen from the Sententia of Julius Paulus on the Lex Cornelia de Saceris: 'Qui abscendens aut ammaetum publicum dant, et id idolo non sacrant, taenam nam exemplum secati, honores in metallum, honestiores in insulam sancta parte bonorum relegantur; quod igitur hoc mulier aut homo poterit, numquam scopio adiuvet. Qui quasi in ipso nocturnae ut quem obtantaret, def.setAdapter, discerrett, factis faceret, surrerit aut immolaverit, atque oblitus obruitur. Qui hominem immissorum certius esse discrimen aut, cum propinquitatis habet bellicus Christi, atque habet obedientiam Christi, vel se hominum et capitum puniatur. Magorum acta censenda summo supplicio adici placuit, id est, bestialis acti sanitatis. Libvrir as, ex quo, magica artis apud se neminem habere leget; et quern quoscumque remissete, non solum honestiers, sed etiam honestiores in insulam deportantur, humiliari capite punitur. Non tamen huiles artes procula, sed obtutientia scripta prohibita est.'

Doubtless the object of the law was or, at least, ought to have been merely to punish the abuse of magic (Plato, Legg. 593 D), but it went much further than that. All the old laws were revived and reinforced by new legislation as soon as, under Constantine, Christianity succeeded paganism as the official religion of the Empire. Of course, the moment the change was effected Christianity became the plaintiff and paganism the defendant in the ancient process of Religion v. Magic. It was Christianity now that was responsible for the welfare of the State in this world. But, among other things, Christianity differed essentially from paganism in the fact that it had also a keen interest in the welfare of every member of the State in the world beyond. The first of these two, the newer religion was representative of orthodoxy—in the hands of those who do not understand or appreciate its message and meaning, the most intolerant of all religions—thought fit to proceed against its predecessor with a zeal worthy of a better cause and a rigour that amounted to persecution. The practice of the courts naturally went hand in hand with the law and was regulated by it. The charge of magic in one form or another was always a cause of action. It was perhaps most common in cases in which there was a weak evidence of witchcraft or incantation. In Greek testamentary law, e.g., this plea was specified either as οὐδὲ φαμακον οὐδὲ γραμμων ηθοποιον (i.e., 'drugs,' in the ancient sense of the word, or 'persuaded,' by means of a spell) (Cret. v. 125-36).

The best known case of this kind is the one brought against Apuleius, the famous rhetor and author of the 2nd cent. a.d., by the relatives of the old widow, Pontullia, whom he had just married. The charge was that he had won her affections by magic, and specified practices were alleged. The legal basis of the action was perhaps ultimately the Lex Cornelia de Saceris and Veneres passed by Sulla in 84 B.C. The defendant conducted his own case and won it by a speech, the de magia, which still survives and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of magic in that period. It must be said, however, that for the most part the great rhetor does not touch upon the real point at issue.

Considering the comparative frequency of such litigation in everyday life, we can understand with what interest the Athenian audience listened to the famous scene in the Andromache of Euripides in which she is charged by Hermione, the wife of Neoptolemus, with bewitching his spirit with the use of philtres. Her dignified and stinging reply, 'Not of my philtres thy lord hath thee, But that thy nature is so nate for this That is the love-charm: woman, 'tis not beauty That witheth broiderings, nay, but nebekness'; (505 ff.; in A. 719-56), is doubtless the poet's own protest against the folly of such a charge. But, if one may judge from cases still occasionally reported in the daily press, it is a charge which is still never ceases to be preferred in one form or another.

3. Derivation and definition.—All the words for 'magic' in Greek and Latin record some real or supposed fact in the history of the subject or else indicate that some particular manifestation of it was sufficiently prominent to stand for the whole.

The ordmary Greek words for 'magic' are μαγια, μαγεια, and φαμακεια. The last two are old and popular. The μαγια, according to the derivation offered by the Greeks themselves—μάγος noun and μαγεια, the name for the art or craft of making magic—was specifically a necromancer in the original sense of that word, i.e., like the Witch of Endor, he called up the dead (συναπεκακασθαι),—a thing which in all ages has been one of the most important specialties of the magic art. It is true that the derivations isajajj; i.e., in the meaning of professional mourners, and, as Hubert observes, the two occupations are not incompatible. The μαγια may very well have been both. But, as we learn from Strabo (v. 1), 'the mystagogy is not thinking of mourners; he is giving a very good description of a special and particular type of magic with which he himself was doubtless quite unfamiliar. The μαγια was, no doubt, much feared by the population in general, but he was also more or less a roadside charlatan, and in other respects the associations with a person of his type were such that of the three ordinary names of magic, μαγια appears always to have been the most distinctly reprehensible. The prominence of φαμακεια in this connection is due to the primitive idea that the action of any drug (φαμακα) usages that word in its most extended application—is due to magic power. In its original sense φαμακεια means the science which deals with the magic properties of plants and simples. Hence the φαμακεια—in all countries the primitive ancestor of the doctor, the botanist, and the toxicologist (amateur or professional)—was the magician who was particularly the special branch of the subject, and the φαμακεια, i.e., the 'drug' which he prepared, was always a 'remedy.' As such, the efficacy of the φαμακεια is enhanced, if not actually conditioned, by the concoction which generally accompanied with some stage of its history. In most cases, too, it must be discovered, prepared, or given at a certain time or in a certain way. Of its effect it may be helpful or harmful according to the intentions of the giver. Hence the secondary use of the word in the sense of 'art of magic' or a 'remedy.' Homer himself generally distinguishes by the use of an adjective (Od., iv. 367; K[A]) and sometimes a noun (Lat. magia), from which, through the substantivized adjective (τοιχικα, are magia), our own word is derived, are an
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 μαγια meant nothing more than the magic of the Persians (cf. Plut., life of Romulus, § 93). It is well known that this faith, which was imported to Greece by artificers, draws rank as one of the great religions of the world. But it was imported, and had no official standing; even amongst the Persians it was not authorized. Between these two facts μαγια became a general term for ‘magic’ as early, at least, as the 4th cent. B.C., as we see from Theophrastus, Hist. Plant., 664 a (ed. de Rijk, 248 a) and Aristotle, frg. 361 (though this is only an indirect quotation by Plut. Aegypt. Mag. [too], Plut., life of Romulus, § 93), and there arises a confusion of terms often of no specific and particularly original. Μαγευση is perhaps the most colourful of the three words; ἔργα, except when it returns to its original and distinctive use, is a pejorative term for magic in general: δαίμων, when used generically, is possibly finer than the others of vague and doubtful significance. It is otherwise that it has been no great difference between them in current speech. Hecataeus, e.g., defines μαγια by μαγευα, and for Polykleitos the general term for ‘magic’ is ἔργα (pejorative) and whatever may be detached from it is religion. The Mystics (e.g., Porphyry, De Aedificiis, 1. 4), it is differentiation unreservedly the use of these words; they distinguish between good magic and bad magic, and enter into all sorts of subtle speculations regarding the hierarchy of demons through whose aid the good or the bad magic, as the case may be, is able to accomplish its purposes. The Alexandrian school of philosophers undertook to draw a distinction between ἔργα and the particularly profession the latter bore a name. But Augustine (de Civ. Dom., x. 9) is too much of a practical, clear-headed Roman not to see the essential weakness of the entire theory. The worship of God, he says, is a matter of submission to the will of God, i.e., the will of the Logos or Logos himself, a pure idealism, from which the whole demolition of all magic must be expected. In other words, Christianity is orthodox; therefore all other religions, whether good or bad, are the same, and whatever we call it, however we disguise it, it is magic. This, of course, is nothing more or less than our familiar old criterion of orthodoxy, conformity to the revealed fact that Christianity indicates the abrogation of paganism to be the official and legal standard of comparison. For the Romans themselves—at least, after the 1st cent. A.D.—the distinction between the maleficus, the beneficent, the sages, and the magus was only difference of degree.

But it is said (p. 28) that magic began with medicine, and that the chief causes of further growth were the adixture of religion and astrology (arx mathematica)—all with intent to deceive. In the same way magic is extended to alchemy and to divination (Tert. de Idol. 9, de Cultu Fem. 1 f., etc.). Hubert rightly observes *that, in spite of the fact that the Chaldeans and the plain magicians are in the same class, a sharp distinction should be made between astrology and magic. The business of astrology is to foretell the very things which it is the business of magic to prevent or, at any rate, to make happen. Therefore, magic enters into astrology, it is for that purpose (Fap. Paris, 2891, 2901, 2910). Hubert does acknowledge, however, that the astrologer's ceremonial in consulting the stars derives no small part of its efficacy from the fact that it has no such common with the incantations of magic. We might, perhaps, add that the whole 'science' of astrology is based upon a type of reasoning so primitive, so nearly akin to that upon which magic itself is based, that one might be excused for failing to see sometimes where magic begins and astrology ends. There was at least one large and especially popular class of magicians, about whom there could be no doubt: the so-called ἁρμαγαρακτοι, or astrological groups, whose entire practice was founded on speculations regarding the mystic properties and office of the stars. The Roman legislators were justly justified in believing that, if there was any distinction between this theory and the theory of magic incantation, it was a distinction of degree.

It is also quite true, as Hubert insists, that alchemy should be reckoned per se as a science. We might add, however, that alchemy never had a chance to be reckoned per se. Not until it assumed the aetas of chemistry was it able to escape from its old associations with magic (see ALCHEMY).

It has already been noted that divination, even by the old criteria, is the official sanction of a more or less indeterminate position between magic and religion. Indeed, αρετα and magic are so thoroughly conjoined that even in ancient Greece the one was often more than the other. In others a fairly sharp distinction is supplied by official sanction. Νεκονοπάντα, for instance, was religious if used in a family cult, i.e., it was presumed that a man had the right to call up his own ancestors if he pleased. By a somewhat similar presumption it was also sanctioned in the cult of the heroes. Under any other circumstances it was not only distasteful, 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, time 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 (εἴδοσις; see MIGNE, s. v. De mens., vol. p. 30 f., and cf. Artemidoros, Uromicron, a treatise of the 2nd cent. A.D. which still survives). The method officially sanctioned for securing true and prophetic dreams (λεγομορφα, λεγομερα) was incubatio, but the magic papyri (esp. the Fay. L. Batyus, Leyden, 1843-44, vi., etc.) are full of λεγομερα, formulas and charms for obtaining such dreams. Hubert would also include within the sphere of magic such practices as divination by means of *sortes with verses of Homer, Vergil, or the Scriptures, τιμουκοπαρπατια (Ath. vi. 80 [201 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, of course, we should agree with Hubert that divination in private cults was strongly tinged with magic. The same was true of divination in public cults, 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 period of genuine magic. This is partly due to the fact that our record is so fragmentary and that what survives belongs to types less likely to be concerned with such a subject. But it is fairly 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 declining; 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 (or Telchines), the Daictyi, the Curetes—and in connexion with the Curetes the Corybantes (see KOUKNETES and KORYBANTES)—hold a position which amply illustrates the fundamental ideas about magic already mentioned. The first three were reckoned the primitive pre-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 to confusion in names and places of origin); the Daictyi, of Crestan or Phrygian Ida (Strabo, p. 355; Apoll. Hygin. 1. 35); and the

2 Ib. p. 236; L. Denizier, De Inunctione, Leipzig, 1900, p. 6.
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Cerastes, of Acanania.\(^1\) 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 synonym of spitfulness in the folk-tales of Greece, were in their time the gods of smelting (Diod. Sic. v. 53; cf. Paus. ix. xix. 5). But they all belong to the old order, they are all heterodox; they are all classed as ψεφες (Nonn. xiv. 56 ff.; Strabo, p. 443; Plut. Mos. 21). They helped the gods and spiteful towards men. They use the water of the Styx in their charms (Nomus, Dionys. xiv. 38); they are malignant sorcerers, who, with the help of the gods and at the instigation of the gods, and make barren the domestic animals.

Most notable is the position of these clans in the history of the arts. As the Cyclopes were the semi-divine florin:s of metal, so, too, the 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. Pape\(^3\) to the Kolotes of the Hermes of Herakles (Diod. Sic. v. 64) and, long afterwards, to Pythagoras, Plato, Iasius, Aekides, the three great physicians of the epic, are all Dactyls. Later, they were regarded as inventors of the famed Epheus Grammeus (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 15 [PG vii. 781]). The Centaur 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 prophesy is an ecstatic state of mind. The assumed origin and pattern of the Corybantic worship is the most famous and 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 priest's dance, a dance to keep the child from harm (see KORITEUS AND KORYPLANTES).

The great individual magicians of Greek mythology are Promethes (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 845; Val. Flacc. vii. 356), Agamedes\(^4\) Melampus (Apollod. ii. ii. 2), Eunome (En. iii. vii. 6), Pasiphae (Od. vii. x. xv. 1), Agamedes or Perimece (Roscher, s.v.; Theoc. ii. 10 and schol.), Circe (Roscher, ii. 1186), and Medusa (s.v., the object, though not exclusively, the interest of all is in ψεφες). Prometheus, the wise and kindly Titys, belongs to the old regime. Melampus comes from Thessaly, the distant land of magicians. All the rest (except Eunome, and even she is a water-nymph) are in some way connected with the sun or—which amounts to the same thing—with the sea or the moon. Agamedes is the grandson of Poseidon. The rest are descendants of Helios. Agamedes is also the beloved of Poseidon. The greatest of all are Circe and Medea—both 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 Homeric account—the most marvellously correct and sympathetic portrayal in all literature of her curious, abnormal, not quite human type—Circe dwells far, far away in the mystic and trackless seas. Cruel, but no more so conscious of herself than the child who separates some luckless fly from its wings, this ψεφες, whose special power is metamorphosis, is there herself with enticing such wandering mariners as come within her reach to drink magic potions which straightway turn them into swine. Like any other queen of the nymphals, Circe is unmoved rather than imperious. 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.

Medea.—Medea is a relative of Circe and, like Circe, was sometimes worshipped as a goddess (Hes. Theog. 236 ff.; Aleman, cited Athenag. Legat. pro Christ. 14); in fact, the Romans identified her with Angitia and the Bona Dea (Macrobi. i. xii.; Serv. on Æn. vii. 759). Of all mythical sorceresses, she is most distinctly the sorceress, and her powers as such are the most varied and terrible. As Hubert says,\(^1\) she is evidently the most highly developed personality in a group of homonyma. 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 long annals of magic itself, there never has been a sorceress to compare with Medea. Medea, the beautiful and awful Colchian, as awful as her mistress the goddess Medea, is the last word in the sun-god, is still the arch-enchantress of all the Occident. She is first and foremost a ψεφες. It is therefore perfectly, though not exclusively, from her knowledge of ψεφες 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.\(^2\) She can restore youth, bestow invulnerability, dull the dragon of the golden fleece to slumber, quiet the storms, make the rivers pause in their courses, call down the moon from heaven, etc. Indeed, Apollodotus' description (iv. 1655-75) of her procedure when, from the deck of the Argo, she cast the evil eye upon the giant Tantalus 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 Argonauts, cures Eneas of his madness, frees the Corinthians from a famine, and is even a prophetess.

Even in the fancy of the unlettered her memory never fades. On his way to Babylonia, the popular tradition of her continued to grow in its own way (Strab. i. i. 51, note, ed. K. F. Smith, New York, 1913). Special feats of magic were supposed to have been her invention (Iep. xii. 2, xii. 1), and, as the line just cited from Thibull suggests, we may be sure that the λίθοι

\(^{1}\) Roscher, i. 1589.
\(^{2}\) Eubel, P. R. 112.
\(^{3}\) Roscher, ii. 4845, 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
ever grown old or lost its interest and charm.

As we might guess, Medea is the typical Graeco-
Roman enchantress. Her connexion with Hecate,
her methods of discovering, securing, preparing,
and administering her φαντασία, and the large pre-
ponderance of φαντασία 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.—Φαντασία are either to be
swallowed or to be applied outwardly as salves or
pastes. The distinction is medical, but it is also
Homeric, and applies equally well to magic at any
time. Circe uses a salve to restore her victims to
human shape (Od. x. 391 f.); Medea uses another
to have seen the invincible Phineus (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1014 f.),
and still another—in the form of an aspersion—to put the
dragon to sleep (ib. iv. 156); in the old Lesbian folk-tale Aphrodite gave Phaon a kiss which, when applied as directed,
gave him youth and surpassing beauty (Elian. Var. Hist. xii. 18; Serv. on Aen. iii. 279; Paus.
plat. 49; Lucian, Dial. Mort. ix. 2; Roscher, s. e.
(Just. Thon.)). The shirt of Nessus and the robe of
Corydon belong to the same type. Pamphilus (Apoll. Mt. iii. 21) went so far as to have a box filled
with little cakes, each containing a special salve for giving metamorphosis.

Quintus as ancient and characteristic is the φαντασία
taken as a drink. So Helen, herself a sorceress, administered her Egyptian nepenthe (Od. iv. 250-
253); so Circe affected 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 φάρακα or
pouca annatoria, i.e. drinks to inspire love—is
perhaps the commonest and most characteristic
feature of all ancient magic. It is to be noted
here that in Circe's case the process is not com-
pleted until she touches the victim with her βατόν,
or, as Homer says, 'in the heart'. Homer is frequently repre-
sented with a wand; with a wand Athena makes
Odysseus look young again (Od. xvi. 172); so
Hermes overpowers our senses (Ili. xxiv. 344; Od.
iv. 327). But, in the words of Pausanius, to this day
magician's outfit, even if he is nothing more than
an ordinary sleight-of-hand performer, is complete
without this ancient and dramatic accessory.
The use of the wand seems to be an application of the
docility of sympathetic. 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 essential necessity. Perhaps,
perhaps, in the case of the gods just mentioned,
who, as such, are too powerful to need it, the
really essential thing is the φαντασία, and, as
we have seen, the Graeco-Roman theory of magic
supposes that Circe had already prepared her
φαντασία to the accomplishment of the proper charm,
and that Helen's nepenthe had been similarly
prepared either by herself or by the specialists
from whom she had procured it.

The same rules hold good for φαντασία in the
art of healing. The sons of Autolycus bind up the
wounds of Odysseus, and stop the flow of blood with
an ῥεφόβαθ (Od. xix. 457); the divine physician,
Aesculapius, follows the same methods (Pind. Pyth.
iii. 82; cf. iv. 217; schol. Isthm. vi. 83; cf. Soph.
Oed. Col. 1189 [Jebb]); and at all times the use of
incantations with a remedy was so characteristic
that one of our richest sources for the study of
φαντασία 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
remedies 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
pre-Periclean times is typical. The story of Aeneas
(Apoll. l. i. 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 Aegyptus (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 216 f.), was
the language of birds, consulted the great god ten years before,
while casting lots. Iphicles had threatened
his father Phylacho with the knife. It was then discovered that
the knife had at that time, and presumably by Phylacho himself,
been struck into the tree with which the life and well-being of
Iphicles was bound up. Iphicles himself
the knife was removed, the rust scraped off and pre-
pared as a φαντασία, 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
spur 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 history by saying that 'the hair of the dog cures its
bite.'

Other branches of magic referred to in this
period are equally typical. According to Homer
(Od. x. 516 f.), Odysseus learned from Circe how
to call up the dead, and the ceremonial of acyopa-
monia, as the poet pictures it, always remained
practically the same. Indeed the antithesis of Eno-
doeles, as described by Diog. Laert. (viii. 59, 82 f.),
show clearly that the type of the θεία became
finally fixed at a very early period. Again, the
tag of winds given by Kolus to Odysseus (Od. x.
16 f.) repeats the symbolism of wind and weather
magic in all times and countries. The same
true of the primitive rustic magic attributed to
the Telechines. Finally, the love-charm known as
'drawing down the moon' was certainly familiar
long before the time of Sophron, who, according
to Suidas, was a contemporary of Xerxes. Presum-
bly this charm was from the first looked upon as
the special property of the Thessalian witches. At
evenings, the idea was firmly fixed in the time of
Aristophanes (Nubis, 749) and was never after-
wards 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
power to the witch in Italy, and the Telchines, Dactyls, and Curetes—apparently, too,
the Pelasigers—and that unusual activity and ability in
magic were attributed to what at the time were
told to be such distant countries as Caleis, Egypt,
Thessaly, and even the Islands. As time went on
and the horizon of the known world became corre-
spondingly wider, such local centres became pari
passu more and more distant and the heathen
tribes of the African deserts, 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 primacy always remained with Thessaly.
In the time of Aristophanes as in the time of
Ampelius, Thessaly was par excellence the realm
of magic and magicians. The literature is full of it,
and evidently the literature was a faithful reflexion of average opinion in the
world at large. Numberless passages might be cited to
show that in the Athens of Pericles, as long after-
wards in the Rome of Augustus, the profession of
enchantress found it 'good business' to advertise herself as a 'genuine Thessalian.'

Orphism.—Thrace too, though Pliny (Hist. xx. 33)
1 W. Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldkunde, Berlin, 1877,
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1. It denies it, was another famous locality for magic. But Thracian magic, as Hubert warns us, 1 was really another name for Orphic magic. Now Orphism itself was not essentially magic; on the contrary, magic is characterized more by the absence of magic, but a religious movement of the most momentous importance in the spiritual development of classical antiquity and ultimately of the entire Western world. But it was heterodox and, therefore, 'magic.' This seems to be the first great and definite example within historical times of the impingement of a strange religion or system of religious orthodoxy. Aristotle and his followers make all manner of fun of the Orphics, and such a passage as Euripides, Cyclops, 638 ff. (cf. Plato, Rep. 364 E), shows that Orphic-like Musaeus, had already become an inventor of magic, a sort of proto-magician and doctor. 2 Finally, Orphea the magician, as he appeared to the popular mind of the 5th cent. B.C., became a character of great importance in the Greek world. His whole life is reflected in the Orphic ascriptions. The Orphics claimed Orpheus as their founder, and he was even made one of the founders of astrology and medicine. All this is undoubtedly true, but it is difficult to distinguish between Orphic texts and magic texts. Further confusion was caused by the last ceremonial peculiar to Orphism, and to the association of their Orphic elements with Greek and Egyptian. So far as the average man was concerned, the distinction between the ἄγειρα and the ἀνεμός and the unattached priests of Orphism (Plut., Symp. vii. 8; Aul. Gell. x. 12; Apoll. de Mag. 27, 31; Diog. Laert. ix. 7; Lucian, Neopygmaea, 6; Apoll. Tyan. Ep. xvi), we now hear that Pythagoras was a pupil of Zoroaster; indeed, we are told that his whole life was an attempt to reduce the philosophy of Zaratua the Chaldæan (Lobeck, Apologia, p. 471). Democritus broke into the tomb of Darmanus in order to secure the wondrous MSS buried with the defunct at Delphi; and others say that, after being initiated by the Persian Ostanes, he became one of the fountain-heads of the tradition of alchemy.

Of these Persian sages associated with the tradition of Greek-Roman magic the most famous was Ostanes (HN xxi. 8, etc.). His special prominence was partly due to the belief that he had committed to writing all the voluminous and unanswerable proof, but until his name is sufficiently quoted, to his making the ancient oral tradition of ancient magic (ib.). The first book on medical magic was attributed to him (ib. xxvii. 8), and also certain apocryphal works on alchemy. 3 Of all the Ostaneses, he is the most frequently referred to, and his name may be found cited as an important authority in dream-books, 4 still for sale.

As we shall see, it is often foreign influence on magic was much discussed by the philosophers (Diog. Laert. proem. 1). One of the most notable contributions must have been the so-called Mysteria, usually attributed to Plato and Aristotle, in which is set forth the entire oral tradition of ancient magic (ib.). This was much discussed by the Neoplatonists and, especially by Plotinus, the latter of whom it is said that he had all the Egyptian MSS in his library at Rome (ib. xxvii. 8). The influence of these MSS is, however, quite negligible. The standing charge against the Mysteria was their emphasis on mystikos. But Orphism itself suffered from the fact that, being a strange religion and being reflected in the Orphic ascriptions. As such, it had no standing and inevitably began to deteriorate. It justified more and more its new name of oracular magic, and its adherents assumed names and moved about the world of ordinary magicians. On the other hand, ordinary magic was enriched and enlarged, as usual, by foreign influence and by new methods and procedures. Here, of course, we have one important reason for the remarkable wealth and variety of Graeco-Roman magic.

The Magi:—Of all these foreign influences on native magic the religion of the Persians, i.e. of the Zoroastrians, is the most important. At any rate, in the ordinary opinion of later times it was the type of native influence in general. An almost immediate result, e.g., of absorption by its native rival was the designation of the new combination as magica. As we have seen, this was not later than the middle of the 4th cent. B.C.; we are therefore safe in assuming that by that time the Greeks had already drawn the inevitable corollary, afterwards generally accepted, that the original fountain-head of the new combination was Zoroaster, the Persian. The intrusion of Zoroastrian upon magic is characterized by the fact that we find Solinus, 3; HN xxi. 31; xxv. 156 ff.; xxv. 13 ff.;


2 Lobeck, p. 665.

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2 Lobeck, p. 665.
The usual term for a magician is *magus*, but the word does not occur in the law until Diocletian. 1 *Pennataria* is the generic name for any magic ceremony, whether legal or illegal, and *sacerdos* or *sorcerer* as the epithet of a magician is used in the same way. The *magus* in Cicero's time was still more or less associated with Persia, but with the first year of Tiberius 2 he comes under the ban of the law, and after Trajan's time the term seems to have been applied to any one who practised illegal magic (Fed. Theod. 3, 1. 8. 4; Cod. Justin. 13. 17). *Sage,* *wise woman,* is probably one of the oldest words for a woman. In the Greek race it also means a *maid* is a sufficient indication of the *sage's* social position as well as of the technical functions as a magician. She is one of the standard characters of the Roman elegy. *Striga* (striga, Petrus. 62; lat. *strega*), 3 *sorceress ova,* was a name for witches which records the popular Roman explanation of vampires.

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 control the springs, and discover hidden springs (Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Aquilea*). So, too, such ancient and mysterious peoples as the Sabines, Marsi, and Palliagni were perhaps the first to deal with the same main matter. Now (Vers. *Ephes.* vi. 786; Hor. Epod. v. 76, xvii. 29, 81, 1. xix. 291.; *H. N.* xxii. 78; Ovid, Fasti, vi. 141 f.). The Romans saved the Etruscan *harrupia* at an early date by naturalizing them in *Catiline* (de Agr. 6). They classed it with the rituals of the *augures,* *haurioi,* and *Chaldei* as a matter which any solid farmer would do well to avoid; but, although he himself was doubtless unaware of it, his own charm for a sprained hip has a magico-religious foreign sound. Even then Roman magic had been exposed for some time to the influence of foreign religions which set in soon after the Second Punic War; the 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 principle Roman source for the details of magic practice is the poet—its tone is the same as the date the practice of antiquity began to feel the impact of foreign ideas and systems. The *Augury,* the *Magi,* the worship of *Mithra,* the *Assyrians,* the *Babylonians,* the *Chaldeans,* 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. Laws were passed and, as we have seen, were severely enforced. But they appear to have been practically powerless.

The classical world was a land of cults, and in the time of Augustus the great capital was alive with a dozen different kinds of magicians, from the lowly *sage* to the impressive *Chaldeus.* 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 age 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 world-wide. Men needed new wine, and the old bottles could not contain it. The craving which for generations had been more or less vague in volume and intensity, assumed its acme not far from the beginning of the 2nd cent. of our era. There were creeds then—like those of *Isis* and *Mithra*—that would seem to have been but missed becoming great religions. There were men, too, in that period—e.g., Apollonius of Tyana and the Peregrini of Lucian—who were philosophers of the contemporary type,

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1 Mommsen, *Strzygowski,* p. 482, n. 2.
2 ib. p. 480, n. 7.
and posed as the more or less inspired founders of creeds—all charlatans, of course, but not entirely so. They all professed to be authentic, and the names of some of these men might have gone ringing through the ages instead of being merely an object of occasional scholastic contemplation. But they were not logically driven to accept or realize the necessity of being thus; they were—recruited in a period like this—who had lost their faith in orthodoxy, but who lacked the character to seek the truth elsewhere and the contin- uity of purpose to attain it. They preferred to give themselves up to whatever promised the indispensable—in a way sufficiently dramatic and interesting to gratify the taste for novelty. Under such circumstances there is always another class ready to enter into this form of intellectual and spiritual dissipation. Both these classes—the willing deceivers and the willingly deceived—are pictured to the life in Lucian's admirable skit, the various initiations of which is so grand and few, of course, ridiculed the whole matter; the most notable example is Lucian himself, who has been well named 'the Voltaire of antiquity.' Other initiations to which the chief among these were the Sceptic, the Cynics, and the Epicureans, i.e. those who did not believe in orthodoxy, and therefore, by our familiar crite- rion, should logically have preferred the opposite, are at least the germ of the most remarkable development of magic in Graeco-Roman times. This is the magic of mysticism in its various forms. Among the most important and popular of the Alexandrian school are Porphyryus (de Abstinentia et de Mysteriis) and Proclus (de Sacrificio et Magia). The theory, as Habert observes, is one in which the philosophical and the religious elements are still imperfectly differentiated. It is a synthesis of all the known methods of acting on the powers of the supernatural world. It is half-way between religion and ordinary magic, and capable of moving in either direction. The philosophers, of course, emphasized the religious character of the combination, but, as Augustine (loc. cit.) says, and as Porphyryus himself acknowledges, by Enn. Prof. Enn. v. 10), they could make no satisfactory distinction between gnostics, magia, and theurgy. Their principal criticism 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 theurgy became dissociated from religion; its position in society, like that of the theurgy 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 magic. The attack on Apuleius was supported more by the various initiations of which is so grand and few, than by any specific acts of magic with which he was charged. Theurgy did afterwards enter religion, but it entered by the Gnostics, not by the philoso- phers—and this only in so far as the Gnostics transformed it into a cult were recognized as a religious organization. So, too, the cult of Mithra gave rise to theologies and ceremonies that in Pliny's time (LN xxxii. 17f.) were described as magic. On the other hand, it was always difficult to distinguish between the Orphite and the religious associations of magicists.

Theurgical philosophy was violently attacked by the Sceptic, Epicurean, and Gnostic (Philocr. Apol. Lycon, viii. 382). Among these works were the Kar ['Mau of the Epicurean Celsus (probably the adversary of Origen, and the one to whom Lucian dedicated his Pseudomethists, and the Epistulae of the Celsus). The Iobis Mau's of Sextus Empiricus still survives, and it is unusually dreary reading. Like Lucian (e.g., in his Alexander seu Pseudomethistis, Demosthenes, Physiologus), they assert only magic, but every charlatan in either religion or mythology, Lucian feels that the wandering priests of the Syrian goddess are no better than any other magicians. All magic is a mere pretense, all magicians are hypocrites, rascals, and charlatans, whose object is to play on the credulity of the average man.

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 Civ. Dix. xxii. 8); and cf. in Cicero, De natura divinorum. In general the Christians were far from denying the existence and power of magic (Epiph. Bar. xxxi. 1; Tert. Apol. 36, de Animis, 57; Eus. Prag. Evang. v. 14), especially in those early centuries when the Church Fathers had no difficulty in making the sharpest possible distinction between the Christians and the Gnostics. All heretics in general and Gnostics in particular were magicians, and their faith was the real (Iren. H.E. i. 13; Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 26). Paganism in any form was magic. For the Alexandrian theurgy the difference between gods and demons was merely a difference in degrees, and the Christians required through it to assure 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 magicians which did 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 secondary conclusion, also ancient, that the one was good and the other evil, per se. And the same old distinction can be carried with it the same old assumption that the one was just as real as the other. The Christians never seem to have realized any more than did the pagan forefathers that the difference between their gods and the pagan gods was not conceived by the difference between genuine, v. a. genuine gods, as are and gods who never were. The only way to deal with the pagan gods was to classify them as evil demons (Iren. Orat. viii.). They were just as real as ever; the marvellous and prodigies attibuted to them were just as real and just as readily believed as ever; it was merely insisted that the same had been wrought with intent to deceive. The 'idols' still raved and gave signs from time to time, just as they had always done; but that was a magica operatio wrought by the demons of the old religion (Iren. H.E. v. 28. 2; Eus. H.E. ix. 9). The persistence of this old god, godly nostalgia, etc., is an interesting proof that the Christians still clung to the old pagan idea, more or less generally entertained by the less educated class, that the gods actually inhabited their statues. Many a priceless example of ancient art has been destroyed for this reason, and the idea still survives in the famous medieval story of the "Ring of Venus."

Of particular interest to the student of magic of this strange period are such surviving treatises as the Poinandra of Hermes Trismegis, Aetopodion, and related works, and as the astrological works of Horapollo.
of Nechepero and Petosiris. The literature of the magic oracles belongs to astrology as well as to magic, and another important source is the Tabulae Diviniae, so many of which have come to light in recent years. The magic papyri.—But most important of all are the magical papyri; we 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 Coblitz, cit., p. 126. Wilcken, Papyruskunde (Leipzig, 1912), the Archiv für Papyrforschung, and the occasional reports in Burian's Jahresbericht des klassischen Altertums.

The magic papyri belong for the most part to the period between A.D. 900 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 ritual; sometimes the hymn or formula in one version will be considerably abbreviated as compared with the same hymn or formula in another version; again, the particular省略了体的 words are often merely translated. It is therefore extremely difficult to reconstruct any complete and trustworthy text of this type.

The authorities habitually quoted and the sources, as 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 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 this sphere) were revealed and explained to the Greeks by Osthene, Pythagoras, Elephodokles, and Democritus belonged to this school, and also certain ancient Mesopotamians, Babyloniens, and Assyrians. Democritus explained the magic books of Dardanus, which he said he had found in his tomb; they were written in Phoenician. (2) The second school is the Jewish school, descended from Moses, James, and Qimnas (Ap. Mag. p. 785; Apul. de Mag. 9: Ex 76-79), and (3) the third is a Cyproten 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 papyrus themselves. One of the most important authorities in magic alchemy is Maria, the Jewess, but the papyri also refer to real philosophers like Thales, Ammonas, Heracle, Diogenes. The genuine magicians, i.e. the contemporary or recent authorities, are generally referred to under such names as Euminus, Synescus, Osmiptopora, Pelagius, and Iambus. They and then we find such curious and characteristic documents as a letter of the magician Nephotes to Pseudoetichus, a charm of Solomon, or a letter of Plutarch to the Thracian. This gives some idea of the attitude of the Alexandrian magicians toward the tradition which they followed.

It is no longer possible to trace the Persian, Jewish, and Christian elements in this strange compound. Assyrio-Chaldean influence must have been strong, but it appears to have been indirect. Jewish influence, on the contrary, was both strong and direct, the text being strongly affected as by Judaism. Jewish magicians were in evidence, and they doubtless encouraged the impression that they were the only depositories of the genuine tradition of real magic. But as Hubert shows, they brought no organized system to bear upon the Greek-Roman type, but merely introduced certain powerful elements of magic. Especially important here was the Bible, and in this instance of the form by which the Egyptians were translated from Greek, and furnished part of the more or less peculiar mythology of magic at this time. Their gods, idols and incantations, were often mentioned in incantations, especially the different forms of their names (Aoth, Aabotu, Aariithn, Arizio, Adomai, etc.). Especially frequent, too, are the names of Moses, Abraham, Jacob, Solomon, and the various angels and Hebrew words more or less corrupted are frequent in the papyri, and Christian influence is 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 mystic and religious figurative talk 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 world, and that 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 familiar 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 attalistic 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; Horus was one of the family. But Isis learned all her magic from one of the Egyptian archangels. It is equally surprising to see Saboth approached with Greek rites. Often special efficacy is gained by issuing a sort of general call to all the pantheon or—what, thanks to the doctrine of sympathy, amounts to the same thing—by adding to one god the names of the most revered gods in a number of nationalities. Magic naturalizes itself to the foreign religions. It also believes that the plural is more relatable than the singular. Hence the more or less chaotic pantheon of magic, especially in its latter stages. There is a characteristic tendency to multiplication and mixture for purposes of power, which reflects to a certain extent the fact that magic is an outlaw, that it is not subject to official control, and that it has no assured position in the body politic.

V. THEORY OF MAGIC.—The procedures of magic, especially of magic so highly developed as was that of Greece and Rome, are being strongly affected as by Judaism. But the main ideas, the essential principles from which they all derive and upon which they
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 a form of possession. Possession or obsession (συγκατάστασις) is a possession in all its numerous forms is a possession. The ancients habitually associate the processes of magic with the idea of binding, tying up, nailing down, and their opposites. A magic act is a σεβάστως, a συγκατάστασις 

The object of every magic act is to put 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.
ceremonially named with the true name of the person whom it is meant to represent. 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, and the event or state described by it. 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. 474 ff.),

\[\text{σοφρονίσθητες ἵππος ἀμφίβολος νόσσω \ (Euripides, Hecuba, 711)}\]

\[\text{πονησίς \ et \ magnam \ moti \ deponente \ partem, \ \text{true not only of magic theory in general, but of the Greek-Roman conception of magic in particular.}}\]

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 incantation which accompanies the act (e.g., \textit{HN} xxvi. 93). In the exercise of disease the incantation is often sufficient in itself. Again, a mere verbal comparison is sufficient, especially if accompanied by a gesture.

\[\text{Salvum sit gaudem tuis!} \] (Praet. xiv. 526)—such incidents were possible consequences when he touched his friend’s arm to illustrate where and how the unfortunate character in his story was touched by the witch.

Given, therefore, the words in the right order and pronounced in the right way, the desired result must ensue. But what words? Ancient formulae connected with or naming the appropriate gods of certain ceremonies but in many cases nothing can compare with ancient words in an utterly incomprehensible tongue. The most famous example in antiquity was the so-called 

\[\text{Elogium} \] (\textit{HN} xxiv. 89),

But it is by no means necessary 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 mythologists—Amphion, Orpheus, Vainmôdhe, etc.—are always magicians. We no longer attribute the power of magic to music in the literal sense, but primitive man can hardly be blame for doing so. The ancient doctors made a 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, however, our particular concern is with a class of sounds which are anything but musical, but are more or less mentioned again in the literature of the Empire as being especially powerful and effective in magic incantations. Lucan, vi. 686 ff., tells us that all the sounds of nature were imitated by such an expert as Erichtho, 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 off greater value in a matter like this. Whatever he afterwards may have become, we can be sure that these 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.

We should almost describe them by 

\[\text{stridor \ et \ stridere.} \]

The sounds to which these words are applied are many, and vary from the filing of a saw to the creaking of a door and the shrieking of a hawk. But they are all alike in being inarticulate, high-pitched, and disagreeable. The obvious and instructive parallel is the primitive Greek 

\[\text{γοητεία.} \]

\[\text{The \ γοητεία \ were specifically necromancers and the stridors \ (as Pliny substantially says \textit{HN} x. 34) seems to make no effort to look or act like a well-meaning and self-respecting fowl of the air, belongs quite as} \]

peculiarity of their magic, viz. from their calling and crying among the tombs. So, long afterwards, in Greek-Roman times the charms described by 

\[\text{Stridor \ and \ Stridere \ are very characteristic of necromancy.} \]

If so, and we can hardly doubt it, the inarticulate magic charm connected by these 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 

\[\text{stridor \ and \ stridere \ outside the sphere of magic itself are illuminating.} \]

1. One of these is that squeaking and gibbering of the dead to which the ancients so often refer:

\[\text{'Eco inter tumulos alique ova carnaria bustis Umbrae lapsus discerba stridore minus'; \ (Petrarch, xxii. 195); 'nervis \ acriba integros \ stridere \ umbrae,' \ (Lucan, vi. 668; cf. Stat. Theb. vii. 770; Bl. Ital. xii. 606; Claudian, in Rufus, 126; Ovid, Fasti, v. 458; Verg. Aen. vi. 402); 'Hymn. Od. xxiv. 5; and Hor. Sat. i. viii. 60.') \]

By the doctrine, therefore, of sympathy the 

\[\text{stridores \ of the necromancers were an imitation of the wailing and crying of the dead, and owed their efficacy to that reason.} \]

2. \textit{Stridor} is regularly used to describe the hoot of the 

\[\text{strix, or screech-owl—that long-drawn, shuddering cry that suggests nothing so much as the wail of the banshee, the moaning of souls that can find no rest, the ominous cry of the 

\textit{machaíræa,} questing ghosts of those that are dead before their time. (see \textit{Hecate’s Suffers}). \] No wonder the \textit{strix} is the most remarkable and illomened bird in classical folklore. Owls, disembodied spirits, or necromancers calling up the dead—no matter how far as the cry alone was concerned, how was one to be sure which was which? As a matter of fact, all three were more or less inextricably confused with each other, and there can be no doubt that the two were closely connected to the 

\[\text{Ovid, Amor. i. viii. 15-18, speaking of Dipasa, the redoubtable siren with eyes of different colours ('pupula duplex'), says:} \]

\[\text{'Hanc ego nocturnam versus volvere pellere umbrae; \} \]

\[\text{Susurrus et in tuberculum pellere pupula duplex. \} \]

\[\text{Pallida et tenebræ; oculis puplea pupula duplex. \} \]

\[\text{Erecta antiquæ proses tristissima sequitur. \} \]

\[\text{Susurrus longus carminis futu cum humanis.} \]

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 Pampulla in the 

\[\text{Apolloëis (Met. iii. 21). She assumes the form of a \textit{strix} to fly to her lover; she never comes to him as a human and normal woman. The fires of hell are in her eyes, the fires of hell are in her veins, the taste of blood and death is on her breath. She is the erotic vampire—the 

\textit{succuba}, as she was called in the Middle Ages—who haunts her victim in his dreams and little by little draws herself the very narrow in his bones. Hence it is that the Greek-Roman screech owl they were supposed to have received their name from the most notable} \]

1 E. Rohde, \textit{Psyche}, Tübingen, 1907, p. 61; \textit{often in the paper.} \]

2 E. Kohner, in \textit{Paulus-Wissowa, v. 2721-2775, and references.}
much to the kingdom of dreams as to the kingdom of heaven, and in any given instance whether the _strix_ is a real spirit or a witch in the form of one (Ovid, Fasti, vi. 141)1. Indeed, as early as Plautus (Pseud. 520); cf. Propert. iv. 1. 25; Virgil, Aen. xii. 170, we have the idea of a "screaming owl," and this designation of what is evidently the Roman parallel of the old Greek _aphyes_ records a popular belief which showed no tendency to die down later days.

2. Sources of magic power.—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 Hubert remarks, the magician was like the priest in being closely associated, if not actually identified, with the gods, and held in some way to be identified with them in the ultimate issue this is everywhere the explanation of his power. Particularly notable was the development of this principle among the Alexandrinan theory. Here, of course, the characteristics of whose imaginative faculty for the indirect method afforded a favourable soil, but, without doubt, the chief factor was the direct influence of the Egyptian theory in the Egyptian period. But, granted that he does identify himself with the gods, how does he compass it? Is it a gift, or does he acquire it, and, if so, how? The _theory_ emphasized the theory, that it was acquired, and the methods recommended indicate in themselves the effort to raise magic to the level of a religious-philosophical system permeated with the ideas and ceremonial characteristics of mysticism. Acsecism was recommended, but, above all, the magician must be a adept. Such persons may have a revelation coming to them more or less directly by way of the fallen angels or the archangels (Tert. de Id. 25). The magician was instructed by God Himself.2 Gods, kings, great philosophers, and sages of old loom large in this aspect of later magic. The "Book of Moses" gives us a good idea of the complicated ceremonies through which the candidate was supposed to pass in order to arrive at the perfect desired. There were purifications, sacrificial rites, invocations, and, to crown all, a revelation of the Koromia (how the universe was made and the secrets thereof). This puts the adept in relation not with certain specific gods, as appears to have been the idea of the Egyptians, but with the whole universal powers. The magician, especially the magician-chemist, derives his power from the acquaintance with the forces of nature. He has a sort of 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 in 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.3

This is a conception calculated to appeal to any mystic imagination that 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 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 ideas which developed the powers of the magician were much the same as those which dictated the choice of a magic object or the conjuration of a charm, and which, in fact, are fundamental in the art of magic as a whole. Generally speaking, magic is a gift and, as such, it is often due to some accident of birth or to some special privilege. In some cases it is inalienable; again, it can be outgrown. Its origin is either born within, or is merely as such, sometimes possessed it.4 Virginity has always been considered an important condition of the power to prophesy (Cephal. xii. 4; Plut. de Defectu Orac. 46). The idea seems to be that the seeress is, as it were, married to the god and that infidelity to him is punished by loss of the power which he gave her. The entire world seems to be agreed that women, simply as women, are peculiarly gifted in this direction (Demosth. c. Aristog. l. 17; Aristoph. Nubes, 749; Lucian, Dial. Deor. xi. 10, Dial. Mercur. l. 2, iv. 4, Elia Accusa, 21). We have already seen many similar superstitions on the principle of "omne ignotum pro magnifico," there are distant countries in which all the inhabitants are magicians or possess the evil eye or some such uncanny gift.

Any person with the evil eye is a magician, so, too, the ventriloquist (schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1014; Plato, Soph. 202 C; Plut. de Defectu Orac. 9). Anything abnormal about one's birth or pedigree is likely to give one a sort of magico-religious power. "Fetlock" is a word that may be applied to the development of this, as well as to other usages of the Middle Ages, but it is also prominent in ancient tradition, especially in connexion with the Magi themselves (Catullus, xe.; Xanthus, frag. 28 [FGrH l. 43]; Sotion, ap. Diog. Laert. prord. 11, p. 423). We have some other usages of the whole peoples, clans, or families are supposed to be magicians (Herod. iv. 105); some—e.g., the Thiri (IN vii. 17)—owe it to the possession of the evil eye; others have some particular specialty.

The Orphieans, the Pythagoreans, the Etruscans, etc. (6. xxvii. 50, vii. 13-15), can kill snakes merely by facing them, or can cure snake-bites merely by touching the wound with their hands. A certain family in Thrace could calm tigers (Hesych. and Stobaeus, c. dionysii), and so on. Many similar usages were made by Alexandrian authors and others now lost are preserved by Pline (HN, esp. 15. viii. and xxviii.).

In the majority of such cases the ability is more or less vaguely conceived of as inborn, in others it is a secret transmitted from generation to generation. But, whether inborn or imparted, magic is a secret. Indeed, initiates were sworn to secrecy in the later days among the mystics.

3. 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 is due—was as obvious to both of the world at large as it was to Plato and his

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1 Aert., op. cit. pp. 845, 800
2 See E. Fehrle, "Die kynische Rechtslehre im Alterthum," in RVP. v. 1, (1903).
3 Cf. Lobodick, p. 1196.

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followers (Plut. de Defectu Orac. 10). Disease was caused by a special god, possibly by a spirit or a demon, but the exact nature of the causative force was not always known. The magicians used magical tablets, inscribed with the names of demons, to combat these ailments. These tablets were placed in the bath, and the demon would either absorb or emanate from them, thus curing the patient. There were also magical texts that could be burned in the presence of the demon, allowing the demon to be expelled.

The magicians believed that the power of demons could be harnessed for various purposes, including healing and protection. They believed that demons could be commanded to perform specific tasks and that these demons could provide insights into the future. The concept of demonology was closely tied to the belief in the dual nature of the universe, with good and evil forces vying for control.

One of the most important classes of demons connected with magic are the spirits of the dead, known as daimones. These spirits were important in Greek and Roman religion, and they were believed to have a significant influence over the lives of the living. The magicians believed that these spirits could be invoked for various purposes, including healing, protection, and divination.

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 divine intervention, but these were not always trustworthy. Some demons were greater than some gods, and some gods were as unmistakably malignant as some demons were beneficent.

The most famous and dramatic incantations of antiquity are the spells used to command spirits. These spells were written in various languages, including Greek, Latin, and Egyptian. The spells were often written on papyri, amulets, and other artifacts, and they were believed to have the power to command spirits to do the magician's bidding.

The control of these spirits was a common practice among magicians, and it was believed that they could be used for various purposes, including healing, protection, and divination. The magicians believed that these spirits could be summoned through various means, including incantations, offerings, and rituals.

But the Kepha Erei, 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 later period. Here the habit of calling on a number of gods in one or other way is a result of the more liberal attitude toward the gods and goddesses in the later period. The demons, therefore, were not the only gods to be addressed by the magicians. The gods themselves practiced magie (Apollod. i. ii. iii. vi. 8); indeed, Findlay says (Pflüg. iv. 213 f.) that it was Aphrodite herself who taught Jason how to draw down the moon; and so the magician would naturally turn to them (Apul. de Mag. 31).

The preference is, of course, for the di inferi—Hades, Demeter, Persphones, Baubo, the Fratidai, the Earth, Gaia, Cyleis, especially those who, like Echato, Selene, and Hermes, habitually pass back and forth between the two worlds.

The greatest of all, the goddesses of excellence of magic and magick, and those gods of demiurgic, or demiurgic connexion, is Hecate, Selene, 2 the Des Triformis of the croseways, 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 ἀφάντα. The most famous and dramatic incantations of antiquity are associated with her. The school of Apoll. Rhod. iii. 476 even informs that the wisest of the ἄγαθοιæ was her worshipper, 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10.

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this was more or less concealed or defined in the magician's characteristic effort to get at the true name, the name of power for the thing he wished to utilize. He must put all his soul into the accomplishment of the rite (Gargilinos Martialis, 19).

The time at which the rite should be performed is also very important. This 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 all magic connected with the moon, 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 same and places 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, sites, boundaries, corners, walls, and the like, are all places of great religious significance. In both magic and religion, the cross-roads suggest Hecate, the grave-yard sakonantia. Both are favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

Finally, as we have seen, there are 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 violate his 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 certain number of objects or parts which, in the end, generally come to be considered magical in themselves. 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. 'Auleux'), 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 stelai, ouvai (Ann. Marc. in both magic and religion. The cross-roads suggest Hecate, the grave-yard sakonantia. Both are favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

The best and clearest description of the ceremony, properly speaking, is given by Hubert. It involves the use of two kinds of mantras, one of which is to accomplish the object itself of the ceremony by a logical application of the principles of magic action; the other is to be manufactured or, at least, to assure for the magic the actual 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 certain number of objects or parts which, in the end, generally come to be considered magical in themselves. 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. 'Auleux'), 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 stelai, ouvai (Ann. Marc. in both magic and religion. The cross-roads suggest Hecate, the grave-yard sakonantia. Both are favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

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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 caretaker, as it were, Norris, provides the experience of a rite whose object is to put the person interested in a state to receive the benefit of the action desired. A case in point is the ceremonial of ‘incubation.’ The purpose of incubation is to surround a 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 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 *Ephemerides.* The purpose of incubation is to surround a 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 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 *Ephemerides.*

Börner showed that, among other things, in a highly personal nightmare is usually due to partial suffocation caused by burying one’s head in the pillow, coverlet, etc., that the rapidity with which the nightmare, the incubus, approaches 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 sleeper’s surroundings, especially by the visual and texture of the coverings. Such being the case, though L. Loebener goes too far in his theory that the *Umräumung* is the father of all mythology, we may at least suspect with Roscher that Pan’s legs were the inevitable result of his being buried in the pillows, coverlets, etc., by his primeval worshippers (cf. in the *Ephemerides* of magic power in Vers. *Etc.* viii. 61 ff.), and, for that matter, that the incubus, incubus *tiresius* (v. Ursula’s *Prana*), is another word for the person whom it represents, and sometimes this is accompanied by a written statement of what is to happen to him. So, when one gathers a medicinal plant, one should be careful, and the patient to be benefited 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 be made.

The indirect method is also directly responsible for the conclusion that incubations are a special help to the operator in the accomplishment of his second most important end. In many cases, the operator knows whom it represents, and sometimes this is accompanied by a written statement of what is to happen to him. So, when one gathers a medicinal plant, one should be careful, and the patient to be benefited 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 be made.

Hence we have cases in which two puppets are used, one representing the person to be acted upon, the other the spirit to which the action is to be performed (Hor. Sat. i. vii. 23 ff.). Occasionally even three figures appear to have been used (schol. to *Euripides* *Egkis* vii. 75). Often they were hollow, and their power was enhanced by putting written incantations inside. As a rule, the puppets must be made of clay or wax, but occasionally other substances were just as rigorously prescribed. Eusebius (loc. cit.) speaks of an image of Helen made of pulverized lizards and the roots of rue. A sheet of metal or even of paper upon which the figure has been traced is often conserved. The verbal portions of a magic rite are of the highest importance. In many cases, the operator’s instructions to the intervention demon in order that he may make no mistake as to the meaning and object of the symbolize rite. The puppet is inscribed with the name by which the person to be benefited by it is desired to be called. It is constructed in such a way as 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. Incubations 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 altering certain syllables and decorating them with affixes and suffixes, by separating them in different combinations, and especially by disposing them so as to form certain figures. Examples still surviving are *abracadabra,* and *'aropo* and *tar* *oper* *rapo* *sare* (see *Ephemerides* *Ling. Lat.* s.a. *Araxo*). The *Ephemerides* *Grammatica* belong to the same type (Forbon. *de Mystere* vii. 6). Mystery and power were further enhanced by the use of magic alphabets, because these were sacred, and so on. Numbers pass through the same experience and acquire the same magical 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 seventh repetition of a ceremony.

1 L. Deubner’s *De Incubationibus,* Leipzig, 1904, is the standard work on this subject.
5 See c.s. in *Aegypten* vii. (1859) 117 ff., and *R. Fuchs, in RB.* ii. (1869) 235 ff.
7 D. Dörthe, *Die mesopotamischen Halbmonde.*
8 D. Dörthe, *Die mesopotamischen Halbmonde.*
10 L. Deubner, *De Incubationibus,* Leipzig, 1904, is the standard work on this subject.
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gesture, or word (Eur. Prep. Euryd. v. 18). Odd numbers have always been significant (Verg. Ec. viii. 76, and often), three and multiples of three are sacred to Eleusis, and certain special numbers like four, ninety-nine, etc., have a special importance.

As in religion the object of sacrificial rites is to ensure the actual presence of the gods invoked. And here again the indirect method suggests that these rites are of material assistance to the worshipper in acquiring the desired power (Theocr. ii. 3, 10, 159). In the choice of what shall be sacrificed in any given instance the usage of magic as a rule does not differ materially from that of religion. This, of course, is quite natural. As a rule, the gods addressed are common to both and of equal importance in both; in fact, it is perhaps safe to guess that, so far as sacrifice is concerned, there are two, age of magic and religion is a common inheritance. For example, the notable preference of magic for black victims is not distinctive of magic. It simply means that, in accordance with the naïve analogy set forth, for instance, in the old hexameter quoted by Eusebius (Prep. Evang. iv. 9).

'ενθαύσασθαι δὲ σαβόροις, καθαρασθείν καὶ κολλαθείν χωρὶς,
'stand in the presence of the powers of darkness, light to the powers of light—
the gods to whom magic habitually addresses itself are the gods of the under world. 'So wine,' honey, meal, wine, cheese are of the utmost need (Theocr. ii. 18, 33), certain cakes dear to these same gods, a cock to Hermes, a white dove to Aphrodite, etc.—all common to both religion and magic—are frequently employed. The use of blood is defined by Hecate as a sacrificial rite; it is at any rate—as in Sallust's account of the oath administered by Catiline to his fellow-conspirators—a striking illustration of the law of sympathy (Lucan, vi. 544). The sacrifice of human beings, especially of little children, even of the unborn babe torn from its mother, is a standing charge against magic in all ages (Hor. Epod. v. 116; Philostr. Apoll. Tyg. viii. 3); and, for that matter, age of magic is a secret rite; there is no secrecy with secret rites. The Christians in their time were charged with such abominations as infant-sacrifice and promiscuous incest at their meetings—precisely the same charges which, a millennium later, they themselves preferred with weariness regularly during their long persecution of witchcraft, especially in connexion with the 'witches' Sabbath. In most cases the charge of the charge of human sacrifice is as conventional as it is untrue; but it would be unsafe to deny it to todo. We can hardly expect such an outlaw, such a strange man, the magic to attain altogether from what was quite regular in the religion of more than one savage race, and which—in accordance with the familiar theory that extraordinary occasions demand extraordinary sacrifices—has been known to occur more than once at some grave crisis in the religious life of nations which, comparatively speaking, occupied a much higher plane of civilization. Finally, it may be noted that, as was the case with the incantations, names of the gods, etc., mentioned above, the things sacrificed, whatever they were, soon passed into the secondary stage of being considered magic per se.

One important aspect of our ceremony—quite as important in religion as it was in magic—remains to be considered. As we have seen, the operator must be careful to follow certain prescribed rules in order to get into the necessary and intimate spiritual relation with the gods whom he is addressing, and, therefore, with the sacrifice which he is conducting. The place is, in abnormal and disturbing places. To get out of it safely is therefore, quite as important as to get into it safely; prescribed rules are as necessary for the one as for the other. The object of these rules is to end the ceremony, to limit the effects of it so far as the operator is concerned, to make it safe and possible for him to return to the influences of everyday life. Above all, the remains of the sacrifice, unless he wishes to preserve them to produce some lasting effect (as, e.g., in a divinity), must be disposed of ceremonially, and not be left lying about; or, if he does so, let it be disposed of at some prescribed spot sacred to the god to whom the sacrifice itself was offered. The sacrificial, for instance, the ceremonial remains of the sacrifices to Eleusis (see Hecat.) were deposited at the cross-ways. The more usual method was to eliminate them ceremonially by burning them, burying them, or throwing them into running water or into the sea (Verg. Ec. viii. 102, with the notes of Catenberg and Forger). The Magica Erotemic (Pap. Paris. 3099) shows that, at least in some cases, the ceremony closed with a prayer to the god in which he was invoked kindly but firmly to go back to where he belonged.

'Αμαρτία, χαῖρε, ἀμαρτία, καὶ ἀσφαλέσθαι εἰς τὸ ἔννοιαν ζωῆς, ἔντονον γὰρ τοιῷ τοῖς ἡμεῖσι. 'Αμαρτίαν, καὶ καρπὸν.

It will be seen, therefore, as Huber observes, that among the Greeks and Romans the standard ceremony of magic and the standard ceremony of religion, so far as their essential elements were concerned, were practically the same, even to the point of using the same names for their elements. Furthermore, with some comparatively slight exceptions, the gods of magic are equally important in religion, and, on the whole, they are treated with the same reverence. As we have seen, the knowledge of the abnormalities of magic are just as characteristic of religion, and they are generally due to the fact that, at the time when these abnormalities occur, both are specially concerned with the internal gods. The worship of these gods, whether in religion or in magic, is visibly influenced by the universal idea that the god under the world is the reverse of ours. It is dark, silent, barren, loveless, childless, eventless, stationary—a complete contrast to the world above, a contrast regularly symbolized in rituals to the dead and their gods by such things as the use of the left hand instead of the right. It is, no doubt, this ancient idea of reversed conditions in Hades that suggested the most striking feature of the famous 'Black Mass' as practised by the early Christians (Iren. Hier. i. xii. 2). The normal 'White Mass' is addressed to heaven; if we reverse it, i.e. if we read it backwards, we address it to hell. But the Christian magician, in so far as he was a Christian, was bound to assume that his Black Mass was a wicked and impious rite. Hence the inevitable deduction was soon established that, the more wicked and impious magic could be, the greater and more terrible its power. For the magician of Graeco-Roman paganism there seems to have been no such parading of religious rites—above all, no such deliberate and malignant desire of things considered divinities of which we hear so much in medieval magic and which appeared again in the modern cult of Satanism (q.v.), as described some years since by Jules Bois and as utilized for purposes of fiction by J. K. Huysmans.\n
Summary.—In so far as there was any real and essential difference between magic and religion in Graeco-Roman paganism, the little difference which it was largely, if not entirely, the steady maintenance of the ancient distinction of official recognition as defined and explained at the beginning of

1 K. Kircher, 'Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum,' in Rtv. viii. (1900).


4 Le Satanasisme et sa magie, Paris, 1861.

5 Leiden, Paris, 1891; id. also C. Legrix, La Masse noire, do. 1905.
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 those primitive doctrines—notably the doctrine of something like 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 independence in order to live, to promise extraordinary, 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 magical promises practically everything from a cure for warts to a receipt for personal immortality—all tried and true. Magic, therefore, was 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, among other things, its own code of ethics; and in its struggle for survival, it made a virtue of necessity. Even when it had been adopted, so to speak, by some distinguished family like the mystics, had changed its name, had been carefully studied and refined, it was still haunted by the old ideas, and generally ended by infecting them with its benefactors and teachers.

The same may be said of the contemporary development of popular magic. Our great authority here is the magic papyri. They all come from Egypt and are much affected by local influences; but they show that, under the circumstances, the old rule of official recognition was eminently wise. In the civilization of Greece and Rome magic was given a rare, a unique, opportunity to make the most of itself. But, whatever it improved the opportunity or not, the final result, as we see it in the papyri, is a striking illustration of its besetting sins. If it had clung to its native gods, as religion was forced to do, it is conceivable that, even with the heavy handicap of the imperative and its attendant vices, magic might have risen to comparative respectability. But its weaknesses were encouraged rather than checked. By the 2nd century the number of strange religions available, not to mention the semi-detached religious theories, had increased to an indefinite extent. The result was that being a thing which, at least, could appeal to the imagination and the aesthetic sense, it steadily degenerated into utter absurdity as pretentious and complacent as it was dreary and commonplace.

But, fortunately for us, Graeco-Roman magic in its best days was the familiar possession of all classes in a highly intellectual and highly imaginative people. Men of Ovid's caliber and training must not have believed in it to any extent, but there never was a time when magic as such became unfamiliar to any one. Even the major operations of magic were always being performed somewhere, and as we have seen, the charge of magic was always kept alive in the courts. Hermione was far from being the only jealous woman to soothe her wounded pride by accusing her successful rival of resorting to philtres. The charge was quite as characteristic of the Augustan age as it could ever have been of Homer's time (Tib., I. 24, 42; Prop. iv. vii. 72). Nor was the charge by any means always unfounded. Poluma ancipita were a regular specialty of all those from the lata, or go-between, and they actually were so frequently administered as to suggest that the average man generally assumed that they were responsible for certain lingering diseases, especially certain mental or nervous abnormalities, for which he could see no apparent cause. In point of fact the traditional account of the death of Lucretia and the contemporary explanation of the vagaries and perversions of Caligula's tempestuous brain (Jeron., Chron. Rom., 1924; Sueton, Calig., 50).

VI. MAGIC IN LITERATURE.—The more or less familiar presence of magic not only in folklore and legend, but also in the everyday life of every man, is reflected to an extraordinary extent in the written word. It is continually turning up in the works of science, science, and professions, in law, religion, and philosophical discussion, in the history and anecdote, as well as any other sort of everyday life past or present. All this, however, is characteristic of any people among whom magic still survives as an active force, and it appeals to the modern reader, just as much as to such persons as the special investigator and the historian of manners and customs. But the most characteristic and interesting aspect of Graeco-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art; and the use of it is inclined to assume, and perhaps justify, that this was particularly notable of such periods as the Hellenistic age, the time of the Augustan and Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was especially characteristic of poetry and of such types of prose as that of the highly rhetorical and semi-Roman historians of the Alexandrian age, the Ptolemaic historians, the writers of novels and tales of marvel, and the practical debates of the rhetorical schools, and, in later times, the thron of professional declaimers for whom the schools were ultimately responsible. But this aspect of classical magic is far from being a matter merely of period and place. On the contrary, nothing is more characteristic of it than the extent and variety, as well as the unbroken continuity, of its use in practically every department of artistic literature. No one could be more thoroughly alive to the aesthetic possibilities than was Horace, and he created a tradition of its literary use which not only the semi-Oriental and utterly dreary foibles of the papyri were entirely destroyed. In an article like this it is impossible as well as inexpedient 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 the more magic operations which are most frequently mentioned, and which by reason of their dramatic possibilities are best suited to the purposes of literary art.

One of the most notable of these is nukygmantinw, calling the dead to ask them questions. Nukygman- tinw is rarely absent from that catalogue of magic feats with which so many of the Roman poets seem impelled to supply us (Tib. i. 24, 42, and 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 reason until it dawns upon him that they are merely a useful, though ingenious, method of necessary, preparation for nukygmantinw. These are producing earthquakes, splitting the ground, and making the rivers either stand still or run backwards. The magician uses his earthquake 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. Epod. 671; Lucan, vi. 725). As we have seen, the literary use of necyomantia begins with the famous passage of the Odyssey (xi. 24 ff.). The essential details of the ceremonial are such that they were always the same not only in literary tradition but in actual life. Doubtless, Lucan felt that his own long and lurid description of Encholos’ special performance for the benefit of Sextus Pompeius before the battle of Thapsus (vi. 728 ff.) was the masterpiece of its kind. And so it is. It would be hard to find a mere glaring illustration of what can happen to literature in an age when a furious and his host is seated in any principle of rhetorical self-control or common sense. 

Necyomantia had a long and brilliant tradition in the drama. Examples still surviving are Asclepias, 

*Pseudis* (afterwards), and Seneca, *Edipus* 500ff.

Indeed, ghosts were as common, it would appear, in the ancient as in the Elizabethan drama. 

Klymene Karadoc, *Charon’s step-ladder,* was the prominent character on the moor. 1 The scene by which the ghosts appeared on the stage as if from the world below. 

Necyomantia was also quite a characteristic of comedy. In the later days of the *ektei,* it was a sort of a subject that was entitled *Necyomantia,* and we know that this and similar themes were characteristic of the mime as developed by Philistion and his immediate successors. We find similar themes in the satirical sphere are 

Horace, Sat. II. viii., and Lucian’s *Necyomantia.*

If we choose to emphasize the literary influence as much of the Homerica is, it is also true that the *Necyomantia* is the only example now surviving. The same is true of the satirists and popular philosophers of the Alexandrian and Hellenistic periods. It was an outgrowth of their didactic methods to appropriate for their own purposes the traditional forms and themes of literary art, and one of the most notable was the *Necyomantia.*

The name was conventionalized as a *mise-en-

scene* for the presentation of doctrines and opinions. Allied to it are such examples as Horace, Sat. II. v., Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis,* such works of Lucian as the *Diatribe of the Dead,* and *Glaucian*’s attacks on Eutropius. The *Epicharmus of Ennius* and probably certain of the lost satires of Lucilius and Varro were illustrations. The poet Sotades used it as a notable extant. 2

But, while *necyomantia* is the most prominent and pervasive aspect of literary magic, the most famous and picturesque was the love-charm known as *Ephedura* or *Delphic Wort.* It was the theme of no fewer than four masterpieces; a lost drama of Sophron in the time of Xerxes, the lost *Thetis to Menander* (Hes. *Theog.* 73), the second *Idyl* of Theocritus (founded on Sophron), and the eighth Sappho, (founded on Sophron). Certainly, too, Lucian, *Philosophus,* 14, is a masterpiece of its kind. The atmosphere reflects to the life that aspect of the 2nd cent. which suggests the modern *nurture* in which theosophy, spiritualism, and kindred ideas are wont to grow luxuriantly.

In this passage of Lucian we have the *Professor*’s story of how his disciple, Glaukius, was saved by the *necyomantia* of a *necyomantine* magician. It seems that Glaukius, a rich young orphan whose father had been slain by theCalydonian boar for the disheveled Chrysa—a genuine prototype of Jenny Grove and cruel Barbara Allen. His condition became so serious that the *Professor,* as he says, was in a state of despair. The witch of the Hyperbolaeon was paid in advance to secure the services of the great Hyperbolaeon. Four times had he to face the necessity to sacrifice and atone if the operation was successful. By way of preliminary—he was in a state of despair. The witch of the Hyperbolaeon was paid in advance to secure the services of the great Hyperbolaeon. Four times had he to face the necessity to sacrifice and atone if the operation was successful. By way of preliminary—

which showed that the witch was not only a great man but also a just and scrupulously conscientious man, was forced to live at first, but finally told them to proceed. A dramatic description of theosing ceremony follows—how the moon came down, how the beasts came up, how the ghosts looked around, how, at the psychological moment, the disguised operator ‘told the sort of little figure of Gitup which he had fashioned out of clay to go and fetch Chrysa.’ Away flew the tiny thing that he had fashioned, giving Glaukius’s door, in ruses Chrysa, throws her arms around him, &c. 

But the *Professor*’s listener is not duly impressed. Besides, he knows the girl. He doesn’t see the point of calling on one Hyperbolaeon, some god, and one clay ambassador to unite in overcoming the despair of a girl who, as every one knows, was a nameless trade to the North Pole and beyond for twenty drachmas.

Such books as the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the lost poem of the same name by his preceptor, Nicander, show that the rage of form was quite as characteristic of classical mythology and folklore as of the *Thousand and One Night.* Transformation was Circe’s specialty, and the Homeric account of her methods (Od. xi. 21 ff.) is the most famous literary account of the performance. Apart from the Homeric passage, the most vivid and circumstantial accounts of transformation by magic are those of the god Apollo (Met. III. 11. 21 ff.) and Lucian (Asinus [the common source of the best was the lost romance of Lucian of Patrae]) tell how the witch, Pamphile, made an owl of herself, and how, immediately afterwards, she made, an ass of Lucius. But, as a rule, magic as such is not prominent in metamorphosis as a literary theme. This is, of course, quite natural; for in this particular the transformation is the theme of the metamorphosis, and all else is likely to be subordinated, even in those cases where the transformation is confederate due to magic. Vergil’s succorces in *Aeneid,* which is that she has been the werewolf transformation with her own eyes and that it was done by magic:—

1 W. H. Roscher, *Sagen und Personen,* Leipzig, 1898, with a plate reproducing a vase-painting of the process; M. Sutphen, *Oedipus.* 

2 In *Notebook of B. L. Gilbertson,* p. 332.

But in all the famous werewolf stories of antiquity, as most of the stories told by Ovid, the magic element is either absent, ignored, or referred to so slightly that it calls for no 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 in the *metamorphoses* is that of the bag of winds to Odysseus (Od. x. 19 ff.). Also unique—and terrible—is the spell of the evil eye cast by Medea upon the giant Talus (Apol. Rhod. xvi. 1622 ff.):—

It is a full and dramatic description of her charm for renewing the youth of Jason’s father, *Koon.* More familiar was her pretence of doing the same favour for the aged Pelias (Apoll. r. i. 27; Hyg. *Fab.* 24; Macrobi. *v. 9. 91.)* I. This was the theme of the lost *Piperomia* 

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

Cronus's robe was a famous theme. Euripides (Medea, 1136ff.) merely described the awful effect of it upon the wearer: 

Semele (Midst, 740ff.), the preparation of it. Which is the more artistic and effective may easily be seen by comparison.

On the other hand, 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. This is especially true of necromancy.

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 dramatist experience of Thelyphron as told by him after dinner in Apuleius, Met. ii. 21ff., speaking in terms of magic theory, the dreadful scene of Horace, Epod. v., was only a means to an end, the object of the witch was to secure the strongest possible love-charm.

The liver is the seat of desire (Hor. Odas, vi. 12); therefore the liver is sovereign in a charm to produce desire. Now, when a demon wants a poison for his arrows, he first makes the dice of some one he has killed. He thenannya, which in fact, the liver is desired, and, being present, and 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 magic, and this is what is found boring desire others. Hence, in this scene, the poor child who has been kidnapped by the witches for that purpose, is buried to the neck and left to die of a prolonged acme 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 is dead, his liver is cut out, and, upon being prepared with the appropriate ceremonial, became a love-charm of superhuman power, a φάλαιρος secured in a special way for a special purpose.

The gathering of herbs is another preliminary of ἀετοαίēτες, which was fully appreciated for its dramatic possibilities. In literature the process is regularly associated with Medea (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 238ff.; Apoll. Rhod. iii. 234ff.; Ovid, Met. vii. 552ff.; Apoll. Rhod. iii. 229ff.; Ovid, Met. vii. 234ff.; special emphasis was probably laid on this by Sophocles in his Philoctete). She went out at night and by the light of the full moon cut her plants with a drawn sickle, held in her left hand and behind her back, i.e. δεατοπεριτε (see Hecate's Supplices).

So far as philtres are concerned, the most notable containing in 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. 330ff.), to which attention has already been called. The subsequent tradition of this question at issue is a striking and characteristic illustration of the methods and development of ancient literary art. The topic was announced from the stage, discussed in the house, argued in the schools of rhetoric (Menander, frag. 466 K.; Afran. 374 K.; Lacret. iv. 1578 ff.; Tib. I. v. 43, vili. 23; Ovid, Met. viii. 231ff.; Asp. mag. i. 229ff.; Aen. mag. i. 258ff.). At 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-

ately magnificent mother of a great conqueror—any great conqueror could—was in the position of Hermione, but possessed the wisdom of Andromache. In Plutarch, Conv. proc. 23, the position is held by the mother of Alexander; the bands of Egypt have lately disclosed the fact that in Satyrus, too, est., it was held by the mother of Darius. Others may yet appear.

But for any one who is at all interested in the development of magic for literary purposes the Metamorphoses of Apuleius is a treasure-house. Those who have studied this unique book generally gain the impression that its author is a past master in the art of telling a tale of magic. Two examples may be given to test the author's imagination. The first (Met. 1. 11ff.) is told by Aristomachus, and might be called 'The Witches' Revenge.' While travelling about Thesaly a short time previously, Aristomachus ran across one Sophron, an old friend whom he had not seen for several years. The man was a monument of rags, squander, and wretchedness; he was also in a constant state of abject terror. He had drifted into a liaison with a famous but elderly witch named Merce, and, in fact, had been living with her, more or less, for a number of years. Now he was trying to run away. Aristomachus decided to help his friend to see the country. He took a room at the inn, made him presentable with a bath and some clothes, the two had a heavy dinner, accompanied by too much wine, and retired early so as to be off before it was morning. Aristomachus barred the doors, and for greater security pushed up his table with a large stone, and all went to sleep at once and snored loudly, but Aristomachus lay awake for hours. At last, about the third watch, just as he had dropped off into a doze, there was a horrible noise, the doors flew open and, indeed, came to the floor with such a crash that the bed with Aristomachus still on it, was flung through the window. He awoke with a start, and Aristomachus, who had been in the room, was back to him. 'Merce,' he said, 'you are a complete fool, and you will never outrun your balance.' With this Aristomachus' head was drawn towards one side, and Merce drove the stone into his neck just behind the left collar-bone. Then she plucked his arm into the gaping wound, and plunged his heart out. Meanwhile she caught all the blood in her bottle so skillfully that not one drop was escaped. When this was done, Panthia pushed her sponge into the mouth, with the words:

'Sponge, sponge, born o' the main,
Haste ye, haste ye back again!
When you reach the river side,
In the water slip and slide;
Wiser, water, flowing fast,
Bears you onward home at last.'

Then, after heaping nameless insults on Aristomachus, the two women left the room, the doors flew back in place, the bolts shot off (to a regular occurrence in witchcraft; cf. Lycophron, vol. ii. 411ff.), and all was as before—all but the murdered friend. Now it was Aristomachus' turn. He tried to escape, but the porter was obstinate and even suspicious. Then he went back in despair and attempted to hang himself from the window-frame. But the rope broke, and what had made it more horrible, he fell on the corpse—whereas the corpse leaped up in high delusion and so rudely disturbed. After all, it had only been a dreadful nightmare, a warning against too much eating and drinking late in the day. Next morning the friends set out, and when it was time, proceeded to take their breakfast beside a stream under the shade of a tree. Sources was as pale as wax, but he kept heartily, and then, at the suggestion of Aristomachus, knelt down on the bank of the stream to drink. As he leaned over, his neck gave way, and a sponge, followed by a few drops of blood, dropped off in the water, and was swept away. In a moment he was dead. So then and then Aristomachus 'covered his friend with a little earth.'

The second story (Met. ii. 23ff.) is unique as a salutarily exaggerated illustration of what can be accomplished by the doctrine of sympathy when it is really given a fair chance. During his stay at Pythos young Lycus, the hero of the book, was entertained by his father's old friend, Milt. The rest of the family consisted of Milt's three sisters, of whom the eldest, a doublet-sorceress, and Polis, a beautiful slave-girl, with whom Lysus immediately fell in love. One evening they went out to a dinner-party, and by the time he started for home it was very late and very dark—and the wine had been very strong. Just as he reached the door, he met a hideous woman, who looked like figures jostled up against him on either side. Thinking they were thieves, he leaped back, bumped out, and ran them both through. He was barely awake the next morning, with a vague but awful memory of what had happened, when all the magistrates appeared, full of fear and office, and arrested him for murder.

The trial scene, which begins at once, is a masterpiece. It

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1 Abi, op. cit. p. 173ff.
2 Lyc. p. 129.
3 Note on Satyrus, Life of Euripides, Oxyr. Pap. 9, 157-8; Jb. Phil. xxxiv. 1911.) 65-72.
MAGIC (Indian).—I. HINDU.—Indian magic is essentially the profession of certain castes, though magical rites and magic formulas and magical properties are attributed to countless objects. The caste which is peculiarly devoted to magic as a vocation is that of the Yogis, which is primarily Hindu but has Muslim and European characteristics attached to it. The Yogi claims to hold the material world in fee by the magical powers which he has acquired through the performance of religious ceremonies, but this is a superstition of the worst type, and the Yogi in reality is little better than a common swindler, posing as a fakir. Thus, in the tale of the magic boat, the gift of the fakir is not to be identified with the fakir, religious mendicant. Brahmanas, however, possess much magical lore, though the practice of magic is not a Brahmanical function and the sections which make a profession of it tend to form sub-castes. The Brahmanas are said to have secret books on the subject which contain over 50 jatis, or figures, consisting partly of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, calendrical words, and geometrical figures not known to free-masonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in commerce, 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 personate them) to reap a great harvest from the credulous.

This power is said to be possessed by the Yogi Ema Nakh, who, passing one day by a money-changer’s shop, saw a boy with a heap of copper coins before him and asked for some in alms. The boy replied that they belonged to his father, but offered him some of his own food. Touching by his generosity and honesty, the Yogi evaded Vyasa for the child, bought him a boy, bade him collect all the copper coins he could find in his father’s house, and then, melting it down, recited mantras, or charms, and sprinkled a magic powder over it, whereby it was changed into pure gold. This occurred in the time of Subbaiah Chamar (A.D. 1230-1303). The Yogi’s performance was of a similar sort, and in commemoration of it had gold mohars struck with Ema Nakh’s name on them as well as his own. These Ema Nakh mohars are said to be still found. The secret of the mantras and the powder has been handed down, but is known only to the initiated.

1. 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 symbolic. For example, just as naked women plough the soil in times of scarcity to ensure a crop, so at weddings a Telugu bridegroom of the Balija caste performs a minic ploughing ceremony, stirring up earth in a basket with a stick or miniature plough. Similar rites are in vogue among the Palli, Kamma, Sambodavan, and Toptyan. The Kamma bride carries seedlings in her lap, apparently to be planted by the groom. Among the Kapa a milk-post of Udina Woda is set up, and, it is taken to and from the shrine at times it is a happy omen. An 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 rite.

The Indian conceptions that all life is one, that the universe is of the same substance, and that everything is magical or spiritual are found in the beliefs and practices of the Hindus. In the Indian view, all is one and all is magic.
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 called by the pair, taken to the village well, and cast into it—obviously to ensure their fertility. 1 An Haiyan couple, in nine trays, the groom digs with his knife a few furrows, which his bride fills with grains and waters after he has covered it up. 2 Apparently the widespread practice of pouring grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, e.g., in Bombay. 3

The griststone is also used among the Bhondhari in Madras; see bridegroom stades 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. 4 A Bedar couple are invited by the Brahman priest to stand on a grinding-mill placed beneath the pandal. 5

Among the Agamadiyan a grinding-stone and a roller, 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. 6 The grinding-stone is also used in Bombay.

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 interest in the baby. The bride has a stone rolling-pin to represent the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as ‘the milk is ready.’ 7 The Konga Veilala bridegroom stades on the stone where the bride is seated and throws a cow into a pot which he worship. It is supposed to represent the Konga king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the cowette represents the villagers; but the custom is not explained, and the myth is probably etiological. 8 A newly-married Bedar or Boya couple sit on a pot, and are anointed with rice which has been boiled over spices. In Bombay the rice-powder is used to pertain the baby. 9

Fertility can also be communicated to a bride by placing a child in her lap, and fruit is an effective substitute for one. 10 On the same principle women who lack children are allowed to take part in marriage 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. 11 Similarly, widowers are excluded from certain functions. 12 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 pots. 13

Water as a source of fertility also plays a great part in wedding rites. Thus bathing is an essential part of the ritual for both parties at 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 Haiyan a bride in a hurry married brings 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 cow-pulled rain barrel filled with water.

1 Thurston, l. 205. 2 Th. iii. 300. 3 Th. iv. 396. 4 Th. iv. 255. 5 Th. iv. 255. 6 Th. 251. 7 Th. 13. 8 Th. vii. 122, pl. l. (B. W. S.) 126. 9 Th. iv. 132. 10 Th. iv. 150. 11 Th. iv. 292. 12 Th. iv. 292. 13 Th. iv. 292. 14 Th. iv. 292. 15 Th. iv. 292. 16 Th. iv. 292. 17 Th. iv. 292. 18 Th. iv. 292. 19 Th. iv. 292. 20 Th. iv. 292. 21 Th. iv. 292. 22 Th. iv. 292. 23 Th. iv. 292. 24 Th. iv. 292. 25 Th. iv. 292. 26 Th. iv. 292. 27 Th. iv. 292. 28 Th. iv. 292.

The potter's wheel, symbolical of the creative power which fashions the earth as it fashions clay, is also in evidence at weddings. The clay is formed into a revolving lump, like a tipla, and wheel and clay together bear a strong resemblance to the conjunction of luna and sol.

The Pole-star (Dhruva in northern India) is called Arundhati in Madras, and, as the wife of the god Vastanag, 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 Koyi woman sometimes throws a cock down in front of the cloth on which portraits of ancestors are sewn, and makes obeisances 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 seeds. Pregnancy, moreover, involves peculiar risks necessitating the protection of magic and the avoidance of various acts, such as the stepping over the tethers of a horse, 11 which might apparently cause protracted labour, or crossing a running stream, which would result in miscarriage—a common belief in the Pais Pusth. In the Kollam a henna juice is dropped into a pregnant woman’s mouth to cast out devils. 12

When his wife’s first pregnancy is announced, a Kola husband in Madras lets his hair grow long and leaves his fingers nails uncut, and on the child’s birth he is under pollution till he sees the next crescent moon. 13 A Makkuban husband also lets his hair grow until the third day after the birth. A coco-nut, betel leaves, and areaa 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 sepulchres. 14 A Nambutir Brahman also remains unshorn while any of his wives are pregnant. 15

Pre-natal divination to ascertain and magic to determine the child’s sex are also common. Thus the Cheraman in Madras employ divinatory figures who seat the woman in front of a tent-like structure with a coco-nut-palm flower in her lap. When cut open, the fruits predict the child’s sex, the birth of twins, and the child’s expectation of life or death. The goddess Kali is supposed to be present in the tent, and prayer is offered to her to cast out the devil from the woman’s body. 16

Another rite which is believed to influence the child’s sex is the so-called rikamatu of the Suddras in Madras. In a first pregnancy, water or human milk is poured over the woman’s lack by her husband’s sister. 17

To ensure that the child shall be a male the punshavarna is performed in 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 symbolically. The male twin sometimes curet is poured over them before she swallows them, and she also pours juice of a grass into her right nostril. 18

Draft Monograph No. 82, Ethnographical Survey of Bombay, 1907.

1 Thurston, ii. 205. 2 Th. ii. 300. 3 Th. iv. 396. 4 Th. iv. 256. 5 Th. iv. 256. 6 Th. iv. 256. 7 Th. iv. 256. 8 Th. iv. 256. 9 Th. iv. 256. 10 Th. iv. 256. 11 Th. iv. 256. 12 Th. iv. 256. 13 Th. iv. 256. 14 Th. iv. 256. 15 Th. iv. 256. 16 Th. iv. 256. 17 Th. iv. 256. 18 Th. iv. 256. 19 Th. iv. 256. 20 Th. iv. 256. 21 Th. iv. 256. 22 Th. iv. 256. 23 Th. iv. 256. 24 Th. iv. 256. 25 Th. iv. 256. 26 Th. iv. 256. 27 Th. iv. 256. 28 Th. iv. 256. 29 Th. iv. 256. 30 Th. iv. 256. 31 Th. iv. 256. 32 Th. iv. 256. 33 Th. iv. 256. 34 Th. iv. 256. 35 Th. iv. 256. 36 Th. iv. 256. 37 Th. iv. 256. 38 Th. iv. 256.
Quite distinct from this Brahmanical rite is one observed in the seventh month in Travancon.

The woman goes to the foot of a tamarind tree, where she receives a three-yard string. This she entwinds round a tree, and, if it breaks, either she or her child will soon die. Next day the thread is unwound, and her husband gives her a wooden ladle. On re-entering the house, he also gives her tamarind juice to drink, pouring it through his fingers into her mouth. Then, if the string is played in this rite then poisons on her navel, and from the manner of its fall decides the child's sex. As she drinks the juice, the woman leans against a cutting from a mango, which is then planted; and, if it fails to strike root, the child is doomed to adoration.

Among the polyandrous Kambalans the woman's brother gives her rice gruel mixed with spices of the tamarind, mango, and Hibiscus. In protracted labour the washings of a brick from the bazaar is given; if a woman who has had an "easy time"; she presents the patient with betel, etc., and, if that fails, a line of persons drawn up pass water from hand to hand until it reaches the woman who has the "easy time," and she gives some of it to the sufferer. He who has the luck or quality of the one woman is transmitted to the other.

In one caste, the Malas of the Telugu country, who are Parsees, the placenta is put in a pot in which are neem leaves and the whole is buried, lest a dog or other animal should carry it off, which would make the child a wanderer.

(3) A magical rite of resurrection is practiced by the Dasaars, a class of priests who minister to Sdars, in Madras. If a Dasaar is offended, he will revenge himself by self-mutilation or even by cutting off his own head. News of this is miraculously carried to all his caste-fellows, and, when collected, they display their magical powers by fusing the come to life again on being placed in water, by joining together limes cut in two, and, finally, by bringing the amulet to life again. The rite can fail only if the victim's wife is in passion or when the rite is not carried out reverently.

2. Agents.—First-born children have power to stop rain. Muslins say that they can do so by stripping naked and standing on their heads, heels in the air. In Calcutta they need only make a candle of cloth and burn it. A first-born son leaning against anything will, it is believed in S. India, attract a thunder-bolt to it. Girls born in the asterism of Mala are believed in S. India to place their mother-in-law in a corner, i.e., make her a widow, and so such a girl, if her mother is not already a widow, finds difficulty in securing a husband.

Just as charms are made out of various natural substances, so such substances often possess magical powers. The necia is inhabited by a jinn, but its wood is unlucky only if used to make or mend a bed; no one will be able to sleep on it. Here the geniuses, which is intended to influence the tree, and the spirit in the tree appears to endure it with magical properties; a man who carves 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 the way back cut 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 asks as the price of his bondage. The tree called barbhar (Cofferivus cotinifolia) 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 raises blisters, and even to sit 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 usual Indian name; to ward off the evil eye (jassir) from both men and cattle, and its fruit is also much relished. To cure scorpion bite the insect should be cut and burnt, and the smoke allowed to touch the bite. To cure jassir, or consumption, in a child is said to be due to enchantment caused by ashes taken from a burning plant 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 and over a clean piece of hound's meat, 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 tooth will be 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 Gora, in Assam, collects a red-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 chanting, and the song 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 those who are working outside of the vessel with it, after which it is given to the laborers. 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 Hindus. Thus one which totals 60 lengthways occurs quarter page; one totalling 100 every way on the excess of milk in cows and women and of ghee in a churn; one totalling 130 every way will, if worn round one's neck or in one's puri (turban), bring any person under one's power; and one totalling 15 each way brings luck and is commonly found on shops. Square totalling 55 and 20 each way should be placed under one's seat to ensure success at play.

1. *M.N.P. XIV. 1884.* 797
2. *S.P. III. 1884.* 272, and *Societe Calcutta Review, VIII.* 1896 225 (Calcutta Review, LXXXV. 220). In the latter R. C. Temple identifies the shrub with the lower burmese tron, but describes the barberry as a low thorny shrub of the Euphorbiaceae, or jujube, family, fruit of which is hung in panic to Arabic poetry—on which account the tree is much prized in Tripoli and Tunis.
3. *J. Asst. 1894.* 965
4. *J. Asst. 1894.* 965
5. *J. Asst. 1894.* 965
6. *J. Asst. 1894.* 965
8. *J. Asst. 1894.* 965
9. *J. Asst. 1894.* 965
The power of magic is so great that by mere assertion of its potency a 6r, or demon, may be brought into subjection.

Fast the whole of a ninth lunar day falling on a Friday, and in the evening and at sunset ring bells. At 8 p.m. dress the 6r in fine clothes perfumed, and make a circle of red lead on the ground. Sit in the centre with a glass of water, some cabbages, beetroot, nuts, and eight doves. Light a lamp fed with clarified butter and say:

I can break down the stars 5,000 times—and a demon will follow me.

II. ISLĀM. —Muhammadans classify magic as high (utivi, divine (rahmāni), low (sīfā), and satanic (shāhīdī). In divine magic perfection consists in knowledge of the name of God’s names—the ism-al-‘azīm, 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 jinn, are also efficacious, and written charms are composed of them or of passages from the Qur’an, 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 jinn, who ascend to the lowest heaven and hear the angels so that they can assist magicians. Enchantment (al-‘išr) is a branch of this magic; but, as it has been strengthened with good devices and with the aid of good jinn, there is a science of enchantment which may be regarded as lawful. Enchantment results in death, paralysis, affliction with irresistible passion, possession, and so forth. Metamorphism is effected by spells or invocations to the jinn accompanied by the sprinkling of dust or water on the object to be transformed. Against enchantment and other spells, 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 is the greatest of the names of the jinn, and from its knowledge, which is also practised by the aid of Shaitān, is obtained by magic, by invoked names, and by burning perfumes. Its forms are: darb al-mudacl, inscribing the enchanter’s circle; darb al-rum, the moving of magic; darb al-jinn, astrology; and darb al-imam, magic spell, or surgery from beast and bird.

The inām Zamān rupee is said to be dedicated to that inām, and is worn by Muhammadans on their journey or in going on a journey.

The names of ’Ali and the inām are used in magical squares according to the object, or letter-value system of computation. Notices of the effect of these spells are not uncommon in Indo-Persian histories as having been practised on the Mughal court-ladies.

Islamic medicine is acquainted with the olive of Bishār, a stone found on the banks of the Indus. It is black with a little red and yellow, or 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 sang-i-Yách, or ‘stone of Jahwah,’ or the hājir-al-Imām, or ‘stone of the Hindus,’ in Arabic. Jasper (Pars. yashm, Arab. hajr-al-iṣbah), or ‘hard stone,’ when olive, green-yellow, or opaque green, is used in charms; and, when white, in medicine.

The hair of a child will never turn white if a piece of it be tied on his neck at birth. If a piece be tied on the right wrist, this will make the witchcraft and the evil eye tied to a woman’s thigh, it ensures painless labour; and, if by the light of lailat al-ghadir (the night when Muhammad spake with God), a man may be sketched over his body, if it be worn over the head, the wearer will be safe from wounds in battle.

III. MAGIC AND RELIGION.—It has been held by many scholars that in a vague 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. Oldenberg2 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 anointing of a king are complete models of magic of every kind, and that the forms employed are of the highest antiquity. Sylvain Lévi3 observes of the sacrifices prescribed in the Brahmans that they have all the characteristics of a magical operation, effective by its own energy, independent of the efficacy of the priest; producing evil as well as good; it is only distinguishable from magic in that it is regular and obligatory, so that both matters are treated in the same works. Thus the Sāmaṇḍar in which are stated the rites of incantations and sorcery, as is the Athāṅastra portion of the Saṅgītikā Brāhmaṇa.

M. Bloomfield4 also holds that witchcraft became intimately blended with the religious (Brahman), 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.

On the other hand, J. G. Frazer5 also points out how in India, from the earliest times down to the present day, the real religion of the common folk appears always to have been a belief in a vast multitude of spirits visible and invisible, which are mischievous and harmful. This belief subsists under the great religions, like Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Islam, which may come and go; and in support of this thesis he cites Oldenberg for the Vedics and Monier Williams for the modern periods. It is to this deep-seated and universal belief in the existence of spirits, which fill all created matter—the sky, the earth, trees, beasts, the earthly waters and clouds—that many, if not all, magical practices are to be ascribed, at least in their inception. At every stage of a ritual 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


2. Mandāli is doubtless from the Sr. pādakāla, and not connected with Sār. ṣaftakāla, a circuit or group of villages. The pādakāla was a kind of drum used to conjure up demons; hence an enchanter’s circle.

3. The name of one of the two fallen angels Hāšīt and Mirū, who became sentinels of the star Zuhra, who ascended to the sky and mingled her splendour with the star Zuhra (Venus).

4. H. Wilberforce Clarke, *Bekah-Itta*, Calcutta, 1851, p. 610, quoting the Makhmāl al-Adwiyat, E. 294, 295, 296, and 297, and Monier Williams, *Dictionary of HIndi dialects*, Calcutta, 1875, p. 296. The enchanter’s circle in which two rival spells will prevail see the Sirāj al-rumāl by Muḥarrir Rāshid ‘Alī and the Mughal al-rumāl by Muhammad ‘Alī, *Adwiyat*, e. 294, 295, 296, and 297. In the latter work the names are divided into two divisions, and in these, the greater in number will prevail.


6. Die Religion des Veda, Berlin, 1884, pp. 59, 177 (for particular examples of the binding of magical with religious ritual in ancient India see pp. 111 ff., 360 ff., 474 ff., and 626 ff.).


11. *GDP*, p. 1. The number will conquer; if both are equal, the lesser in age; and, if one be old, the other even, the greater in number will prevail.

with the most minute precautions against their sinister influences. Every point in sacrificial ritual is observed by them, but the guiding principle in it is not magical, but religious. By the part of the stake 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 winning of success is conditioned on his success in averting the onslaughts of evil spirits. In the whole ritual of animal-sacrifice at the stake (yaye), as prescribed by the Satapatha Brahmana, 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 Near East. The Srd. word šipt, 'black magic,' may be the original form of šifi, or, conversely, the Arab word šift may have been Sanskritized as šipta. A typical rite in šipta illustrates the spiritual basis of belief in magic. When performed with the object of destroying an enemy, it is known as šchet, or qīhat, in the United Provinces. A vessel is filled with iron filings, etc., and certain incantations through the air until the victim's head and kills him. But, if a river intervenes, a sacrifice to the spirit called qatdīl (lit. 'flying up'), which is supposed to guard the river, must be made to induce him to let the 'vessels cross.' Thus black magic has to reckon with the spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

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 eyes not 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, punishment in the mere illness—and death likewise results from some mysterious contrivance of the creator of all evil. A material means of removing that pollution is therefore required, just as much as 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 spiritual element of Mazda's creation. Besides water, other substances—e.g., goomata (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 dray is expelled from the left toes, which are the last refuge of the evil spirit. Dogs have a specifically powerful wholesome influence. More intricate ceremonies tending to the same result besides this relatively simple one—e.g., the great purification of the nins nights (Pahl. baraminu ni šak) expounded in Vend. ix.—are observed, holes are dug, and furrows are drawn, according to a strict ritual; goomata is put into the holes, the patient raises the ground, and it 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 natural and important to purification may be none in the thought of the Iranian people at that time, it was, after all, a duty not confined to human interests in this world, because the activity of the purifying ground, and acts derives from an essentially beneficent power, whereas the counter-spells, although tending to

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1. Vogel, 'The Sacrificial Posts of Iran,' in Archæología Iranica, 2, 144; 2. "N.VII.9," 901; 3. Id., 383; 4. H. 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 Manicheism.

First of all, a clear line of demarcation has to be traced between the real doctrines of Zoroaster, as it is expounded in the Gatha and the Later Avesta. In the Gathic hymns we find a religion of a highly moral character. It admits of no deity besides Ahura Mazda except personified moral entities, and it expressly undertakes a struggle against the lower powers of magic and the magical practices of the people of the time. The cult of the devas in general and the nocturnal orgiastic sacrifices in which homa (g.v.) was drunk by the worshippers were specially condemned.

The Later Avesta also anathematizes the sorcerers (yaona) and witches (paoxra), but many of the beliefs and practices which Zoroaster had associated with them have found their way back again into it. 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 (sophistics), no greater 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 dastazan (g.v.). It is based on the assumption that there are two cosmic elements, the one created by

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 a public and accepted procedure by no means out of fashion in any religious rite, and is the practice from the earliest times to the present day. It is clear from the Prophet's teaching, and forming part of the sacred straggle of good against evil. Man is supposed to make use of the weapons which Manoah 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 Mazaicism from Zoroaster to the Later Avesta period.

Moral beings, like the anuvaha agnatas (q.v.) justice, good spirit, piety, etc., have been turned into—or, rather, identified with—the fire, earth, cattle, etc., and Samsa's 'obedience,' 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 (Bund. xix. 35).

1. Sacrifice. Of sacrifice we may say much the same as of purifications. Neither to the Indians nor to the Iranians was the sacrifice properly a magical act. Oldenberg is quite right when he says that sacrifice is at times a gift to the god, who, 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. India and Agni are sometimes described as being mastered by the sacrificer. Agni, the fire, is regarded as a miniature of the sun, the great fire, and, by kindling fire, one gets the sun to rise. Indeed, the Sutapath, While justifying 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 a place in the general cosmic conflict, so that it

1. is more of an act of worship; it is an act of assistance to the god in order to bring good fortune. That is to say, to be strong like men, they used prayer and encouragement to be of good cheer. When not strengthened by the sacrifice, they fby helpless before their foes.

Sacrifice has thus a value of its own independently of the will of the gods. It is an act of help, for help in His struggle against the evil creation, so much so that gods also have to practise evil:

1. Ashurmar performed the spiritual Yasuv ceremony with the arrows (narshguh) on the Babylonian Gilgamesch, and in the Yasuv he supplied every means for overcoming the adversary. 2

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 (genies) of merits. 3 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 Homerics gods on σαρκόνες; and of giving a superhuman life to man, in whom it caused intoxication. As was said above, the haoma, prigastic sacrifice had been borrowed from the Gula religion in company with the magical procedure of the daeva-worshippers. In the post-Gaul period we see it reappear, but it has been deprived of its savage character. Not only was it supposed to confer a greater intensity of human life, but it was regarded as a highly beneficial spirit, imparting to man also the gift of spiritual life and a title to the supra-terrestrial reward. 4 It led to a division into two haoma, 5 the one, the actual plant, was the yellow haoma, the other, supra-terrestrial, called the white haoma, was identified with the tree gaokerena (Fravisz. Vess.) that stands in the middle of the sea Voavaha, that is called the "All-healer" and on which rest the seeds of all plants. 6 It is by drinking the gaokerena that men on the day of their resurrection will become immortal. For that reason it was customary to put a drop of haoma on the lips of a dying Zoroastrian. Haoma, having been made the principle of all life and fecundity, was seen during the night against demons and sorcerers, having the cock and the dog as his assistants in this task (Bund. xix. 35).—A sacrifice, a part which is completely magical.


primarily attained by the marvellous power of the substances and ceremonies mentioned above.

No wonder, therefore, if the mantra is mentioned as a regular means of curing diseases. *Vend.* xx. distinguishes healing by plants, by the knife, by the mantra, the last being the most powerful. A series of formula is to be found there for repelling both diseases and evil beings. The prayer contained in *Vend.* xx. 11 is supposed to be peculiarly powerful in all cases; inasmuch as it does, the phrase, "as a god, the good god par excellence. *Vend.* xxi. 18-23 is also a spell against all kinds of diseases, consisting of some fragments of other parts of the *Vendidad* and of some very well known prayers. These are the means that Aryanman has at his disposal for curing the 99,999 diseases created by Angra Mainyu for the bane of mankind (*Vend.* xxii.). Aryanman is an old, neo-Iranian god; in the Veda he is an aditya (Aryanman) who is generally found in company with Varuna and Mitra. He is a beneficent and helpful god, but in Persia he has been narrowed down to the character of a healing god. He survives in Parsiism as the Zoroastrian, but, in his quality of healing god, he is replaced by Faridun (= Thraetaon), who, having killed the dragon Azir Mazda, had been sent by the good god to protect the works of evil spirits. The Iranians knew, moreover, of a healing fruit, which, according to Bund, iii. 18, Ahura Mazda pounded up before his counsellors, and gave comfort from the calamity (azdina) might be less. On the same footing as the mantra for healing diseases must, of course, be put the numerous incantations and mystical formulae for removing the pollution, inflicted upon that which has come into contact with a corpse. *Vend.* viii. 14 ff., e.g., explains that a road whereon the dead bodies of dogs or men have been carried cannot be traversed again, nor can it be used by any living thing which has come into contact with a corpse. *Vend.* viii. 18 ff., contains the method of purifying wood which has been in contact with a corpse, and formulae for all kinds of good elements infected by the same pollution (cf. *Vend.* xi. xii., etc.). In such cases the aditya had become a mere spell (cf. *Vend.* x. 1 ff.). The reason of this custom with regard to corpses is originally a magical one, which has been fitted into the general Mazdaean system. The old conviction of smokin the death, like illness, cannot occur without the maleficent influence of some spirit, which has therefore to be averted. For a Mazdaean to die was to pass into the power of the drug Naus. Hence it was necessary to minimize the evil produced by this demon by protecting all good beings and substances from its power and freeing, as far as possible, the beings or substances that had fallen into its hands. The influence of maleficent beings and the utility of spells were felt in many other circumstances—e.g., in the case of a woman on the eve of child-birth (*Vend.* xxii. 9, 12, 18), or when some accident occurred to cattle.

5. Fire.—Among the elements which have to be kept carefully from any pollution, fire occupies a prominent position. It is well known that among the Persians it enjoyed a veneration which is not far from being superstitious. Here, the process is not a degenerative one, but rather the elevation of an elementary and, to a great extent, magical being which is connected to many natures, but which is specially Indo-Iranian (cf. art. FIRE, FIRE-GODES, § 6 f.). Fire is the great purifier, which illuminates the night, keeps off biting cold and wild beasts, and, like the sun, is the great enemy of demons and the friend and ally of man. It repels diseases, and it plays an important part in the proceedings of Indian magic, as is expounded in the Atharvaveda—a name which is taken from the atharvan, who were originally priests of fire. The Iranian myth of Aryanman's victory over the serpent Azir Daliaksa (Yt. xix. 45 ff.) belongs to the same order of thought. Indeed, fire, in the conception of the Persian atharvan, keeps closer to its original part, inasmuch as it alone, as a god, gives the agent which conveys to the gods the substances of sacrifice. It remains the great averter of everything impure, and must on no account be put in contact with anything that is pure, least of all with corpses or with anything coming from the body. It has become an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, goodly light, the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation, the weapon of Ahura (Ys. ii. 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 bahun fire is the most sacred. It is supposed to be an emanation on earth from the fire above and the most powerful protection of the land against foes and fresh enemies. It took effect to the evil spirits (vritra), in Indian myth the genius of victory and the slayer of the demon Vrata.

6. Influence of stars. —Astrology, as is well known, was the most important science in Persia. The ancients described it 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 Babylonian religion. We have, however, the cult of Tistry, the star (Sirius) which was regarded as a good genius that brought rain after having slain the drought demon Apnas (Yt. viii. 29 ff.). It is a very good god for children, and is connected with Babylonian religion. The ancients describe to us a sect in which creation and before man was created, destroyed the noxious creatures by an effusion of beneficial waters. It would be an exaggeration to treat as real magic such beliefs concerning the part of Tistry 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: The plague created against Sustain is abundance of witchcraft; and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practised astrology, and those wizards produce snow, hail, spiders, and locusts.

7. Recent superstitions. —Among the superstitions prevalent among the Persians and the Muhammadan Persians 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 to the extensive practices, among the Babylonian Magi, of natural or magical treatment of diseases by herbs, probably explains the important part played by plants in the superstitions customs attached to the ancient Persian festival by Persian writers, rubbing with olive oil on the day of Nafriz as a riddance from sorrows during the new year, eating a pomegranate on the feast of Mithr (Mitra) to avert dangers, wearing the thushi, a garment of wool, and rendering leaves of the aloe. —J. E. W. C. Minturn, *The Debate between Arsacides and Zoroaster,* *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* vol. xvi. 1846, pp. 107-129.


7 Deacon, *Nouveau dictionnaire de la Religion Orientale,* xii. 1891.
of the national religion, in the most authentic documents of pure Shinto.

For this purpose we must apply chiefly to the ancient rituals (norito) collected in the Engishiki in the 10th century, some of which are precisely those that contain most of the magical element — were certainly composed at a much earlier date, even before the most ancient mythico-historical works, the Kojiki and Nihonshoki, 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 Nihonshoki, we shall gain a vivid idea of what Japanese magic was in its most ancient and most formative

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 employed 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, Totobito no Matsuri, which was said every year at seed-time in order to obtain a good harvest. The chief priest (isakatori), who recited it in the name of the emperor, addressed the gods in these words:

"I believe in the presence of the sovereign gods of the Harvest. If the sovereign gods manifest, they will in luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow, the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of rain from the seashore and by driving the clouds together between the opposing thaws, then I will fulfill their praises by setting up the festival fire and singing praises, and many hundred ears, raising high the sake-jars, filling and magnifying in rows the bellies of the sake-jars, in juic and in car.'"

Other offerings are then enumerated, among which we notice a white horse and carriage, a white cock, and a white dove, the god of the August harvest, had cast his curse on the rice fields; but the divinities 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 ritual, however, is the conditional character of the offerings which are to obtain the desired result. The same precaution is found again, in the same words, towards the end of this same ritual, in which a prayer invokes the gods who preside over the departure of the waters on which irrigation depends. This ritual, therefore, is 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 asked to protect the shrine and his court. We may also observe that, of the four gods worshipped in the temple of Kasuga, the first two, Take-mika-dengah and Patsu-nushi, were represented by male images. By the same ritual, such as (cf. Kojiki, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1906), that the other two, Koyané and his wife, are connected with the famous eclipse in which that god, by his 'powerful ritual words,' helped to bring back the sun-goddess to life.

There is the same spirit in the 3rd ritual, Hara-Okin-i 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, *Taturo no Kaze no Kamino no M刨suru*, is just as characteristic, and, moreover, relates its own legendary origin. For several years unknown gods and demons have been plaguing the 4th district, and the diviners have not been able to discover who these gods are. Then the sovereign himself 'deigns to conjure them,' and they reveal themselves to him in a dream. Two factors are central: the king's auspiciousness, and Country's Pillar's auspiciousness, the gods of the winds who maintain the order of the world. They require certain offerings, the founding of a temple of Tatsuro, and a hierophy, by passage of which they will bless and ripen the things produced by the great People of the region under heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the last leaf of the herbs. Here it is the gods who state their conditions. The people hasten to fulfil them 'without omission,' but evidently the recreation of past calamities has left some mistrust for, when making the present offerings, they announce future gifts for the autumn; if, between now and then, the gods have deemed not to send 'bad winds and rough waters,' but to 'ripen and bless' the harvest, they will punish the first infractors of it. This will be their small commissary.

We shall pass over the 5th, 6th, and 7th rituals, which are not so interesting, and come to the 8th, *Otsuka no Harashi*, i.e. 'Luck-bringer of the Great Palace.' This is the second in the series, and it is where the magical character of the document, and, in fact, we find the ritual defined in its own text in the words, *anu to wa sumu ida goto*, the celestial magical protection. It is a ritual of which wards off all calamity from the palace, as an amulet would do; this is shown by the importance ascribed to the perfect regularity of the words pronounced. In certain places, the corrector-'gods' (naha) are beguiled to register all the omissions that they may have seen or heard in the rite or the words of the ceremony. This ceremony itself shows a abundant light on the magical character of the ritual of which it was a part. We have a description of it in the *Gi-shiki* of the 9th cent. (see E. Satow, in *TASS*, vol. i., pt. ii. [1881] pp. 150 and 151) a priestly retinue, in which we distinguish chiefly the 'abstaining priests,' and the vestals, going through the palace in every direction; and in different places, from the great audience-hall to the bath-room, even to the men's privy, the sprinkling rice and sake, while the *imbe* hang precious stones on the four corners of the rooms visited by them. We observe here an application of the custom, called *sannai*, 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 symbolic 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 practised in Japanese magic. Rice was scattered inside the hut in which a woman was about to be confined; in the divination at crossroads (*tengi-ura*; see art. DIVINATION [Japanese]), a boundary was sometimes marked on the road, where rice was thrown, in order to take afterwards as an oracle the word 'h}_{\text{r}}e' which crossed this bewitched line; and an old legend tells how, when the son of the gods descended from heaven to mount Takashiko, grains of rice were thrown at random to guarantee the darkness from the sky. Just the same is the magical use of grains to combat evil influences. Through the whole of Japanese mythology there is the sparkle of jewels, of some of which are talismans—jewels which, at the time of an eclipse, the gods suspended to the highest branches of the sacred *shimenawa*, and whose brilliance recalled the sun (Kojiki, 64); jewels which, in another famous story, enabled their possessor to make the tide flow or ebb at his will (ib. 190); jewels which even aimed at transforming the dead, as we shall see below. We can, therefore, easily understand the magical rôle of the red jewels which, paraded in the imperial apartments, caused the inevitable dark threats of fate's auspiciousness, and the dark threats of the Pillar's auspiciousness, the gods of the winds who maintain the order of the world. They require certain offerings, the founding of a temple at Pinzuru, and a hierophy, by passage of which they will bless and ripen the things produced by the Great People of the region under heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the last leaf of the herbs. Here it is the gods who state their conditions. The people hasten to fulfil them 'without omission,' but evidently the recreation of past calamities has left some mistrust for, when making the present offerings, they announce future gifts for the autumn; if, between now and then, the gods have deemed not to send 'bad winds and rough waters,' but to 'ripen and bless' the harvest, they will punish the first infractors of it. This will be their small commissary.

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nected with our subject. The one is the 'planting of wands' (kashi-nashi) in rice-fields, probably with incantations—a process which an ancient native interpretation explains as the erecting of magic boundaries on the field of which one claims to be possessed. Although perhaps it is an example of pointed wands secretly stuck into the mud to hurt the bare feet of a neighbour, just as, among the Malays, a person in flight retarded the pursuit of his pursuers by the same device. The other offense (mai- mono soru tsushi) is the 'performing of witchcraft,' either in a general way (cf. Kojiki, 326 f.) or in particular against a neighbour's animals (obi- ome). This involves contact with the expression kemono-tatashi, '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 norito, 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 nakatomi has to prepare some wigs in a certain way, doubtless intended to form a sort of purifying broom, then to recite 'the powerful ritual words of the celestial ritual' (ama ten norito no futo norito-gado). The native commentators (tried for a long time to point out what serious incantations and this passage could possibly allude, without seeing that it simply referred to the norito itself. This is the 'celestial' ritual which the gods revealed on high to the ancestors of the emperors, and whose powerful words his descendant causes to be repeated—an expression intended to recall the intrinsic virtue of this formula. When the high points of the rite are reached, 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 gods, who are driven by the goddess of the sea-currents, driven to the nether regions by the god whose breath behaves before it all impurities, and there they will be sealed at last by aSubsequently delay who will hold a delusion 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 nakatomi, the magician who knows the sacred words which even the gods obey. As a matter of fact, to the ancient text of the ritual, they bring a horse whose erect ears will incite these gods to listen attentively, just as the crowing cocks, the lighted fire—all these magical processes of the myth of the rites of the sacred horse (Kojiki) could recall the sun or, as, in another account of the old Shinto annals (Nihongi, tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 116), one had only to whistle to raise the wind. Then an order is given to the urabe ('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 along with this one. It is a less common than the hereditary scholars of Yamato pionneered immediately before 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 committed and their material support. The next 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 atrocious crime of this 'child with the wicked heart,' who caused his mother's death by burning her when she gave him birth (cf. Kojiki, 32-33); and tells how Izanami herself, cursing this son who had caused her death, came up from the nether regions to give birth to the water-goddess, the gourd, the river further, 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 die not to be terribly lively in the palaces 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 urabe in the four outside corners of the precint of the palace, with the primitive apparatus (hi-kiri-issu), of which a specimen may be seen in the University Museum, Oxford.

The 18th ritual, Mimichi-akhe, also aimed at employing certain gods to combat others. Those who were invoked on this occasion were three gods of roads and cross-roads, whose phallic character caused them to be called 'the three powerful gods' (sae no komin) against the epidemics sent by the demons. The ritual begins by reminding these protector-gods, without great reverence, that their duties were hereditary in the same island where they already served the son of the gods. It then dictates to them what they must do:

['Whenever from the Root-country, the Bottom-country, there may come savage men bearing lances, their weapons not with them, but if they go below, keep watch below, if they go above, keep watch above, protecting against pollution with a night guard and a day guarding.]

In return they are presented with offerings, which they are to enjoy while defending the great roads 'like a multitudinous army,' which and, finally, the celebrant insists once more on the 'powerful words' of his formula.

The next ritual, the 14th, was devoted to the Osha-nike, 'Great Offering of the Rice.' Before eating the new rice of the year, the ancient Japanese performed a ceremony called Niki-name, 'new tasting,' which had a propitiatory purpose towards the spirit of the rice (Uja no Mi-tama). The Osha- nike was a more solemn Niki-name, celebrated some time after the accession of the emperors, and constituting a sort of religious coronation for them. The ritual rite of the Nikuman 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 shidensuru, 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—from him, and to stop it from taking magical rule. This is the meaning of the ceremony called Chikunosai, which was celebrated at the end of the tertiary of the priests of the court (see Nihongi, ii. 373). Now, the gloss identifies this festival with an ancient ceremony called Mi-tama Jursahiki, 'shaking of the august jewels,' which again plunges us into deep magic. The Kiujiki (ii. 2) says, in fact,
that, when the sun-goddess gave the investiture to the ancestor of the emperors, she bestowed upon him the name 197.

'one mirror of the earring, one mirror of the breast, one eighths-breadth sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one perfect jewel, one jewel of renewal (or things by the road they came, one serpent-scarf, one bee-scarf, and so on), and the honey they used. To one of illness, shake these treasures and repeat to them the words: 'Hi, ju, ni, san, shi, go, ju, ri, yu, wu, ro, ri, ju, ru, ri, ro. shake them pu-chan (nourish, au) and repeat to them the words: 'Hi, ju, ni, san, shi, go, hitto, ru, ru. They call to the dead and press it on to the body of the dead. If then they do so the dead will certainly return to life.'

The objects enumerated by the sun-goddess are tappamare, several of which occur in the most ancient Japanese mythology (see Kojiki, 88, 150, 324, etc.). As for the imitation, 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 imitation was recited at this festival by young sacerdotal virgins (ni-kuma-ko), who carried: Zushi-gumi, or a wreath, in imitation of the dance of Unme in the solar myth (Kojiki, 64–65), while a nakatomi, knotted threads, which were clearly meant to retain the imperial soul, and which the short priest in a mirror vessel.

We shall omit rituals 16 to 24, which refer exclusively to the offices of the temples of Ise; it will be sufficient to mention in this group the formation of the second ritual, for the installation of a princess as vestal:

'The offering of a sacred princess of the blood imperial to serve as the vestal's staff, having first, according to custom, observed the rules of religious purity for three years, is to be the first of the sacred princess, to be placed in the temple of Yamato, while his 'rough spirit' (on-amosami) especially the institute.

We have here evidently a survival of the 'abstainer' of primitive Japan, whose asceticism assured on pain of death the good fortune of the people of the village, in the same way as here the sacrifice of the imperial virgin is to bestow happiness and long life on the sovereign (cf. art. Asceiism (Japanese)).

The 25th ritual, of a more general interest, is entitled: Tashikite-tatemae, norito, 'Ritual for the Respectful Removal of the Gods who send Plagues.' In the 18th ritual the gods of roads were made to intervene against those who were directly addressed. It is, therefore, a real formula of exorcism. The text begins by reciting the supreme council of the celestial gods, wishing to 'purify' the court 'with the heart of the future emperor, sent Futsu-nushi and Take-mikadashi, who triumphed over the terrestrial gods and 'silenced the rocks, trees, and the least leaf of herbs likewise that had spoken.' After this warning, 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 to win them over—and not only the usual offerings of clothes, fish, game, vegetables, rice, and sake, but also, in a native form, as a thing to see in a mirror (or to play with, beads; as things to shoot off with, a bow and arrows; as a thing to pick up and eat with, a sword; as a thing which gobbles out, a horse.

Lastly, after having thus loaded them with numerous feasts and abundant dainties, which they beg them to accept, 'as if enfeebled in mind, as if bereft of offerings and sufficient offerings, they earnestly ask these 'sovereign gods' to be good enough, with a heart to be turbulent, deploring to be forced, and desiring to hurt, to remove out to the wide and clear places of the mountain-streams, and by virtue of their divinity to be tranquil.'

Passing in silence a less interesting ritual (the 26th), we come at length to the last document of the collection, the 27th ritual, which is called 

Idzumo no kuni no miyakko no kamuyogato, 'The Divine Words of Good Fortune of the Chiefs of the Country of Idzumo.' These local chiefs, after having lost their civil sway, had preserved their religious power. It is they who today in this old province hand down the primitive fire-kindler (kami). Which, when added: 'In case of illness, shake these treasures and repeat to them the words: 'Hi, ju, ni, san, shi, go, hitto, ru, ru; shake them pu-chan (nourish, au) and repeat to them the words: 'Hi, ju, ni, san, shi, go, hitto, ru, ru. They call to the dead and press it on to the body of the dead. If then they do so the dead will certainly return to life.'
as it was practised in the most ancient times. The following is the curious account of the subject given in the Sūkti (326 f.):

"The Delty of Idnakh (the country of the 'sacred stones') had a female deity whose name was the Delty of Idnakh. So eighty Delties wished to obtain this Maiden of Idnakh, but none of them could do so. Hereupon there were two men of whom the elder was called the Youth of the-Heaven-on-the-Emulous-Mountains, and the younger was named the Youth of the-Haunted-on-the-Spring-Mountains. So the elder brother said to the younger brother: 'Though I beg the Maiden of Idnakh, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Will you help me obtain her? I must marry her, or else the world will perish by drought.' The younger brother answered, saying: 'I cannot easily obtain her.' Then the elder brother said: 'If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off our upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height, and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers, in payment of the wager.' Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthisith, having taken what she had, and went in the space of a single night an upper garment and trousse, and also socks and shoes, and a shawl and a sword, and arrows, and dotted him with this upper garment, trousse, 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 wisteria-blossoms. Then, when the Youth of the-Heaven-on-the-Emulous-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy, she left. Then, when the Youth of the-Haunted-on-the-Spring-Mountains came, he thought that the blossoms were strange, brought them, followed behind the maiden into the heavens, and decreed her. So she gave birth to an elephant. Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: 'I have obtained the maiden.' The Youth of the-Heaven-on-the-Emulous-Mountains, vexed that the younger brother should have married her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then the younger brother took him by the hair, took a one-pointed bamboo from an island in the River Idnakh, and tied the basket with eight holes, and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brass (taken in hand), wrapped them in the leaves of bamboo and caused this tangle (tohāi) to be spoken (by her younger son). "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo leaves, do thou become rich from the flowing and ebbing of this brass [again the word staha, but here meant 'sea-water'], do thou flow and ebb again, like unto the sinking of these stones, do thou sink and be prostrate." Hearing caused this to come to be spoken, she placed the basket over the smoke [apparently on the hearth of the house]. Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, and by prostrate for the space of eight years. So the elder brother entrusting his august parent with lamentations and tears, for this caused the curse to be reversed. Then, having 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 (a conception so well expressed by the Japanese word for 'magic,' yoinakari, which conveys the idea of 'to mix'), but before the time when the progress of the arts and sciences influences could have given the idea of exercising sorceries on the efficacy of an enemy. (For this later development see, e.g., the popular ballad of Shintō Zu, in Taisei, Vo. xxii. p. 294-308.) We are, therefore, in the presence of a thoroughly Japanese rite, whose 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 provides 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 character. With this bamboo she weaves a basket, in which she takes care to leave eight holes, which will be the eight openings by which eight years of misfortune are to enter for the victim. In this basket she places the river-pebbles, which, even more than the bamboo, come from the water. But it is from fresh water that the Delty of Idnakh is born, and the nature of the rite demands that they should not change the maritime character. They are, therefore, put among brine; by this union the assimilation is made, and the sorcery is accomplished. The only thing that remains is to pronounce 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, 283), the magical imprécation (tohō) of a child had made a great oak-tree suddenly decay; or, better still, in the same way as, by the effect of a general curse, a man, formerly immortal, was condemned to die. The leaves of the cherry-tree fade (Kojiki, 160-143). Then, as the high water falls back, the guilty one will be washed away. Lastly, he will be seen foundering as a stone sinks when wet! He passes away. This curse pronounced, the basket of perdition is placed in the smoke of the hearth; the green leaves become black; the threat is executed. Yet in the end the mother's heart bears the repentance of her son. She reverses the curse, i.e., the terrible magical formula is this time pronounced backwards (cf. Kojiki, 289), and immediately the body of the young man is 'purified'; 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 widespread among primitive races, according to which a mysterious harmony exists between the life of man and the flowing and ebbing of the sea. In this belief, it is with his mother, his younger parent, they flow in that one is born, becomes strong, prosperous; it is when it ebbs that one loses his energy, falls ill, and dies. The Japanese sorceress, the depositary of primitive traditions, is well aware of the secret of this agreement. She knows that, even far from the seashore, an artificial connexion can be formed between these two manifestations of a single force. Consequently she, in imitation of the connexion with the salt element these river-pebbles, into which the concocted words will bring the very essence of her son; and the cursed one is immediately delivered from the evil influence of the water; he becomes like a pebble on the beach, the tide carries him away, drags him towards the brightness of life, and 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 strange unity observable even in the most curious beliefs of Japan's unlettered society in general.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited in the article.

M. Revon.

MAGIC (Jewish). — The attitude assumed by 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 CHAMAS 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 whatever to do with the casting of the future or with preventing any occurrence that is sure to happen in the ordinary course of nature. He has nothing to do with the influence of spells or incantations, placing 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; and the magician must do this in one way or another in order to accomplish his purpose; and always bears 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 expected, if possible, to obscure the sun and moon, 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 strife—his activity will always be an evil one. He is not exempt from the common punishment of the agent of vengeance, hatred, and everything that makes for strife, death, and destruction. But he cannot carry out his intention without an 'espionage'; 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, formule, 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 circumventing much more narrowly the field of superstition, is an endeavour to give magic its real meaning. The magician's work, again, is not expected to be of a permanent character; it is temporary, and it can be undone by other means, or by other magicians who know the secret of the act; and even if it cannot be undone, it has been scattered. In order, then, to disturb the laws of nature, to transform existing things, to shape and mould new creations, the magician requires the help of superstition. The wand, hand, and garment of magical art; the magician must be able to command the services of spiritual powers—demons, gods, or ghosts—malignant in their disposition and wickedness.

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 line of demarcation shifts according to the change of theological views in the course of development and transition. It depends also upon the nature of the spirits and upon the theological attitude towards them—whether they are considered as forces opposed to God or as more negative forces that are also creatures of God and yet unwilling, by their own innate wickedness, to do God's will. Their changed condition 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 keshaf, 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 keshaf, 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 keshaf, with its various derivatives, occurs twelve times in the Bible. It is to be noted that all the references in the Pentateuch are to Egypt, while of the referents in the Tanakh and the books of the Prophets, as well as in the Apostolic writings, there is no trace of a magician. Wherever one finds allusion to a magician, he is declared Act 21:28; in Babylon there is only one allusion to them, in Dn 2.

The LXX translates keshaf by ὀμπαράσ, which does not mean 'poison,' but, as in later Greek, a 'spell' cast by a magician. Keshaf has remained the technical term in Hebrew literature. In Egypt, it is called kishaphh in the Mishna and Talmud, and no words have been more widely used, and yet with a very definite meaning attached to them, than kishaphh and malkahshhef, nor is there any doubt that the real meaning of the Egyptian term is exactly witchcraft. It is clearly stated (Sotah, vii. 4, 11) that only he is to be called a magician who produces a real act, but not the man who produces an optical illusion, a kind of juggler's tricks.

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 malkahshhef in Ex 7:22 performs 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 W. 47:12, Jer 27, and 2 K 9 it is clear that, in the eyes of the prophets, the work of sorcery was tantamount to idolatry and to lewdness, possibly through the performance of some action by the magician. That some of the witches performed such acts in a state of absolute nakedness is an assertion repeated throughout the history of magic, and it is possible that the prophets had this in view when in speaking of witches they placed them on the same plane as harlots. It is noteworthy that the witch, and not the sorcerer, was condemned to the fire (Lev 20:22, Dt 18:10). The sin of the malkahshhef is said to have been so heinous that the law punished it with death. Witchcraft must, therefore, have been connected with idolatry (Mic 3:9); it is described as an 'abomination' (Dt 18:10), and was also described as 'sin' (Lev 20:22, W 2 K 9).

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 what powers the magicians were able to carry on the operation of 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 Babylonia, and the Jewish belief of the period emphasized a angelic personage for them in a world created by God (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Hebrew] and DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish]).

According to the Pirke Aboth, v. 9 (cf. C. Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, Cambridge, 1897, ad loc.) and Gen. 4:6, manshim are created by God Himself at the close of the sixth day; but, as the Sabbath was observed before their creation had been completed, they remained half human, half spirit. They are not fallen angels, nor are they ancient heathen gods, but intermediates between angel and man, and mostly of an evil inclination.

How they are 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 a legend found in the Book of Enoch and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (tr. M. Gaster, London, 1899), and other Jewish Haggadic collections, the two angels Uzza and Azael, who showed their discontent at the creation of Adam, and after they were sent by God at their request, to Assyria as well as to Palestine itself. In 2 Ch 33:17 Manasseh is described as having practised witchcraft as well as other forbidden things (cf. also Mal 2:1). The words of Ezeckiel are mentioned in Ex 7:15; in Babylon there is only one allusion to them, in Dn 2.
MAGIC (Jewish)

25, and notes, p. lxxxii.) The Reitites, the descendants of Cain, were the pupils of these angels, and, according to the Book of Jubilees, corrupted the descendants of Seth and brought about the Flood. According to another tradition, the messengers and shdḥmīm were the children of Adam and Lilith, the shdḥmī and the messengers leads the procession of shdḥmī, and who, during the one hundred years that Adam was separated from Eve, consorted with him (Ezek. 28, i. 179; cf. Zech. iv. 614). Lilith plays a great role in magical literature; she later becomes the demon who kills infants at birth and, together with her companions, is constantly mentioned in Aramaic inscriptions on magical bowls from Assyria and Persia (see below). The demons are both male and female, and they also endeavour to consort with human beings—a conception from which arises the belief in incubi and succubi—and it is through these demons that the magician is believed to be able to carry on his work.

In apocryphal and legendary literature we get a clearer glimpse of the beliefs prevalent among the Jews concerning magic and magical operations. Faith in demons and demonic powers seems to have been established by that time; at any rate, these beliefs are far more in evidence, and do not seem to be seriously contested. The character of these spiritual powers is somewhat indefinite, except in the Book of Enoch, where, as we have seen, angels who had fallen in love with human women used such powers as instruments of deception and evil. In the book of Tobit another side of this belief is shown in which we may begin to see a differentiation between a white magic, or a magic tolerated by Judaism, and that kind of magic which was ranked as pure paganism, and which probably would fall under the category of witchcraft for which the death penalty was prescribed by law. Here we find the angel Raphael himself as a shdḥmī, who counteracted the work of a demon who, falling in love with Sarah, had become an incubus, and would, therefore, kill any one who intended to approach her. The spirit thus exorcized was a Ammonites, who is recognized in the later demonological hierarchy as the king of the evil powers. The position of Belial, or Belial (the name given also in Samaritan tradition to the evil spirit who deceived Eve), is, in the Ascension of Isaiah and other apocryphal writings, not so clearly defined, but in any case he is an evil spirit approximating to the character of Satan in the book of Job (cf. Belial, Belial).

To obtain the assistance and help of these powers, certain means had to be devised: gifts or sacrifices were made in order to win them over and gain control over them. Maimonides, in interpreting De 32, 47, 'they sacrificed to shdḥmī', says that the gift most acceptable to the evil spirits was blood, and that their willing help was obtained by giving them the blood of the sacrificial food; the magician must partake of the blood, thus sharing the food of the evil spirits, so as to become their associate. To this sacrifice, which was not limited to the shedding and partaking of blood, other ceremonies had to be added, all bent under- stood as sacrifices: just as the fumigation or burning of incense in the temple is an offering to God, so fumigation and the burning of incense must be understood primarily as gifts very acceptable to the spirits and not insufficiently materialized, to enjoy material food (cf. the Biblical parallelism of magic with idolatry, noted above). In addition there was the lighting of candles and the use of a knife with a black blade which is mentioned by Rashi to Salm. 101, and which can be understood only as a symbolical sacrificial knife. Philistines must be served in glass bowls (Biblia rephah, 2a). Fasting and other ceremonies are all intended to propitiate the evil spirit, and magical operations are objectionable to Jews and an 'abomination' to Judaism. Yet Rabbis made allowances for weaknesses of human nature and, except on rare occasions, avoided 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 shdḥmī and messengers and produced a large literature of invocations and magical formulae for harm and for protection, and partly the Egyptian tradition of magical operations and ceremonies of a mystical and magical character. During Talmudic times it seems to have been believed that some shdḥmī were harmless, and, though they were looked upon as evilly inclined and malignant, a friendly intercourse with them does not appear to have been considered contrary to Jewish law. Thus a Rabbi once assisted in a dispute between two shdḥmī in which one had taken unlawful possession of a place belonging to the other, and a few drops of blood were found floating on the wall where they dwelt (Lev. 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 Rabbi was justifiable as long as it did not lead to real idolatry.

The belief in the power of the Ineffable Name (see CHARM AND AMULET [Jewish], NAMES [Jewish]) was as old as any belief in witchcraft. As soon as the existence of evil spirits could not be denied, they were also 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. Legend says (Pol. Targ. to G. 2528) that among the first who obtained mastery over these demons and the knowledge how to deal with them for 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 unclean). 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 Pol. Targ. to Nu 25, he taught the daughters of Mosh to practise sorcery and witchcraft and thus entice 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 unsuccessfully wished to enslave the Jews (see Joseph and Haman) wanted to use the knowledge of the names of the evil spirits. It is well known in apocryphal literature as the great magicians at the court of Pharaoh (cf. also 2 Tim. 5). According to the Testament of Joseph, when Moses was a child and before he left Paradise; but in Jewish and Christian

1 For an Egyptian parallel to this legend ascribing the origin of magical arts to the teaching of an angel who had fallen in love with women, see G. Bentheim, Collection des anciens egyptiens, Paris, 1861, p. 31.

2 Later the host of shdḥmī included other rulers and princes besides Adam (cf. Jezeb. Jer. 3, 179, Gen. 52, Levit. 22, 10, and later Midrashic compilations).

3 Guide, ii. 56.

1 This is one of the earliest mentions of a seven-headed dragon, which plays such an important role in fairy-tales.
apocryphal literature it is the 'Book of Adam,' or the 'Book of Raziel,' a title afterwards given to a handbook of practical kabbalah full of such mystical names of angels, rulers, princes, stars, planets, and spiritual beings. Still less could the Rabbit object to belief in power over these demons when they remembered that even the Temple in Jerusalem was said to have been built by Solomon with the assistance of the spirit of the hekhalotim which rested on a peculiar interpretation of the word shaddai, occurring in Ec 2. So firm was the later belief in Solomon's power over the shekinah—and whatever was allowed to Solomon could not be refused to any other Jew—that Josephus has preserved to us (Ant., viii. ii. 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 Solomonic cycle Asmodeus is mentioned as their king, and Lilith, Mahalath, and Agaron are also described later as leaders of evil spirits, while even daemonism has been evolved out of P's 91. Once the grouping of spirits was conceded, names came from various quarters to swell the host. Among these we find reference, in the Targum of P's 91, to the horns, eggs, 1 rulers over the thumb or, rather, thumb-nail, and over crystal—all shining objects used, no doubt, for crystal-gazing (g.e.). It was a time of sympathy, and every object that helped either to do or to avert evil was eagerly sought by the credulous. The work of the magician was wrapped in obscurity; his books were kept secret, and his operations he forbade the adepts, so that much of the practical operation is almost lost to us. What has survived is, with few exceptions, the accompanying formula by which these vast numbers of spirits were invoked or subdued either for evil, as in most cases, or for good. In the Greek magical papyri some fragments of the formulas are extant, but very little of the operation. Much more seems to have been preserved in the Hebrew Sword of Moses (ed. and tr. Gaster, J.R.A.S., 1896, pp. 149-198), of extreme antiquity, and in some MSS of practical kabbalah, or practical exorcism, mostly in the possession of the Sages (for the prescriptions in these is given below). A large number of bowls, many of them dating from the first centuries of the Christian era, have been found in Babylonia where the Syrian magical formulae of the papyri have been used, and several vessels being used by the ancient magicians for the purpose of making the 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 know. A large number of them have been published by J. A. Montgomery (Javanic Incantation Texts from Nippur, Phila-
delphia, 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.

1 This bowl is prepared for the sealing of the box, and the wife and the children of Dibon, son of Iaspandarmid, that the Tert- rific (tragic) and evil Dreams may depart from him. The bowl I lifted up and I have watered (dashed), it, an operation like that which was established by Rab Joshua bar Perahyah, who wrote suggestions in the names of Demons and Devils and Satan and Lilliths and curses which are in the house of Dibon, son of Iaspandarmid. Again; he wrote against them a ban which is, in all time, the name of Arzu, Atzd4&A 4t0, within T, Atzd4 Atzd4, the name is a scroll within a scroll. Through which are anointed and the demon of the wind, and through which the heights are raised (lifted) up; and through which are far the spirits Demons and Devils and Satan and Lilliths and curse; and through which he passed over from the

2 The rulers of the egg must mean those who obtained an insight into the work of the spirits or mastery over them through the looking instantly into the yolk of an opened egg (Sankhț 375).

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 Dibon, son of Iaspandarmid, of everything that belongs to him. I have dismissed you by the ban, and it is bound and sealed and countermeasured, even as ancient times (of writing) of writing, so that you were not surrounded (died). . . . Again: and sealed and countermeasured is this box in the house of Ymimthur, Yar, Yet, A. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dibon, son of Iaspandarmid, from the evil spirit and the curse. And sealed and protected be his wife and son from the Terrifier and evil Dreams and Curses and Vanes and . . . Halleth, Amen.

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 part 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 Jers. Text (Sanh. vii. 19, fol. 256) tells a curious legend concerning this same R. Joshua who is the contemporary of R. Eliezer and R. Gamaliel. Three Jews were cast into a place where they found a young man whose manhood had been taken on over his head. They pitched the seeds on the table, and they sprouted in an instant and grew up. Out of the midst a woman, with dishwater in her hand, emerged and said, 'I am the spirit of the sea.' They demanded of her what she could not undo the spell, because the things had been thrown into the sea. R. Joshua then ordered the angels of the sea to throw them up, and thus the young man was restored to health, and later became the father of R. Joshua b. Simeon.

In the light of the above it is not improbable that this is a story of Joshua b. Perahyah, but, as nothing was known of his magical powers, it was transferred later to another Rabbi who also named Joshua.

The Rabbits had no doubt as to the origin of witchcraft: it came from Egypt. According to Kiddushin, 496, ten measures of witchcraft have come down into the world, nine of which have come to Egypt, while one has spread throughout the rest of the world. The Talmud names one or two witches who are said to have practised in Jerusalem, among them being Yôhâna, the daughter of Rûth (Sanh. 25o), famous as a witch affecting childbirth.

One day, while she was assisting a woman in travail, a neighbour came into her house. Her husband treated her kindly like that of a child in the womb, she lifted the cover; the noise ceased, and the woman was delivered. Hence it was recognized that Yôhâna was a witch.1

Evidence of the Egyptian 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 Zôerarti.

He bought as a slave in Alexandria, but, when he attempted to cross the river on it, it turned into a plash the instant it touched the stream, for no witchcraft can withstand running-water. All who saw him laughed at his discomfiture, but he recovered the money which he had paid for the ass. Another Rabbi, Sannal, being offered a drink of water, poured some of the liquid in the ground, whence the rest turned into scorpions. He then compelled the witch to drink and she was transformed into an ass, on which he rode into the market. There another witch, assuming he had broke the spell, and Rabbi was then seen to have the witch for his steed (Sanh. 61o).

As soon as magical operations came to be regarded as idolatry, stricter laws were taken, and for the three of the foremost opponents of magic, viz., R. Simeon b. Shetah (Sanh. 416, and Rash., ad loc.), who lived in the time of King Jannuaus and Queen Alexandra (1st cent. B.C.). He went to Ashkelon, there, with the help of the Wise and Meddled who caught eighty witches actually practising their magic arts, and he hanged them all in one day.

1 This idea of a witch who holds the soul, or the eye, or the heart is close in approach to certain vagaries of the witch-breaks (the contents being restored to the owner), restore life, health, and sight occur frequently in fairy-tales and is derived from Egyptian tradition.
The details are of much interest, for they show a complete conversion to idolatry and heathenism. The woman procured food and drink in a miraculous manner, and in the midst of their feasting did not disdain to invite the Rabbi's pupils to sit by her side and partake of the sumptuous feast. Each of the young men then took one of the witches in his arms and lifted her from the ground, while the old mother waved a magic wand over them, saying that the procedure being that no harm would befall a witch as long as she touched the earth.

The text, however, failed to bring some order into the chaos of magic, for the Rabbi could not transgress a clear prescription of the Bible, and a sin which was punished with death could not be committed 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 fall under the ban of the Law. The idea that 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 Rabbi, therefore, divided magic into three categories. First, the death penalty by stoning (Lv 20:5) was inflicted only on those who practised magic and performed magical 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 he who practised them was censured. 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 (magicks) and the names of the clean ones (kabbalah). By the former are meant demons and spirits, by the latter angelic powers. At the same time, magicians over demonic laws might be obtained through the mediation of heavenly powers.

Thus, when Simon b. Yohai and other sages went to Rome, they were faced with a demon, ben Yehiel, to enter the emperor's daughter, and when they arrived at the city, they were able to cure her by expelling the spirit (briefly told in Midr. b. Aq. 60, ed. Buber, H. Rabinowicz, Drach, Vienna, 1882-83, vols. 189-190; also in Bacher, ad loc.; Goetze, Ezechiel der Rabbin, London, 1886, no. 19; M. Seeligsohn, in *J.E.,* 1887, p. 220).

Thus was established a compromise which was facilitated by the manifold meanings attached to the word *riba,* 'spirit,' used even in the Bible for both a good and an evil spirit coming forth from the earth to possess and depose the person who is possessed.

So strong was the belief in the harm which such evil spirits could produce that, as far back as the time of the Maimonides, a light might be extinguished on the Sabbath if an evil spirit was feared (Mishn. Shab. ii, 5); and in the Bible the *riab* is already occasionally applied to evil spirits, demons, and devils (Jg 9:29, 1 S 16:14. 18, 1 K 15:22, 139).

Despite the stern attitude taken by the Rabbi, magic flourished among the Jews, for the adepts of this science often deluded themselves as to the true character of it. Not only did they continue their forbidden practices and their operations for evoking spirits and subduing demons, but in their formalities they introduced names of spirits and demons gathered from every form of witchcraft and ancient tradition, and good and spirits long dead and forgotten were retained in magical practices and invocations. Gnostic, Babylonian, and Egyptian names, and even such approximations, as omega, and evocation are found side by side with Shabbath and Shaddai. Actual specimens of these conjurations are very rare, for the magician would never disclose his mode of operation, but the following, extracted from the copist's Cod. no. 443, fol. 135) is characteristic of the peculiar mixture of names and powers used by the magician.

'And they are called "the princes of idolatry." Take bidellium and write upon it in the name of the Great God, and take a boy seven years old and anoint his hand from the top of the head to the end of the finger, and put the bidellium into his hand in the same order as before, and you shall sit upon a three-legged stool and put the boy between your legs so that his ear shall be against your ear and you shall turn your face towards the sun and say in his ear: "Aum, I adjure thee in the name of Truth, God, keeper of the Hosts, Alma, Alma, that thou shalt send from thee three angels." Then the boy will see (a figure) like (that of) a man; and say (here the magic formula), and he will see two (figures); and the boy shall say unto thee: "Your coming be in peace." And the charade of them that which you wish. And if they will not answer him, the boy shall adjure them, and say: "Kama, Kama, Emr (or) Emeprain, the master and I adjure (you) 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 in winter time at mid-day.

The most remarkable product of this type of syncretism is the *Zohar Mezukket Shabaoth* (*Key of Solomon*), a complete facsimile of which has been edited by H. Gollan (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 (sama'el) (Shab. 70b), yet his help might be invoked to break a spell in the case of a man who had become seriously ill through witchcraft (Git. 92b), and almost to modern times (Tur, *Yesa d'eh*), §179, and the commentary of R. Joseph Karo (see Qabo, *Josph*), ad loc.

Belief in magic received an additional impetus through the mysterious teachings of the *Zohar,* 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 shadim are repeated and amplified, and a hierarchy of demons was established corresponding to the heavenly hierarchy. The tales of the heavenly hierarchy are largely derived from the *Zohar.* These demons are fully described in the *Zohar* (Ex. 245b-256a) and exorcism of the shadim 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 exorcism of demons by holy and pious men, such as Heliodorus in Catania in the 8th cent. (L. Zunz, *Zur Gesch. und Lit.,* Berlin, 1845, p. 488); and others are mentioned by Manasseh in his *Mishn. Shab. ili. 5,* which is full of information concerning belief in demons and the power of the pious to master them and use them for their own purpose. Even the scholarly and pious Rabbis of the 17th cent. clung to the belief, while in the legendary lore of the Middle Ages such men as Maimonides (g.v.), Ibn Ezra (g.v.), R. Judah the Pious, Rashi, and Najmades (g.v.) were all 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 engraved. The Baal Shem (1760), who founded the sect of the Hasidim, had many encounters with the shadim, as described in his biography (Shibbe Ba'al Shem Toh, Berdichev, 1844) of miracles and miraculous deeds performed by him and after him by wonder-working Rabbs of the Hasidim as detailed in the *Khol Hasidim* (Lebem, 1884); nor should we forget the legendary contest, described by Dalby, *Old Magicians in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature,* London, 1833.

*Ezekiel* (I). 5

*The three kings from the East, Kangar, Melchior, and Baltasar—*a curious invocation in the mouth of a Jewish magician. It is evident from the context, however, that the copist did not understand what he was writing.
influenced Slav myth and magic. The word Rügen is derived from the same root as the English "rough," and is called in Early Russian Ruyan. Now the word Rügen comes from a synonymous root, and looks like a translation of the Teutonic name Rügen; and it is thus a safe and probable theory to identify the fabulous island of Baya with the historical Rügen-all the more so as the mysterious stone Alatyr is thought perhaps to mean amber, which was an article of Baltic commerce.

When Christianity 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. Paganism of the old ritual, degenerating into incomprehensible pater, continued, in part, 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; healthemdel had changed into magic.

Every village had its magician or witch-doctor. These practitioners certainly possessed great knowledge of healing, as herbalists and masseurs; but, where all nature consists of discontinuous mirage, such cures had to be accompanied with the ritual that was calculated to conciliate the powers and convey both a temporary comfort to those who are loath to give up old beliefs which are now recognized as vain imaginations.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the text see:

GILMER AND AYERS (Jewish), Divination (Jewish), and BERN (Jewish).

SLAVIC MAGIC.

The Slavonic countries are a peculiarly rich field for the study of folk-lore, as they were not Christianized until the 10th cent. and remained isolated from Western influences, and have preserved their written traditions.

On the vast uplands of the northern steppes man's relations to nature were characteristic. The Greeks, in their narrow, diversified, hilly 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 unwonted 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 Norsemen and the Greeks created mythologies out of natural phenomena, the Slav, in the dear monotonous plains, fell into neither the deep religious fatalism of the Scandinavians nor the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun rose and the sun set; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and a Rabbi was asked why the aid of a magician may be invoked in case of serious illness, he replied, according to Joseph Karas (commentary on Tûr, Yorich Déd, ch. 170), that nature in a romantic manner, semi-religiously idolizing what is to him unwonted 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 Norsemen and the Greeks created mythologies out of natural phenomena, the Slav, in the dear monotonous plains, fell into neither the deep religious fatalism of the Scandinavians nor the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun rose and the sun set; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and frozen; that he was envoried by unknown powers to be obeyed or to be seduced; he addressed prayers and incantations 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 science, but good religion. A. N. Ramant's says that the primitive Slav adored matter and never felt the incentive to personify, idealize, or philosophize it; perhaps it was a mere acceptance of necessity.

The Pomeranian Slavs, the only Slavs 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 sacred cairns and pilgrimage-worship in the vale of Rügen, these gogman shris were destroyed by Valdemar, of Denmark in 1168.

The resolution of this sacred island has strongly

* In the lofty chamber, at the river mouth, beyond the river, Volga, a fair maiden stands, stands and decked herself, adorned herself in gaudy fish, glory in her right hand she holds bulks of jad, in her left bulks of copper, on her feet halls of bone. To the, fair maiden, ward off the guns of the Turks, the Tartars, the Germans, the Circassians, the Russians, the Morvicins, all tribes and foes;
Again, in another formula, the Holy Virgin is depicted, like Svantovic, one of the ancient gods worshipped at Bügen 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 rivers of water.

There are charms to lull a child to sleep, and these sometimes invoke mysterious beings—Kriks, Płaks, and Sękotuza—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 thisformula is recited:

"Lord of the sea-deeps! Carry the meatless bone 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 invocations:

"Thou, Heaven, hearest, thou, Heaven, seest what I wish to accomplish on the body of thy servant X. [There follow four words unintelligible. An unframed letter sometimes found, which looks very like a tradition of a lost language.] Thou music, turn away the servant X. Send wine; thou little sun, bring peace to the servant of God from wine. Ye bright stars, do ye assemble in the wedding-cup! But in my cup there be water from the mountain-side; I have no wine, X, the servant of God, from wine. My word is potent."

"Thou bright Moon, come into my mouth! But in me there is neither bottom nor cover! Thou generous Sun, approach my door, 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 Saksanov 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 medieval spells.

Summary.—The history and decline of Russian magic, it would appear, traced the following course. The primitive vague and inchoate nature-worship of the Slaves, like Aryan was profoundly influenced and deflected by the subject races of Finno-Ugrian and other Turanian races, who became typical magicians and had mystic powers ascribed to them. The elaborate ritual of the Pomeranian Slaves 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 pattern of the spells, and especially in the legends of the isle of Buyán and the stone Alátyr.

As Christianity spread, the ancient gods of thunder, spring, and progeny, the sun and moon, etc., were duly canonized, while the old 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 medieval stage, merged in and with the incantation are village science and medicine, village nature-poetry, and primitive religió gods. The specialization of the medicine-man, the healer, the priest, and the misInspectress came with advancing civilization, the herbalist degenerating into the magician and enchanter. Post-medievally, a formal demonology arose, a positive anti-Christianity, artificial, sporadic, and short-lived.
MAGIC (Teutonic).—In all ages and in all localities the belief in magic is found to have sprung from the same root-Religion, i.e. the conception of nature as alive in every object, 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 idea of spirits and demons, as well as of such hostile persons as were believed to be in league with these supernatural existences. We need not wonder, therefore, that in every country, and among every people, the old magic, as the machinations of magicians to counteract them, if possible, by a magic still more potent. From the earliest times the amulet and the spell have been specially resorted to, as the only means of protecting man and beast; nor is it to be wondered at when we remember that disease itself was 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 not the slightest misgiving as to their efficiency by the appropriate amulet. Discoveries in tombs furnish simple information regarding the objects specially in request as amulets among the Teutons. Thus, protection of the sorcerer, one 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 forbad all worship of them, and 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 priests to pand to the people's craving for amulets, written spells, adjudications, and magic potions; and, as late as the 8th cent., dergy in Thuringia, the missionary district of St. Boniface, were making amulets of small slabs inscribed with benedictory formularies, protective or remedial powers, and hang from the neck by a cord, just as if they had been pieces of amber or agate. The use of incantations was also vigorously assailed, and the Church, with the other ecclesiastical enactments against amulets and spells are found among the rules for penance and in the ecclesiastical or Christian codes. Among the various collections of benedictory regulations—
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 warn against ‘divinationes,’ ‘auguria,’ ‘mathematicum,’ ‘emissio temperantium,’ and especially against ‘incantationes diabolicae,’ ‘filacteris,’ and ‘ligature.’ As yet excommunication was the extreme penalty for transgression. The Yenching Bede (LV. lvi. 27) relates that, during a time of pestilence and high mortality, recourse was had to adjuvants and spells. The abbot Regino of Prüm has incorporated an entire series of the decrees of councils dealing with the subject in his work de Sacrautorum Canonis (A.D. 906; FL. xxxiii. 187 ff.), and from that work much has been borrowed by Berhard of Worms, who wrote about the beginning of the 11th century (FL. cxi. 837 ff.).

That similar ideas and usages were still flourishing in England at this period is shown by Eadfrid’s Ponsio S. Bartholomew Apostoli, with its injunction that no one shall seek to regain health by using a ligature of medicinal herbs or pouring a herb in a ‘magic song.’ The ecclesiastical ordinances of Edgward and the Northumbrian priests later reigns in England have the same effect. Among the Northern Teutonic likewise canon law directed its mandates against superstition and magic.

Till well on in the 16th cent. synods and councils of the Church were constantly under the necessity of dealing with the use of spells and amulets and the evils arising from them. Thus can. 9 of a papal bull enacted for the Lateran Council of 1514 that sorcellaria made by invoking demons, by incanta-
tiones, and by superstitious practices are unlawful. Clerics who offend are to be punished at the discretion of their superiors, and laymen are to be excommunicated or visited with civil penalties.

In dealing with the national codes of the various Teutonic peoples we do not show the same unanimity as the Church. The Teutonic nations that came into existence on Roman territories and 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. tit. 2, 4) that those who ‘willubant insaneum tempestantes, vel decubantur super animam in causa criminalis, orad fuerit upon the fields and the vineyards, &c. ducentenae flagellas publicis verbenerit et decalvati deformiter decem convicinas possessiones circums egetur iniquus manum sigillum autem monasterii, sterns prohibited the belief in, or the practice of magic in, or the belief in, in particular.

Among the Germans, as among all other races, the feeling prevailed that one who practised malefic magic was guilty of all crimes, whether by express or by tacit consent 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 penalties enacted against superstitious and magic, and in particular against the employment of spells and amulets. The laws of Alfred the Great dealing with magic are founded mainly upon the Biblical denunciations of the practice. Of similar character are the legal ordinances directed against the occult art among the Northern Tribes, and the 13th cent. English canon law of the 13th cent. ordains that those who tamper with incantations or witchcraft shall be punished by banishment.

Against which the enactments of the Teutonic codes were mainly directed was malefic magic (maleficium). 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. The Church, however, not withstanding all these ordinances, was successful in ridding the people of their magic beliefs and practices. Both continued to flourish abundantly in the department of medicine, thanks to the recommerce of the livelihood. In reality, the Babylonian-Egyptian—doctrine of demons. At an early period medicine had become the monopoly of the cloister; the demons of disease were exercised by the priests; and to relieve the rosary, and to the ‘Agnus Dei’ were ascribed the greatest virtues. Those who in sickness and trouble appealed to the priests were treated by means of the amulet and the incantation, so that it is not the 16th cent. that is, when a medical profession in the proper sense existed—adjudications 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 rang itself with the civil legislation in an uncompromising opposition to certain dangerous popular superstitions. In the 15th cent. there was a momentous change in the Church’s standpoint. The doctrine of Satan was now made the basis of the doctrine of magic and witchcraft. The nightly journeys of witches, the transformation of humans 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. In the 16th cent. the two currents of heresy and sorcery, which had hitherto run side by side, became amalgamated with each other, and merged in the belief in witchcraft. While sorcery the 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 Saxo (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 laws, the practice of magic continued, and the punishment was severe. The Inquisition at length silenced every stricture against its competence to deal with magic, by the civil legislation of the 16th cent. those who practised magic was death by fire, and his clause was taken over by the Imperial legislation—

—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 of Germany during the second half of the 16th century. In Thuringia, the prosecution of this kind seems to have been trials for real or alleged attacks upon the person of the sovereign, as from the reign of Henry vi. But in England the laws against witchcraft were in general more lenient than was commonly the case on the Continent. Witch-persecution in England dates from about the middle of the 16th cent.; in Scotland cases are found as early as the 16th cent. 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 menace of magic—just as many incantation spells failed to destroy it, though the delusion certainly received a telling blow from the Reformers. As to the question whether sorcery has a foundation in fact, men of the ancient world moulded themselves according to the ideas of their age, and the final death-blow to the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was administered by the reconstituted sciences of modern times.

We are ages clear of all incantation was drawn between lawful and unlawful magic. The latter was treated by all races with the utmost rigour, and not seldom punished with death. Among the Teutons, as elsewhere, incantations and amulets were used 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 are subject to the same 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 itself suggests, the former class may be further divided according to the effects which the spells were intended to produce. Their object may be either (a) to drive away an evil spirit, or to 'exorcise' it, or (b) to avert a possible evil by means of a 'blessing.' This dichotomy of the first class, however, will not be found exhaustive, and, in the next chapter, we will have occasion to mark another subdivision—magic sidewalk. Magic formule were used not only for the purpose of dislodging present and avertimg future evil, but also as a means of inducing spirits to throw light upon unknown and obscure matters. The purpose of the latter, or introductory portion—the narrative—is generally borrowed from mythology. The procedure was to make as decisive a statement as possible, and the last part of the incantation was then repeated from beginning to end. When the performance was regarded as the earliest Teutonic spells, therefore, there comes down to us from the same age another species—

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. 359).

"Probable as it is that at a certain stage of the incantation of the gods, i.e. the spell in the proper sense, or of certain species of it, was produced in connection with the recitation of a particular mythological text, let us consider the slightest doubt that in other periods the epic narrative and the magic formule are disjointed, and may each maintain a separate existence. Hence these adjurations strictly so called, which were complete in themselves, and may be regarded as the earliest Teutonic spells, there comes down to us from the same age another species—

"..."

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 the incantations is the actual practice. Before the actual formula is not peculiar to the Teutons, let alone the Western Teutons—this form of spell being traceable among other races and in much more remote times. He was certainly known to the Romans and the Hindus. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence to show that it was not even a distinctively Indo-Germanic 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 Mersburg 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, on the incantations of Europe—first of all in the Greek and Roman area, and then derivatively in the Teutonic. At all events, the theory that the Teutons had a primitive type of spell consisting of words or epigrams, and of another by a rhythmical formula, as adopted by Schröder (loc. cit.), is beside the purpose. The pronomial element was certainly the formula, the narrative being added later; and, as we have seen, each could
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be used by itself alone. We find, moreover, that in Christian times quite different introductions were combined with the real nucleus of the spell. We must therefore think of each part as distinct in itself, and in no degree the less so because in the recitation of the 'spelling' came alternately. In all probability the spells were simply muttered in an undertone; there is a large mass of evidence—and not from Teutonic sources only—pointing to this mode of recital.

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 these incantations and practices, or the use of magic formulæ, 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 hastened its first, as also its most urgent, task was to eliminate the heathen characteristics from the narrative spells and put Christian ones in their place. These new formulæ were generally composed in Latin and were the more informative. These narrative portions exhibited Biblical characters, such as Jesus, Mary, the apostles, and others, in perfectly appropriate situations—a 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. But besides this narrative species of Christian spell, again, was in part evolved a new type. This took the form of a comparison or allegory, and its symbolic representation was the 'formula'. As such and such a result was brought about by such and such a spell or incantation, the names of persons employed 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 direction of which a spell 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 'benedictions,' and the 'consecrations,' or these were simply translated into the vernacular. This species is probably not older than the 13th century. The devotee shuddered at a mode of a type of magic formulæ in regard to which the monks played merely an intermediate rôle. 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, accordingly, comprises the most ancient type of spell, which is also the obscurest; 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. Professor Lehrs, when introducing, in another contributory source of the superstition which is concerned with words and letters— and, it may be added, numbers also. This was the religious necessitated by the more specific, but also in the works of the Rabbinists (q.v.).

These leading types will suffice to classify the great majority of magic formulæ, and even the hybrid, composite, and other 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 certainly be subject at some stage of their development. The learned formulæ of the Church are usually known, and in their full form would have relatively little vogue among the common people. From these larger spells, accordingly, certain typical portions were excerpted, and then used independently. The popular mind laid the main emphasis upon the nucleus of the spell—the formula proper; and examples of this type become numerous from the 16th century. In these the strict parallelism of the earlier ecclesiastics 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 formulæ which in themselves had formerly done duty as blessings, so that the formulæ of blessing, being supplemented by invocations of God and multiplied petitions, often actually approximated to the character of prayer itself. When we consider the scope of Teutonic formulæ— even with the 16th cent. as the ulterior limit— in relation to the purposes which they were meant to serve, we see that the multiplicity of forms mentioned in the Hæmæmæl, the Sigurdrijm, and the Homélæ de numinibus, is by no means an exaggeration. Adjurations against disease certainly constitute the largest class. Many maladies were believed to be due to malevolent influences, and friendly magicians, and were therefore combated by the magic formula. But the same means was employed in dealing with diseases about the origin of which there was no uncertainty: The raven was supposed to acquire peculiar efficacy by having a spell uttered over them.

Nor was it human beings only who in whose distresses were brought to the layman. 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. For their protection ancient magical formulæ were used on off disease and other evils. The dog, and especially the shepherd's dog, was protected in this way from the dangers to which it was exposed from the elements. People were very specially concerned, however, to guard against the bite of mad dogs. A certain blessing, 'ad pullos de novo,' 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 adorations the reptiles were induced to yield up the potent opalite stone, and to be obedient to all commands. The tooth and the right foreleg of the bulger acted as charms against bogs, and addition with the shoulder of a toad a man could win the love of whomsoever he chose.

In the therapeutics of ancient and medieval times an important place was given to medicinal herbs. It was of vital moment, however, that these herbs should still retain their supposed virtues after being plucked, and certain magical formulæ were believed to ensure this. The practice was to adjure either the whole world of herbs,
or a definite number of them (cf. the Anglo-Saxon 'nine-herb spell'), or, again, some particular herb. But still further manifestations of the potency of herbs could be elicited. They could be made to second their presence in the life of the people, to act as a defense against weapons, and to protect the cattle from sorcery and the crops from hailstorms. They could also help one to win love, to open locks, to ascertain truth, and to read both the future and the past.

Then the magic formula served to protect men not only against disease, but also against the malice of their fellows and the threat of misfortune. By their aid a person sought to safeguard himself—especially when on a journey—against the artifices of his enemies, to blunt their weapons, and to free himself from prison. By the magic formula he could defend himself, to malefic magic, and against the bewitching of his food and drink. Other formula possessed the power of procuring friendship, love, and favour, and of gaining justice before a legal tribunal. Wives sought, through the medium of magic, to turn the harshness of their husbands into love. An astute merchant of the 16th cent. would even try, without inducing people to buy up his stock of stale wares.

Human life was thus surrounded by a rampart of spells, and property likewise was in similar fashion protected against misfortunes. Houses were secured by spells against burglary and fire, and corn in the granaries was kept from decaying. If anything was lost or stolen, the magic formula could be used, and even to recover the discovery of the thief. The same means were also used to protect, and to increase, the fruits of gardens and fields.

The number of extant magic formula designed to work harm is quite insignificant—a circumstance which is, no doubt, due to the rigorous treatment meted out from the earliest times to the practice of malefic magic. Such harmful spells might be used only by persons known to have no honest intentions, to show disaffection between old friends, to change the love of a married couple into hatred, to bring every conceivable disaster upon another, and even to overcome the dead and the deceased and the possessed.

1. Literary sources.—The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic, is chiefly represented by the earliest products of literature and the Rigveda, which consists almost entirely of hymns addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and by the Soma sacrifice which can only be obtained by the Rigveda. The ceremony of the Soma sacrifice (cf. art. Hymns [Vedic], § 7) is a set of incantation formula, as well as the Rigveda, which consists almost entirely of prayers addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and by the Soma sacrifice which can only be obtained by the Rigveda. The ceremony of the Soma sacrifice (cf. art. Hymns [Vedic], § 7) is a set of incantation formula, as well as the Rigveda itself. The Rigveda is a collection of metrical poems, largely to be accompanied by ceremonies aiming at the welfare of the magician or the injury of his enemies. The Vedic literature (Vedic, § 13) occupies an intermediate position between these two Vedas as regards magic. In its original part, which consists of prose formula, the gods are only secondary, bearing a kind of mechanical relation to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formula are associated, and which they follow in its minutest details. Its character is thus of a magical rather than a religious type. The development of magic, in this period, of an interlaced form and the concentration of sacrificial thought on its perfect performance had led to the new concept that sacrifice was an end in itself, and that, directly to control the natural course of things.

The prose theological works called Brahmans,
which represent the next stage of Vedic literature, being concerned with explaining and interpreting the details of the ritual, supply much information regarding the magical notions and observances with which the sacrificial ceremonial was permeated. The Upanishads, though a continuation of the Brahmanas are philosophically rather than religious, but their speculations on the nature of brahman and upon the supernatural powers acquired by knowledge and asceticism are charged with magical notions. This magical phase of Vedic literature, which comes down to c. 500 B.C., is represented by the Sutras. These concise manuals, especially those dealing with domestic life (grihya), and to a less extent those concerned with customary law (dharma), 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, from that time onwards, be historically studied in continuous successive literary stages, extending over more than 1600 years. Such faculties are afforded by no other Vedic literature and therefore either the amount or the quantity and quality of the evidence afforded. The material in Vedic literature does not require to be laboriously gathered together from separate 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, we are 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 liturgical type, and that the hymns of a magical character found in the Rigveda are very few and late. It must be kept 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 and sometimes absurdity, and thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the Rigveda, the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, untouched by magical practices derived from outside. Moreover, 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 them the belief in magical power independent of the gods is already present. (This x. xviii.) The sacrificing priest Desāpi begins with the intention of appealing to the gods for rain, but then himself brings down the waters by the magical powers of his sacrificial art: "the sage Desāpi sat down to the duty of Hymn priest, familiar with the goodwill of the gods; he then poured down from the sun above to the sea below the heavenly waters of rain" (V. v. 5). Every page of the Brāhmaṇas and of the ritual Sutras shows that the whole sacrificial ceremonial was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over the gods, and that the gods could directly influence things and events without their intervention. An insepient form of this notion already appears in the Rigveda, where an exaggerated sacrifice, which occurs mythically attributed to ancient priests; e.g., "with mighty spells the Fathers found the hidden light and produced the dawn" (VII. lxxxv. 4); the Fathers adorned the sky with stars, like a black steed with pearls; they placed darkness in night and light in day (X. lxiii. 11); with their kindled fire the Aṅgirasæ (ancient priests) found the cows and steeds hidden by (the demon) Pālī (I. lxxxiv. 4); sitting by their rite caused the sun to mount the sky" (X. ixii. 5); "(the ancient fire priest) Atharvan by sacrifices first prepared the paths; then the sun, the guardian of ordinances, was born" (I. lxxxv. 5). The ancient priests Visvamitra, by directly invoking the rivers, made them flow for the Biuratas (III. lxxxii. 1-12). The composers of all such passages must have attributed to the sacrifice in their own day the powers which they thus projected into the past.

An examination of the ritual literature shows that the dividing line between a sacrificial act, which is meant to propitiate the gods, and a magical act, which is intended to control the course of things, is by no means always well drawn, so that the two are often intermingled. Thus the morning sacrifice at sunrise, of which we read in the Rigveda (e.g., IV. lii. 7), when the fire is kindled and an offering is made to the fire, is followed by the fumigation or excommunication of the house (III. i. 5) assuming a magical character, the fire being kindled to produce sunrise: "By offering before sunrise he (the sacrificer) makes him (the sun) to be born; he would not rise, if he were not to sacrifice in it (the fire)." A similar view seems already to be expressed in a verse of the Rigveda: "Let us kindle these, O Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven" (V. vi. 4). Again, there are several instances where the sacrificer is exhorted to consecrate the soma to the gods (e.g., X. xli. 1, xcvii. 17, cvi. 9, cvii. 9 f.) in which the Soma ritual is spoken of in the magical character of producing rain direct, without influencing the goodwill of the gods that are invoked subsequently. The blending of magical and a sacrificial act may be of two kinds. A ceremony which is primarily sacrificial may assume a magical character by the nature of the object which it is offered for the attainment of a special purpose. There can be little doubt that only food eaten by man 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 (bhrāha) on which the gods were conceived as sitting to receive the offering. On the conclusion of the ceremony the bhrāha was thrown into the fire, originally, no doubt, to render it innocuous after, by the divine presence, it had become dangerous to touch. To the bhrāha corresponds, in the ancient Persian ritual, the harem (a bundle of twigs; see art. Rāgo) on which the sacrificial offerings were placed, and which was the seat of the gods. This indicates that the oblation in fire was an Indo-Aryan innovation, and that the burning of the bhrāha not improbably preceded the transition to the fire-sacrifice.

The ritual literature furnishes innumerable examples of sacrificial acts being mixed up with magical turn by the employment or addition of a non-suitable element: as when a man wishing for cattle offers the dung of a couple of calves (bhhāla Gṛīgasāstrā, IV. ix. 131); or when poison is added to an offering in order to destroy ants (Kausān), or when, on the other hand, objects suitable for direct magical manipulation could easily be turned into an offering by those accustomed 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 (49, lvi. 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 to return from exile; and 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.

Various causes contributed to this result. The belief in the divine presence as the sacrifice, and in the mysterious success produced by the sacrifice, encouraged an increasing application of magical results 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 find useful the magical power of sacrifice in order to secure their own independences. The magical tendency would be increased by the mixture of prayer and spell; if in the prayer accompanying the sacrifice the magical effects of a spell were assumed, such effects naturally would be attributed to the sacrifice also.

5. Predominantly magical ritual. — There are several groups of rites which, though belonging to the sphere of sacrifice, are predominantly magical in character. They are partly connected with family life and partly with public life. The most important of these are:

(1) The wedding ceremony. — What little worship of the gods is found in this group of rites is almost restricted to the rite of Agni, the domestic god, who was constituted a witness of the marriage, and who, in the form of the domestic producing social life, accompanied the young pair through life. On the other hand, the ceremony was surrounded by magical acts, of which the following were the principal. The bride's hand was grasped that she might be delivered into the power of her husband. She stepped over a stone to acquire firmness. She took steps with him in order to establish friendship. She ate the sacrificial food with him to create community of life. When she reached her husband's house, she sat down on a red-hot stone to ensure fertility. The son of a woman who had borne one male child was placed on her lap in order to fulfill the hope of healthy male progeny. Later, during pregnancy, a magical powder was placed in her nose to secure the birth of a son.

(2) Initiation. — Of the various religious ceremonies which were venerated during the gods, which display the same predominantly magical character, the chief was that of initiation (aparajitana). This, though not mentioned in the Rigveda, goes back to pre-historic times, as is shown by the parallel Avestic ceremony, and is the Vedic transformation of a rite by which, on the occasion of the puberty, a boy was made a member of the community of men. In India it was regarded as a second birth, as being the entry into a new life, when the boy was introduced to a religious teacher with a view to Vedistudy. The outward signs of the initiation are the girdle, which is wound three times round the body. The belt is then worn on the left shoulder and under the right arm, with which he is invested. The ceremony includes a number of magical observances. Various talismans are regarded as food, some of which will be mentioned below (see also Yajur Bhashana, 6.5, and of. Lemans [Hindu]).

(3) Public rites. — The public ceremonies of Vedic times were performed on behalf not of the clan or tribe as a part of an individual, who in these cases was the king. The most prominent of them, aiming at the attainment of certain definite purposes, are magical in their main elements. At the royal consecration (abhiparana) the king sits on a throne made of wood from the rudradya tree, which to the Indian was the

he invoked and sacrificed to the gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajurveda, however, we find the price to a considerable extent reverting to the role of a magician, as he now appears, independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing the powers of nature by means of spells and other expedients of sorcery. 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; this derived from the knowledge of the rain that it may actually rain—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 not necessarily the only one, 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 ineffectual and reprehensible superstition. Magic was still to some extent used by those who had occasion occasionally, as is apparent from the character of some hymns of the Rigveda which, although late, form part of the canonical text. But not the employment of every form of magic was approved nor the practice of magic as a profession. Nevertheless, the attitude with evil spirits and the use of maleficent spells 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 today if I am a sorcerer (garudhena), or if I have harassed any man's life; then may he lose his ten sons who falsely call me a sorcerer'; he who calls me, that am no sorcerer, a practiser of sorcery, or who, being a demon, says that he is pure, true; he who strikes him with his mighty weapon, may he sink down below every creature' (vii. civ. 15). It was because the Atharvaveda contained a body of maleficent 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 Rigveda. On the other hand, in the Atharvaveda itself (e.g., v. vii., vii. i.x.) magic is expressly approved when directed against the sacrifice offered by an enemy; and the ritual texts are full of directions for the sacrificer who wishes to destroy his enemy, in particular, when his efforts have not borne their magical turn for the purpose of inflicting injury. The post-Vedic Code of Manu even contains the express statement (xi. 33) that the magic spells of the Atharvaveda are the Brahman's weapon, which he may use without hesitation against his foes. In the Upanasas the magician-priest has become a philosopher who has passed from the path of ritual (barna) to that of knowledge (jñāna); but his magic, as it is, is by no means thereby deprived of its reality. The

ties (topas, lit. 'heat'), primarily exposure to heat, but including other forms of self-mortification, such as fasting, abstinence, 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) that those who are in such a frenzied condition that 'the gods have entered into them.' A poet of the same Veda tells (viii. lxxix. 6) how, in a vision directed by austerity (topas), 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 saying similar powers: dreams are born from the soul filled with austerity (Athravaveda, xiv. iv. 3); speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods (Taittirīya Aranya, v. vii. 7); he who has practised great austerity reaches the sun (Rigveda, x. xlix. 2); after practising austerity Indra won heaven (x. clvii. 1); the magical power of austerity peculiar to the Brāhmans will bring calmness on the man who injures him (x. cix. 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations: the goddess Asājā, perceiving austerity, produced the greatness of Indra (Athravaveda, xii. xii. 12); the seers were born of austerity (xi. x. 25; xviii. xii. 15, 18). In many passages the Brāhmans the creator Prajapati is described as gaining by austerity the power to wrest out of himself the worlds and all living creatures; and in one place (Sâtapatha Brâhmanas, x. iv. 4. 2) he appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came forth lights, which are the stars. The Brāhmans also tell how various mythical beings attained by austerity to a high degree of enlightenment that revealed to them some secret of sacrifice. It is for such magical effects that austerity is regarded as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites. Thus the Soma sacrifice is preceded by a consecration (dikë) of the sacrificer in which he practises austerity lasting, according to some authorities (ib. xiii. i. 7. 2), till complete physical exhaustion ensues.

8. Magical conditions and agencies.—Magical effect is largely, if not altogether, based on contact (very often involuntary), 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 directed at various kinds. The place selected for the practice of magic is important, and when it is an element of the sacrificial ceremonial, is generally a lonely one. A cemetery, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favourite locality to divert 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 the purpose. Direction is an important consideration. Thus the south is the home of demons, which hence perform operations of night; and north is the home of the deities. As is the sun, which is the creator and the nucleus of the universe, so are the deities. Thus the performers move from the south to the north.

(a) Spirits (pālpas).—Spirits are omnipresent and omnipotent, and as presiding over various agencies, to spread terror and destruction. They inhabit the field of Others (Athravaveda, x. xix. 1). The characteristics of spirits are damage and destruction, and the alteration of the course of human life.

generic name of râkṣas, yūtas, or pālpas, 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 do not infrequently have an animal or bird 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 are supposed to be in the form of the souls of the ancestors to whom the offering is made; and they approach women in various disguises. The sorcerer himself (as well as the spirit 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 being able to shape themselves into fire, light, living creatures, and evenRCM. 0.25.16

Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere—in the air, in the earth, in the sea. They are not at all limited to the human dwelling, but are present in any place of human habitation (Brahmanas). They are divided into two classes: good or evil, and good or evil; the latter is the more dangerous. 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 (v. xiii. 2) of the Yajnas that seal the sacrificial food, and the Atharvaveda contains (vi. xix. 2) the wish that the idols may not be attacked by demoniac 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, of every one of man's necessities is exposed to attack. The allies of human workers of calamity.

(b) Injurious substances.—Closely allied to these demoniac enemies are the numerous substances—which constitute the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is frāś, or 'body'—which, conceived as a vehicle of the spirit, has a spiritual, therefore sometimes is tinged with personality, and represents an advance of thought. Hence the boundary-line between personal demons and impersonal agencies is not fixed; thus the term pālpam, 'evil power,' as a masculine is used in the former, but not in the latter sense. Nor are even injurious creatures like bears, ants, and worms clearly distinguished.
that is torn up by its tusks; the force of lightning is latent in a splint of wood from a tree that has been struck; the virtue of one’s native land exists in a clog taken from it; a man is connected with the earth by his footprints; even an image or a picture conceiving of the essence of the beings or things which they represent or name. As all such powers are communicable by contact, the whole sacrificial ritual is full of rules as to the persons or things which the performer is to omit or avoid, with demons, and the power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. 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 always accompanied with 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, and more easy to perform, are only proper to the initiated, and will, therefore, be treated under the various types of action, particularly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (§ 12).

10. Defensive magic.——This type of magic, though consisting in warding off injurious powers, 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) deterrent homaige is paid to a demon of diseases, ‘may he be beneficent and will, therefore, be treated under the various types of action, partly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (§ 12).’

11. Fastin.——One of the chief precautionary measures against the attacks of hostile powers was abstention from food while entering the body. It is, therefore, a leading element in the preliminary consecration (dikṣa) for the Soma sacrifice. With reference to this, one of the Sūtras remarks (Aptasthana Śrutāntīra, x. xii. 19): ‘When an initiated man (dikṣita) has fasted seven days and has gathered the soma, he is purified for the sacrifice.’ A special form of fasting was the avoidance of particular kinds of food. Thus the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice had, on the eve of the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day after the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day after the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day after the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day after the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day after the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day.

12. Absteminess.—Another safeguard is the practice of chastity. This is enjoined for three nights after the wedding ceremony in order to ward off the attacks of demons that destroy offspring. It is observed by the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice on the night before the rite takes place; for a day and a night by the teacher who initiates a pupil; for twelve nights by the offerer of the Sabhā sacrifice; during the course of the Dikṣa by him who undergoes that consecration; and by the Vedic student during the whole period of his apprenticeship.

13. Asceticism.—This expedient appears in various forms. One of them is exposure to heat; it is an element in the Dikṣa ceremony, it is specified for a rule being quoted for use when the initiated man breaks into perspiration. Sleeping on the ground is prescribed, during the same length of time as abstemiousness for the newly married couple, the Vedic student, and the person upon consecration, of the new and full moon ceremony, and of the Sabhā sacrifice. As a safeguard against demons dangerous to the sleeper, watching through the night is enjoined during the Dikṣa ceremony, and on the eve of setting up the sacrificial fires and of the new and full moon sacrifice. Silence is to be observed by the sacrificer undergoing the Dikṣa consecration, 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 austerities of various kinds had to be undergone by one person to cure epilepsy, before he was qualified to perform the magical ceremonies intended to effect the recovery of the patient.

(8) Concealment.—Another means of guarding against the attacks of hostile powers was concealment of one's person or of part of it, as seclusion in a shed and covering the head during the observances of the Dikṣa ceremony; 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 (b)).

(6) Amulets.—Charms worn on the body were frequently employed both for the negative purpose of warding off evil influences from one's person (amulets) and for the positive purpose of attracting prosperity (talismans). Sometimes the same charm served both purposes; thus the pearl destroys diseases, and poverty, and at the same time bestows wealth and long life. 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 reputation which the god has, and is not infrequently spoken of as imparted by the gods. They are called god-born, are said to have been given by gods to men, or to have had their power communicated to them by the gods, who co-operate with them; the gods themselves are described as having once been successful by the power residing in them; by ambits Indra overcame the demons (Atharvaveda, x. iii. 11). Their potency sometimes emanates from the name. An amulet derived from the varuṣa tree (Grooterae Roxburghii) destroys enemies because, according to the meaning attributed to the name (kṛt, x. iii. 5), it drives off (ekrapati). An amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Atharvaveda (x. iii. 11): "As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do they consume my rivals; this varuṣa upon my breast, the brightly, dazzling tree, shall smite asunder my foes, as Indra the demons." One of the amulets most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is that made from the jāngiṣa tree, which protects from enemies and demons. Again, a long hymn of the same Veda is devoted to this drama on the aggressive powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the śvetkṛṣṭa tree, which destroys foes, demons, and sorceries. Cf., further, art. CHAMAS AND AMULETS (Vedic). ii. Remedial Magic.—Magical operations are performed not only to ward off malevolent 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 remedies with which their use was accompanied; but the evidence of the Sāstras 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 disease are the following: "As the rays of the sun swiftly fly to the vegetation, so to thee, O gourī, fly forth along the flood of the sea." (V. cv. 8); and "The disease that racks and wastes thy limbs, and the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an eagle to thee, overcome by my charm." (V. xxx. 9). Curative spices, however, more usually accompanied 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 magical 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 doubtless as ineffective as the hair-restorers of modern times). The following are two of the charms from the Atharvaveda intended for this particular cure: 'This is the stench which drops off, and that which is broken round, and all, upon it I sprinkle the all-healing herb.' (VI. xxxv. 2); '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. xxxvii. 3). The Atharvaveda contains many spells in which the kṛṣṭha plant (probably Costus speciosus or arboresis) is invoked to drive out fever; two of its hymns (I. xxiii. 1 and 11) are meant to cure leprosy by the use of a dark plant; one (VI. xiii.) operates with a herb that destroys snake poison, and another (IX. viii.) with a plant against ophthalmia. Fractures of the head and limbs are treated with the plant arunāhati (V. xii.), and wounds by the use of the peppercorn (VI. cxx.). The use of ointment is associated with one hymn of the Atharvaveda (IV. ix.), of which this is one of the verses: 'From him over whose every limb and every joint they seated, O salve, thou dost, as a mighty interpreter, drive away disease.' Water not infrequently appears as a magical remedy, and its general curative powers are thus expressed by the following spell from the Atharvaveda (VI. xcv. 3): 'The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure ailments; may they prepare a remedy for thee.' It also cures individual ailments, as excessive bodily discharges: 'The spring water youder which runs down from the mountains, that do I render healing for thee, in order that thou mayest contain a potent remedy.' (II. iii. 1); or heart-disease: 'From the Himalaya mountains they flow forth, in the Indus is their gathering-place: may they, indeed, grant me that cure for heart-ache.' (VI. xxxiv. 1). Pranātasya gṛhyaśtrā (III. vii. 2) describes how water is used in a magical operation for the cure of headache: the performer sprinkled his hands and passed them over the eyebrows of the sufferer with the spell: 'From the eyes, from the ears, from the whiskers, from the chin, from the forehead I drive away the pain, the headache.' Another remedy is the horn of an antelope used against a hereditary disease named kṣetra: 'Upon the head of the nimble antelope a remedy grows! He has driven the kṣetra in all directions by means of the horn.' (Atharvaveda, III. vii. 1).

i. 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 expedients adopted are to some extent the same for both purposes.

1. Means employed.—(1) Fire.—Fire was one of the chief direct instruments of driving away demons and all hostile sorcery. Thus in the Rigveda Agni, the god of sacrifice, is frequently invoked (I. xii. 5, xxxvi. 20) with such phrases as: 'Bless, O Agni, against the sorcerers; always burn down the heads, allies of the demons.' This use of fire, probably the earliest in cult, though overlaid with its later and more monstrous sacrificial application, still survives in the Vedic rites. Thus a special fire called the 'lying-in fire' (sūtikārṇa) was sometimes introduced into the lying-in chamber (sūtikārṇa). Of this fire the author of one of the dedicate Sāstras remarks (Hriṅāyaka 15 Gṛhyasūtra, III. iii. 61):
Sacrifices, except in the case of the offering of water by the Soma, are not performed with it; he furnishes the child with small grains mixed with mustard seeds; he then adds a number of spells to drive away various demons that prowl through the village at night, that drink out of the water, and that enter the house. Agni, the child, is induced to have a dry appetite, to lack appetites, livers, and eyes. At the sacrificial ceremony of cutting 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 regarded as a fire that is reserved for religious purposes. Of similar significance were the fire employed at the investiture of the Brahman student, behind which both he and his teacher step, and that kindled when the pupil entered upon his course of Vedas. This was the sacrifice of the fire beside which the Soma sacrificer watched during the night in the Dīkṣā ceremony is certain, because it is expressly said (Taittirīya Samhitā, vi. i. 4. 6) that Agni is here 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 dispelling demons, for the southern fire is the sign of the dead and the injurious spirits allied to them. In the funeral ritual a brand was taken at the southern fire and laid down pointing to the south, while the fire of the funeral sacrifice for the dead was kindled, and the demons were overcome 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 power that can 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.

(2) Water.—Water is another efficacious means of repelling hostile agencies, as is indicated by the statement (Maitreya 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 purifying bath is prescribed before entering on various ceremonies, as the Dīkṣā, to remove superannuated power, and to prepare for future 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 Dīkṣā, when clothes and implements used during the ceremony are also laid aside. The significance of the bath taken by the Brahman student at the end of his apprenticeship is similar. There is, further, a rule that after the initiation, the initiate should wash himself, as the dead, demons, or Rudra, 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 regarded as impregnated by the power of the sun. It was 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), aims at acquiring special magical power.

(3) Plants.—We have already seen that plants were frequently used along with spells as a magical eure of disease. Cognate to this medicinal employment is the application of herbs to the purpose of securing the love of a man or a woman, and of promoting or destroying virility; of both these classes of charms the Atharvaveda contains many examples. But the use of plants, especially those which are employed against demons, is often mentioned in the Atharvaveda. Offences similar to those of the Atharvaveda are enumerated. Plants, together with frogs, as representing water, and snakes, as representing fire, are combined with spells against demons. Of plants similar significance are the yagya, the yugyug, and the guggul, the fragrant 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 clot of earth taken from a boundary was similarly used. In the same ceremony a mat was laid against the formula: 'This is put between against calamity,' was pronounced (Kashās Samhitā, xxxix. 14). A stone was generally placed round the sacrificial fire, the purpose being to 'strike away the demons' (Taittirīya Samhitā, ii. vi. 6. 2).

(5) Local.—This metal was frequently employed in magical operations, as, e.g., in writing off dangerous substances. The Atharvaveda contains a hymn (i. xvi.) in which lead was used against demons and sorcerers, this being one of its spells: 'If thou layest upon our couch, or our domestic, we pierce thee with lead, so that thou shalt not slay our heroes.'

(6) Weapons and staffs.—These appear on various occasions as a protection against demons. Thus a man who wears a bride is accompanied by one armed with a bow and arrows. At the wedding ceremony little staves are shot into the air, with the formula: 'I pierce the eye of the demons that prowl around the bride who approaches the fire.' (Mānavgīrhyāsūtra, i. x.). At the royal inauguration the priest beats the king with a staff, saying, 'We beat evil away from thee!' (Kātāyana Gīrhyāsūtra, xvii. viii. 6). The staff is a part of the ritual equipment in the Dīkṣā ceremony. Its significance here is explained by the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. ii. 1. 92) thus: 'The staff is a thunder-bolt to drive away the demons.' The Vedic student, as peculiarly exposed to the attacks of evil spirits, is provided with a staff at the rise 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 Brahman 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 hosts of enemies on every side' (Harivyāsūtra Gīrhyāsūtra, xxi. 9). A wooden implement shaped like a sword, technically called sphaṇḍ, and very variously applied in sacrificial rites, has evidently significance of a demon-repelling weapon. At the sacrifice to the dead the sphaṇḍ is passed over the altar with the words: 'Smiten away, do not approach, that it may stand on the altar' (Stāhāyasya Svaṛṣṭāsūtra, iv. iv. 2).

II. MAGICAL ACTION.—Certain types of action are regarded as producing a magical effect in various rites. The various types are the following:

(a) Hostile.—(1) To make a noise is believed to be an efficacious means of driving away demons. 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 gong was sounded at the ritual for exorcizing the demon of epilepsy. At the funeral cerermony, magi ground millet into a shattering pose.

(2) 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 (Aphrante) expounds (p. 223, note a, for "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 every sorcerer, and all grudging demons, with thee, O Apāmārga, we wipe all that evil out." The Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa remarks (v. 4. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away the demons. Among other magical applications of this action may be noted the requirement that one who has seen an evil dream should wipe his face.

(3) Another means of getting rid of demons or injurious influences is to "strip" them off. The black antelope skin used at a sacrifice is shaken out with the words, 'Shaken away is the demon; shaken away are the gods' (Pājiṣṇeygīsi Śanātī, 1. 1). The idea of shaking off the dead, the nemi- fant shakes the hem of his garment in order to remove the soul that may be clinging to it. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, the bundle of twigs, used to efface the footsteps of death, is thrown away for fear of the dangerous substances which it may have derived from those footprints. For similar reasons clothes worn on uncanny rites, such as funerals, are cast aside. Injurious substances are deemed to be stripped by passing through some aperture or some place to whom they adhere. This notion is found even in the Rigveda (v. Ixxx. 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 redaction but is often also a transference to remote places or to other objects animate or inanimate. The Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain several spells to relocate agencies to particular places or persons in the far distance. Thus hostile magic is expelled beyond the ninety streams (Atharvaveda, v. 71. 1); the disease which is sent away to far-off places, such as the Gandharves and the Marītas, and theシリーズ which is sent to certain souls and the demons which are carried to the divine being Trīpta Aptya in the remotest distances (Rigveda, xvii. 13-17). Injurious agencies are also transferred into inanimate objects, particularly unclean or infec- toria, especially cursed objects. 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, xiv. 4. 491). Stake-pollination is removed to a fleabane, which, being then thrown at a snake, returns the danger to its source (Kāliṭa Śūtra, xxi. 8). Fever is transferred to a frog as an antidote representing water (Atharvaveda, vii. civ. 2); while jaundice is conducted in a homoeopathic manner to a yellow bird (ib. vii. xii. 4).

(b) Auspicia.—(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 Vedas contain 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 transfers some convey some 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, 'May Agni place his wisdom in thee.' On the occasion of the marriage festival a mixture of the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour and dung, belladonna, and salt is eaten. At the ceremony for the obtaining of male offspring the wife has to eat a barleymcorn and two vegetables, and the new-born child has been laid on each side of it (as symbolizing a male being). The act of two or more persons eating together establishes a community between them; at the wedding ceremony 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, the correspondence in essence and quality between the animal and the thing to which it is offered. To instru a bull or a (less often) a buffalo, for the purpose of conducting the sacrifice, is met with in the Atharvaveda. The goddess of the gods and the gods of the gods, the morning, a red-beat goat, for 'red of red colour, as if it were, are the Arvins' (Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. v. 4. 1); to Agni with his columns of dark smoke, a he-goat with a black throat; to the Sun and to Yama (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 wins rain' (Taittiriya Śanātī, ii. 8. 5). When the descendant of all enemies is invoked, a blood-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 Dīkṣa rite the sacrifi cer is anointed with clarified butter, which, according to Baudhāyanas, gives him sight and sound sight. In the animal sacrifice the stake is anointed with clarified butter for the purpose of bringing blessings to the sacrificer. At the royal inauguration the king is anointed with a mixture of b estos and other substances which communicate to him the powers and abundance inherent in them. At the same ceremony the king anoints himself with the fluid contained in the hands of the chief priest who refrains for a year from cutting his hair, which has been flattened by it. At the Saunārman rite, an expiatory 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' (Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII. vii. 3. 12).

(3) Churnas, made for the most part of wood, but sometimes of metal vessels, were frequently attached to parts of the body for magical purposes. A talisman made of wood from the butes tree (Butes frondosum) was worn in order to strengthen royal power (Atharvaveda, III. v.); a bridgework, a mirror in the Atharvaveda,为什么不根据自己的经验来判断这个说法？was fastened to his little finger, by means of a thread impregnated with lac, a talisman made of liqourice wood to secure the love of his bride (Kausiki Śūtra, xxxvi. 8 f.); at the full moon ceremony the sacrificer ties on his person talismans made of lac, together with all sorts of herbs, for the attainment of prosperity; while sowing seed, the husbandman put on a talisman of barley. The Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken the purifying bath ties a pellet of bodara (Zingibius ruber) wood to his left hand and fastens a pellet of gold to his neck; he then attaches two earrings to the skin 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 (XXXI. xxxi. 1). To ensure conception a woman puts a bracelet on the spell, 'An acquirer of offspring, and wealth this bracelet has become' (v. lxxxi. 1).

(c) Indifferent.—(1) Burying was a frequent secret method of conveying magical substances to others, generally with hostile intent. The Atharvaveda is full of spells to convey the power of magic buried in sacrificial straw, or fields, or wells, or cemeteries. Objects belonging to a woman who is to be injured—a garland, hair, a twig for cleaning the teeth—together with other things productive of misfortune are placed between three stones.
in a mortar (a symbol of crushing) and buried. The luck of a person thus attacked might be restored by digging up the objects, while an aspersions spell was uttered. The Sapatapatha Brâhmana states (iii. v. 4, 2.) a myth how the demons buried the queen in order to overcome the gods; but the latter, by digging them up, caused them to become inoperative. The Soma sacrifice even contains a ceremony the express purpose of which is to dig up objects buried by rivals or enemies. This idea of digging things sometimes has an auspicious intention, as when a mixture of milk, dung, beelium, and salt is buried in order to promote the welfare of cattle (Kaṇāka Śīrṣa, xix. 19).

(2) The action of looking at an object may be either beneficial or injurious. It has the former effect, e.g., when the sacrificer says (Viṣṇusyaṇi Śāntika, v. 34) to the priest, 'Look at me with the eye of Mitra; (the sun-god); or when a guest addresses the sweet food which is offered to him, saying, 'With Mitra's eye I regard thee.' (Avadhyavana Gṛhyaṣatra, i. xxiv. 14.) But the evil eye (q.v.), e.g. of the serpent, brings disaster on him towards the end of the wedding ceremony. The bridegroom secures himself from the evil eye of the bride by anointing her eyes and saying, 'Look not with an evil eye, bring not death to thy hand.' (Bṛhadāraṇyaka Gṛhyaṣatra, i. 4; Śaṅkhyāyana Gṛhyaṣatra, i. 16.)

In the Atharva-veda (xvi. 6) anointment is confused against the evil eye with the spell, 'Of the evil eye of the enemy protect us, O sacrifice, jōgula-tree is invoked against the evil eye of the hostile-minded.' (xvi. xxix. 3.) and a certain plant is employed with the spell, 'Of the enemy who bewitches with his eye we hew off the ribs.' (i. vii. 5; cf. xiv. xiv. 1.) On the other hand the evil eye produced by an insufficient object is shown as injurious by innumerable directions enjoining avoidance of such sights. Thus the Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken his purifying bath must not look at an enemy, a malefactor, a corpse-bearer, or ordure. For similar reasons, one returning to the sacrificial ground should not look round after performing an inauspicious ceremony, and offering to the goddess Nirṛti or a rite for the daughter of demons it is shown by innumerable directions enjoining avoidance of such sights. 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MAGIC (Vedic)

meant to deflect a river into another channel. The new course is first watered; it is then planted with reeds; and, finally, representatives of water, such as the aquatic plants called asoka, are deposited on it; the imitation is believed to produce the reality.

1. This type of magic is very frequently found in the Rigveda. The purpose of the ceremony is to call the god of rain-clouds (which frequently appear over the cowherds in the Rigveda). 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 of water is emplaced on the ground, on which rain is thus said to be shed, and grains 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 occult correspondences between the representation and the real. The religious and sacrificial and funerary mean are the most significant representations: these can be interpreted by spiritual persons who possess inner illumination, strengthened by the power of asceticism and other magical means. From this direction, taken by a cove 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 what he wishes to have; if the fire rises, he will obtain what he wishes to have at least three. The fire kindled in a special way 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 fire-sheds a man enters 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 he has a masculine name, the child will be a boy. When it is desired to ascertain whether a boy, a good wife, she is bad etc., to choose between various clouds taken partly from auspicious sky (as that of a fair or a cowshed), partly from an unlucky sky (a cemetery or cross-roads); her choice betokens her character and her future. A special form of prophecy is the foretelling of weather by old Brahman from the smoke of dung.

Mixed with the know of the future obtainable from a symbolic process is that derived from birds 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 hyena, the owl, crow, pigeon, and vulture. Thus, in one of the two hymns of the Rigveda concerned with augury, the bird crying in the region of the Fathers (the south) is invoked to bring auspicious tidings (II. xiii. 3). Again, in one of the Sutras, the owl 'that flies to the abode of the gods' is addressed with a phrase well: 'Flying round the villages, from left to right, portend to us luck by thy cry. O owl!' (Hiṃlayakātin Gṛhyaśūtra, I. xiii. 3). The direction from which the woor will come is indicated by the flight of crows after the performance of the ritual. If the crow flies toward and for a girl. Such omens seem to be a later development, resulting from the simplification of the symbolic method of divination by isolating a single feature of a complex process.

13. 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 oas also has a magical effect; it is said that ninety-nine spirits, 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 panegyric of the Rigveda are addressed to one only; e.g., 'Heaven and Earth have anointed me; Mitra has anointed me here; may Bhṛpati anoint me; may Savitṛ anoint me' (VII.xxx. 1). The magic is very usually threats or undertakings 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. xxvi. 6); 'As the fighting ever irresistibly smites the tree, so would a hundred-day beat the gams broken with toil' (IV. ii. 11); 'Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when yoked to the car; at Indra's urging go, swift as the mind; the Marni shall harness thee; Tvaṣṭr shall place fleetness in thy feet' (VII. xix. 1). But the symbols of the sacrifice are also typical means, in order to effect his purpose, like the symbolic process in sympathetic magic; e.g., 'With the light with which the gods, having cooked porridge for the Brahman, ascended to heaven, to the pious ascending to the highest firmament' (XI. i. 57); 'As one pays off a sixteenth, an eighteenth, or an entire debt, thus we transfer every evil dream to our enemy' (VII. xvi. 5); 'As the rising sun robs the stars of their brilliance, 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 monkeys have ascended to their trees; the elephants, brain, neck, back, arms I drive the disease' (III. xlii. 11). If, however the demon is known, this knowledge is emphasized as bestowing magical power over him; e.g., 'This is thy name; we 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 (Pitṛsāvarśa Gṛhyaśūtra, 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, a chariot, 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 sacrifice, he has only to murder a man, or add an animal to the victim. The daily repetition of the first syllable Baha awries death from him who utters it; 'it has nothing to say to the man of evilknowing' (Gṛhyaśūtra, rav. vi. 1). Again, the mere mechanical repetition of a prayer meant for a totally different purpose may have a magical effect. Thus, the celebrated sacrifice, the Sāttvika sacrifice of the Rigveda (Ix. xxix. 49): 'We would attain that excellent glory of Savitṛ the god, that he may stimulate our prayers—if
The magical circle (belonging to the Atharvaveda) have been translated into German by W. Calander under the title of "Altindische Zauber-
rituale, Amsterdam, 1906."

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III. MONOGRAFIES.—A. Weber, Ominia und Portenta, Berlin, 1880; Uber den Vajrayana, Jena, 1884, do, 1903; Indische Studien, esp. vols. xii. xvii. Leipzig, 1866, 1873, 1888; A. Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu-und Vedantam, Jena, 1891; V. Henry, La Magie dans l'Inde an-
A. A. Macdonell.

MAGICAL CIRCLE.—For the "operation of conjuring" spirits the medieval sorcerer sat in the centre of a circle described on the ground. This formed a spiritual barrier, protecting him from hostile attacks, while enabling him to question his "familial" or other spirits from a colin of supernatural vantage.
"Circuit sunt munimenta quadam quae operantes a male spiritibus redunt tates." The concepts of circle, circular, and encircling lend themselves naturally to dramatic ceremonialism, and ideas of continuity, finality, and eternity have been appropriately expressed by circular symbolism.

In Scandanavian mythology a sorcerer enigmatis the earth. Populius Luanus, delivering an ultimatum from the Senate of Rome to King Antiochus, is reported to have drawn signs of strength on the ground, and put a circle round himself in which he awaited the reply. The circular form of certain shrines and religious structures may involve some symbolism, possibly astrological. According to the Talmud, a round house and a three-cornered house do not become unclean—e.g., from the contagion of leprosy—whereas a square house does. Possibly the sacred number 3 renders the three-cornered house immune; possibly, again, the three corners represent the cross of supernatural weapons. In the case of the round house the idea may be that nothing can cling to its smooth outline.

The circle as a supernatural protective barrier has several analogies in primitive custom, and variations of form involve corresponding variations of meaning. Throughout, from the earliest examples to the latest, importance is attached to the material or the instrument with which the circle is traced.

Among the Shuswap Indians the bed of a mother is surrounded by thorn-bushes, the object being to ward off the ghost of the dead person. The Bella Coola Indians, also of British Columbia, have a similar rite. Besides surrounding the bed with thorns, mortuaries cleanse their bodies while standing in a square formed by thorn-bushes, as a protection against the ghost. Here the mystic circle depends not on its shape but on its completeness in the geometrical sense.

Water and fire, excellent bulwarks both in human warfare and in spiritual conflict, and possibly for this reason, among others, regarded as supreme cleansers, are often used to avert evil influences.

The Lascians had a custom of keeping a fire burning in a circle around the bed of a mother for some weeks after childbirth. In Abyssinia the bed was surrounded by blazing herbs, while the mother herself was held by young fellows. It is a moving or dynamic form the fiery circle was used for the same purpose in Scotland. Morning and night fire was carried.

1 G. C. Horst, Zaubere-Blätter, Mainz, 1892, II. 70.
4 This seems to be contrary to the use of the pentagram or pentacle (see Thompson, loc. cit.).
7 Schwab, Das altindische Zauber, in JAI xx. (1898) 311.
round the mother till she was churched, and round the child till a bay-part of Scotland, a fire-candle was whirled three times round the bed where mother and child lay.

It has been suggested that in some such cases the idea was to prevent the soul in its critical state from leaving the body, but the greater proportion of cases certainly depend on the idea of protecting the person from evil, though the fire-treatment of childbirth may have originated simply in a primitive clinical intention of producing comfort or obviating complications.

In ancient India, walking round the coffin to 'give light to the spirits,' or to light on his way, 5 The Copts burned a fire round the grave. 6 A Chinese charm consists in laying a circle of ashes round the dead man; it is supposed to resuscitate him. 7 The Romans carried water or fire round mourners on their return from the funeral. 8

The curious custom of circumambulation as a mark of honour was practised by Hindustan, Greeks, and Celts.

In ancient India, walking round a person three times to the right (sunnise) was a ceremony of honour, 9 as it was among the Greeks and Celts. 10 The ancient Indians walked round the funeral pyre, as Achilles drove round the pyre of Patroclus (see art. DIAKOMELATHOS). The ancient Indians also practised the rite as a cure for a sick person. 11 Possibility the idea of protecting a person with a mobile, living image behind the honour.

In Assyria, a candidate for the priesthood consort with spirits in the mountains; when he returns home, he splits a young tree and thrusts it under the stones of the temple till any spirit which may still be clinging to him will be left sticking to the tree. 12 Highlanders of Scotland used to send their sheeps through the roof of their huts to drive out the witches. 13 Similar customs are found in N. Europe and England as ovals for sacred purposes.

The Lapps wore a brass ring on the right arm by way of protection against the ghost of the dead person. 14

Frazer infers superstitions about rings—arm or finger-rings—suggesting that the idea is to keep the soul in the body. For this purpose magic cords are tied round wrist, ankle, or body among various peoples. 15

"To keep the soul in or the demons out" is a question where convergence of practices is natural. In ancient India the medical magician encircled the bed of a woman at child-birth with black pebbles to ward off demons. 16 This is in line with primitive practices mentioned above, but a suggestion of V. Henry possibly connects it with Babylonian magic: he finds in old Indian magic traces of the double pentacle, or Solomon's Seal, the famous concentric circle or magical circle, consisting of two equal and equilateral triangles, cutting each other so that the resulting segments are equal. The underlying idea may be that the pole of the star pierce the invisible enemies. 17

The Indian data alone show a connexion of this astrological element, with the Semitic, and it is from the Semitic practice that the magical circle of medieval Europe, along with a considerable body of astronomical magic, was developed. This is a remarkable case of permutation from one source. Semitic magic and its conquest of Europe may be described, not altogether fancifully, as a lefthanded compliment to Semitic religion and the conquest of Europe by the Bible.

The Babylonian texts continually refer to the euwerti, which Thompson justly identifies as "the prototype of the magical circle, possessing the properties of a vantage point." 18

The Church-priest recited over the sick an insantiation: "The (name of) Es am i . . . , the messenger of Marduk an . . . ," the one to whom I pay my respects. 19

In more detail, the sick person was safeguarded by enclosing him in the nature of a charm, for the power of the charm, or of the priest, or of the material, or of the name, or of the force which conveyed the name, or of the power that lies in the name, etc. 20

The priest first performed a ceremony of invocation in which a kid was sacrificed. He fed the kid away, and then described the circle. 21 "Enclose the man with a magic circle, and of flour of rice, surround it in a great right and left. The ban is loosed. 22 A mixture of meads, 23 and to be intended: both substances possessed virtue. "The flour of Nergal, the sard-land god" was the "base" of another ceremony, before the god Nergal, the prince described with the sacred name of the river, was winged in its nest. 24 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 described the mixture as the "set of the corn-god." 25 Similarly the Jews of Jerusalem employed the virtues of food against influences, sprinkling a mixture of flour round the bed of a person. 26 A Semitic parallel to the idea of "stripping off" passing through a ring, or arch, or other circumscribing circle is found in a cure for headaches, which consisted in a circle round a desert-plant with meal, placing it up at sunrise, and tying it on the head. When the plant was moved, the headache disappeared simultaneously. On the same principle, and, in some cases, for the same purpose, the employment of the magical circle for the conjuration of spirits is typical of the culture of these ages. The primitive Babylonian practice was now diverted from magical magic, and was applied to the evocation of elemental demons, whose aids were 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. 27 At the same time the geometrical possibilities of the circle appeared to the mathematical instincts of the scholar, and geometry perhaps owes something to magical experiments upon the circle. Kaballistic lore 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 commerce, once as the concepts of the figure, made 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, to the astronomers, the circle became, by means of astrology, a means of connexion, by means of astrology, to apply to it, and it thus became an intermediary between chemistry and astronomy, as the focus to which were attracted the infernal and supernatural 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 Hecateus circle, "i.e. a paiderbos, calls for notice, though its meaning is confused. He writes: "Hecate's circle is a golden sphere, enclosing a sphinx in the centre, turned to the east, the universe being set forth in the middle of it. They made contrivances by turning this; and they were wont to call such things teyrra, whether they have spherical or triangular or square or terrac, or round or oval, or having houses. According to this, they are the operations of the circle, or the sphere, as possessing secret power. And it is called 'Hecate's' being given another name to Hecate; and Hecate is a divinity among the Chaldeans." 28

Footnotes:
1 Fraser, in J.A.S. xvii. 83, note.
2 J. Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, New York, 1867, i. 128.
3 Fraser, in J.A.S. xvii. 51, note.
5 Servius, on Virgil, Aen. vi. 62.
6 Plutarch, De immortalitate, 207.
8 Author of the text, p. 172.
9 Phil. Soc. xvii. (1839) 329.
10 IB. xlii. (1907) 425.
11 Phil. Soc. (1849) 127.
12 TH. p. 180, 1894.
13 TH. p. 314.
14 IB. p. 3157.
16 TH. p. 92.
The account may be simply confusing the Chaldean magical circle with the Greek magical circle (πετρυλία; τυρτόλια); but, for the same reasons, sometimes triangular in shape 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 incantation was oracular, the incantations being to evoke spirits for the purpose of forcing them to predict future events. As for the Greek wheel on which the πετρυλία, wreath, was tied, there is considerable doubt as to its meaning.

The magical circle of mediaeval occultists 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 operator. The following may be considered as typical examples of the method of description and formula of blessing and of invocation. The magician, after purifying himself, collected his paraphernalia, including his magic swords, cross, crossbow, magical sword or knife, and so forth, and traced the circle, usually 9 ft. in diameter, with his wand or sword. He then blessed the circle, a typical blessing being:


The Good spirits seem to have been invoked but rarely; necromancy was also rare, though both forms of this were used, one in which the body and the other in which the shadow of the dead were the object of conjuration, and extraordinary precautions were taken in the process.

Now, it would seem that any evil spirit to the circle he could any how to control and exterminate. He knew his nature and how it was distributed to all things, its nature was such that it agrees with what it does and perhaps no spirit in the whole creation of the universe was more efficient in the circle and the quality of the spirits, and that the spirit lives only in or on. If there be any holy power of the sea, or rivers or fountains, but, in the place, it has been found that for the quality of the air and clear, and, for the spirits as to assume bodies. Let the circle be made as well as the defense of the invocant, and the confirmation of the spirit. And in the circle in the circle. And in the circle, perhaps, the names of the good spirits can be used in the way you do and be able to bind and constrain what we intend.

Characters and pentacles... frame an angular figure with the inscription of such convenient numbers as the characters suggest to themselves to our work. Furthermore, we are to be provided with lights, perfumes, ungents of our command, compounded according to the principles of the spirits by reason of their natural and celestial virtue. Holy and consecrated things to the defence of the invocant and his companions, but also serving for bonds to bind and constrain the spirits, such as holy papers, lambs, pictures, pentacles.

Barrett, Fig. 105.

Barrett, Fig. 106.


Comes, pentagrams.

Comes, pentagrams.

Comes, pentagrams.

Comes, pentagrams.

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Comes, pentagrams.
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 placed for the stations of the operator and assistants.\footnote{Waite, Occult Science, p. 60, Ceremonial Magic, p. 243f.}

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 wrote: '\textit{O quam multi vestri incensicoches circulorum et quam sensibis hominum occultas! Cum capti Draconis in Sagittario excitati, ignes agnoscimus et ignis sapienti in aqua, naturalis spiritus ad daemonias responsa venit.}'\footnote{Ibid.}

Consultation of the stars and seasons was essential. (see below in constituentia circulorum considerandique quae tempore annorum, quae horae circulorum faciatis, quae spiritus advocave velit, cui stellarum et regionis praeferentur, et quae functiones habebant.)\footnote{Ibid.}

For summoning chance spirits or seeing visions generally, a circle was made (probably at crossroads) and perfumed, and the operator had to walk round its circumference, east to west, till he was giddy.\footnote{Ibid.} For necromancy the churchyard was an appropriate site.\footnote{Ibid.} The operator wore elaborate vestments, and a ring was mounted with holy oil.

The circle was invariably obliterated on the conclusion of the operation.\footnote{Ibid.} A similar practice of destroying the traces of magical rites is regular throughout the history of magic, even in primitive cultures.

The talismans, pentacles, or seals, used freely by the magician, depended largely upon the magical circle which was described round them. Hence the practice of the large operating circle, the more concentric circles, the more potent the efficacy. Against the attacks of spirits they were very powerful, 'presiding with wonderful influence.'\footnote{Ibid.} They were exalted 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 were omitted, the death of the operator might result.\footnote{Ibid.} 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, of iron, if the planet were Mars.\footnote{Ibid.} Seals 'of the names of God' were more powerful. Others had the names of angels, such as Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, inscribed between two concentric circles. Those which may be distinguished as pentacles proper had a Solomon's Seal, designed by a circle\footnote{Ibid.}.

The most usual form had enclosed within the circle the 'table' of a planet. These tables, it is interesting to note, were 'magical squares' in the mathematical sense (see below). Each planet, and each of the other forces, had its own magical squares.\footnote{Ibid.} The Seal had an obverse and a reverse, and was the size of a large medallion.\footnote{Ibid.} 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.\footnote{Ibid.}

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 just outside the circle.\footnote{Ibid.} When a spirit appeared, it was asked to place its hands on its 'character' and swear.\footnote{Ibid.}

Medieval manuals for general use were frequently stamped with the magical circle in its numerous variations, as also were talismans of various make. The latter were effective, as a rule, only in cooperation with a ring engraved with 'characters.' This was worn on the finger, and the talisman on the arm or breast.\footnote{Ibid.} The magician's wand was sometimes planted and could be made into a circle, the ends being joined by a gold chain.\footnote{Ibid.} Described on parchment, the magical circle served as a basis for astrological calculations. This was used for prediction whenever Arabic culture penetrated. Thus in Malaysia at the present time the circle is employed for all kinds of divination. To select a lucky day for a journey or business, a circle enclosing a heptacle is used, and every alternate day is skipped. The bases of the continuous heptacle, running from a, g, p, 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.\footnote{Ibid.}

With the 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 equal number with a number is written in each, 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 radial divisions, possessing the same property as the rows in the magical square.\footnote{Ibid.}

\textbf{MAHABAN.—See HUNGARIANS.}

\textbf{MAGYARS.—See HUNGARIANS.}

\textbf{MAHĀBAN (Skṛt. mahā, 'great,' vana, Hindi, 'forest')}. A sacred town in the Mathur District of the United Provinces and Oudh, on the left bank of the river Jumna; lat. 27° 27' N., long. 70° 47' E. It is famous as the scene of the adventures of Krishna as a child.

Here and at Gokul (g.w.), as might have been anticipated, the places where the young god was attacked by the witch Pūṣānā, where he played hide-and-seek with the dairy women, where he destroyed the falling wooden mortar, and where he overcame the demons Trāṇavarta and Śaṅkata are now shown. Mahāban was, in reality, only the water-side suburb of that famous town, of which it has now appropriated much of its sanctity, possibly because Mahāban never recovered from its sack by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1017 (H. M. Elliot, \textit{Hist. of India}, London, 1897-77, ii, 438, 490). 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 temple is supposed to mean. Only one is of any importance, that dedicated to Mathurānātha, Krishna as lord of Mathurā. The most interesting building, however, is that known as Asst Khambha, 'the eighty pillars,' which has the name Chhatā after birth, and given the child (pātā) of the infant god is exhibited. In its original form it seems to have been Buddhist, and afterwards used for Hindu ceremonial, and finally converted into a Muhammadan mosque.

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MAHABHARATA

The style of the colonnades closely resembles that of the most famous building of the same class near the Ghat Mintar at Delhi (q.v.), and both buildings have been ascribed to the same age, the close of the 12th century. If a truth not yet proved, but one in which this building is that one half of the southern end consists of the shrine of a Hindu temple almost undisturbed, with the original roof still in position.

LITERATURE—The history, legend, and architecture of the MAHABHARATA have been the subject of a great number of studies, including the works of: A. A. Führer, Monument Historical Account of the Incarnations of the Hindu Deity Vishnu, in the Hindu Provinces and Caste, 1881, p. 121; 161 xvi. (1888) 427.

W. CROOKES—The MAHABHARATA is an epic poem of India in eighteen books, containing altogether about 400,000 verses of eight and eleven syllables each, although these verses are united into stanzas (called akshas and stotra) 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 HarivaTaratva—of 16,000 verses, which has additional, illustrative and partly didactic. The epic proper contains about 30,000 stanzas embedded in and embellished by moral, political, religious, and metaphysical passages and characters, the son of Lord Bākṣa, and his relations and companions, the heroes, the gods, the demons, and the characters of the epic, to which it gives the title. It is probably older in its elder parts than the Rāmāyana, and yet it is entirely much later. It is the oldest extant history of the Western (Middle) India, while the Rāmāyana belongs to the east. It celebrates Kṛṣṇa as representative of Vīśṇu on earth, while the Rāmāyana celebrates Rāma. Finally, it has not the unity of the Rāmāyana, nor was it written by one poet, as was the Rāmāyana. According to a tradition still extant in the work itself, the MAHABHARATA at first contained only 8000 stanzas and was subsequently increased to 24,000, after which it was again enlarged by the additions of numerous episodes till it reached its present size. The chief individual characters in the poem are known in part in ancient literature, but not the popular characters, to which the most remarkable feature of the epic is its didactic and moral, and nearly every character is a real or fictitious person of the time of empire, when, however exaggerated, the conquest of all India was regarded as quite a possible fact. It shows a superficial knowledge of the extreme north and south and a very imperfect knowledge of Middle India. Castes are recognized as orders of society naturally, or, rather, divinely, established (e.g., xii. 72, 297). Heterodox beliefs are freely discussed; outlandish morals are gravely reproved (e.g., viii. 46). Satī is approved, but is not regarded as imperative; the ethical 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 Vedic gods are paramount, in another the authority of Brahma is supreme; elsewhere Vīśṇu is the one great god, or Śiva alone is God and Vīśṇu is his representative. Only one late passage mentions the Brahman, Vīśṇu, and Śiva, as three forms of one god (iii. 372).

The MAHABHARATA begins with an Introduction, or Book of Beginnings, which tells how the childhood of the two brothers, Pāṇḍu and Bīśma, was spent, how they were banished by their uncle Bīśma. The former brother grows up and marries a western woman, Gāndhāri, who has a hundred sons, called Kṛṣṇa. Pāṇḍu has two wives, one of whom, Mādri, commits sati at his
death; the other, Pythā or Kuni, survives Pāndu and brings up his five children, called the Pāndus, who together are known as the five Kuni. Madri had invoked. These sons are Yudhishṭhīra (son of the god Dharmā, or Right), Bhīma (son of the wind-god), Arjuna (the chief hero of the epic, son of Indra), and the twins Nakula and Satrājanī (nephews of Yudhishṭhīra). After this introduction, which, like most childhood-recitals, is in general late, comes the 'Sātī', the title of the second āpāmvāsa (book), taken from the assembly in which the Sātī is killed. The epic draws its sub-title, Kṛṣṇa, a virgin wife, and destroy each other. The seventeenth book, 'Māniś- prasthānīka' ('Great Renunciation'), tells how the Pāndus give up their kingdom and climb to heaven by way of the northern mountains; this is supplemented by the last book of the epic proper, called 'Svāgārāloha' ('Ascent to Heaven'), describing the journey. To this is later added the Harivīrnāsī ("Genealogy of Viṣṇu"), a long account in three sections of the life and family of Kṛṣṇa as a form of Viṣṇu. It has, in part, the characteristics of a Parāšāra (q.v.), and is, without doubt, a subsequent addition, dating perhaps from the 2nd cent. B.C., though generally regarded as still older. The Pāndus are the possessor of an extensive store of philosophical and religious lore as well as a tale and as embodying important geographical and historical data. It undoubtedly reflects some real contest, which may have taken place about a mill. millennium before our era, between the Kṛṣṇa (the other epic, the Bhāgavata, extols the solar race), and derives the heroes from kings who descended from Soma, the moon-god, himself the son of the seer Atri. Buddha, who is said to have been a daughter of Ikṣvaku of the solar line. Their son was Purāvas, whose son, Ayu, was the father of Nala, the father of Āyasti, from whom came Duru and Yadu, the ancestors of all the lunar race, Yadu being the ancestor of Kṛṣṇa and Pāru being the ancestor of Bharata and Kuru, whose descendant, Śantanu, was the father of Bāla (above) by the goddess Gangā (the river Ganges). Śantanu's wife, Satrāvāra, was also the mother of Vyāsa and of Videhavirya, who died without children; but Vyāsa raised up children for him, and these were Dūrānāстра and Pāndu. If these legends be reconstructed historically with the help of the epics, the result is that a real historical background is reflected in the maze of myth. The polyandry of the Pāndus is a trait of certain hill-tribes, and is not unknown on the plains; it is undoubtedly a genuine trait of tradition. Parvati's instruction to Kṛṣṇa that a ruler race than the old and long-respected Kurus. An attempt to group the participants in the great war according to their place of origin has been made by F. E. Fargher (J.B.A., 1906, pp. 300-336, 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 one 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 doctrines of the Śākhyā philosophers in its later stages. This mixed system is represented not only in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, but in the Angūrīya and in the philosophical chapters of the twelfth and thirteenth books. The outcome of the systematic exposition in the Purāṇa is to be seen in the attempt to reconcile the terminology and basic ideas of the
Sânkhya system throughout. The chief interest of the religious doctrine lies in the insistence upon the leading deities of the worshipper and the saving grace of the supreme god (see BHAKTIVÄDA). 

Krṣṇa as a form of Viṣṇu is not revered (as later) in his child-form, nor is anything made of his being the lover of milk-maids, though both these are recognized. He is worshiped strongly in the Hariyana and later Purāṇas, and it is perhaps not unjustifiable to conclude that they did not form part of the worship as originally adopted into Brahmanism. 

Directly opposed to Krṣṇa-Viṣṇunism is the Siva-cult also found in the epic, as already indicated. This cult appears to have been set against that of the Krṣṇa-worshippers by the more orthodox upholders of Brahmanism, although neither Siva nor Krṣṇa was a Vedic god. But Siva had long been recognized as a form of the Vedic Rudra, and, though probably at first a popular god, like Krṣṇa, he was already accepted by the Brahman priests. The parts of the poem exalting Siva as All-god or as the One God are not early; on the contrary, they bear the marks of later composition and the trait so familiar, that of phallic-worship, appears only in a few late passages. As this aspect cannot be the original one, the god must have acquired the seal of respectability only by degrees, being probably repugnant to the orthodox priests of Brahmanism. The special sectarian cults or forms of worship in the Purāṇas are unknown in the epic. The cult of Viṣṇu is that of the pantheistic 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, as the theistic god and Siva as the pantheistic All-god. Each in turn claims to be maker, preserver, and destroyer; and Brahman also, though originally creator-god, becomes destroyer as well, till all three, the sectarian Krṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Siva and the older Brahmā of Brahmanism, coalesce into the 'one god with three forms,' or, as the Hindu says, 'three gods and one form.' Beside these great gods it is noteworthy that a revival of sun-worship leads to strange ejaculations (see Sun-god) and much floating out (but only late passages), probably because of the identifications of Viṣṇu with the sun on the one hand and the later Persian sun-worship on the other; for, though the epic was probably rounded out to its present size about the century or so, there is no virtual completeness in all probability as an epic two or three centuries before (by 100 B.C.), yet numerous episodes and lacunary 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 array-leader of the gods, raised far above his earlier conception. All these later additions are of priestly sectarian origin. The original lay of the Bharata war may also have been of priestly rather than of popular origin, though the two-media story is not unknown in early literature. But it was part of the business of the king's chaplain to recite laddus in his honour, and it is not impossible that the chain of the epic kings may have expanded the theme for many years. "Dying living and dead kings and their glory formed the topic of lay and eulogies. The completed Mahābhārata was intended for recital, but this was in dramatic form. The lay was pre-eminently as well as recited by the purveyors of amusements at country fairs.


MAHĀBODHI.—See GAYA.

MAHĀR, MAHĀR, MEHRA.—One of the menial or depressed castes of W. India and the Deccan, numbering 3,843,080 at the Census of 1911. Their name is very doubtfully connected with G. F. Oppert's (Ort. Indic. & Mahārāṣṭra, London, 1882, 2 vols.) Mahārāṣṭri, which see. Pārvati on the banks of the Ganges. At that time beef had become a forbidden food; and when the divine cow, Tripādi Śrīkṛṣṇa, died, the gods determined to cook and eat her body, and Mahāmuni was set to watch the pot boiling. He was as insatiable as King Alfred, and a piece of flesh fell out of the pot. Not wishing to return the dirty piece to the pot, Mahāmuni ate it; but the gods discovered the delinquency and doomed him and his descendants to live on the flesh and sinews of women (R. V. Russell, Central Provinces Ethnographic Survey, pt. ix, Allahabad, 1911, p. 34; cf. E. J. Ritz, Census Report, Bihar, 1891, p. 134 s.).

Their religion is of the primitive animistic type, with a veneer of Brahminism. In the Khandesh District they keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts, and worship the popular gods of their country—Viṣṇu, or Viṭṭhoba; Siva as Khandolā; Mahāsobh, an evil spirit who alides in an unshaped stone smeared with red lead; Bhrāra, or Siva in his terrible Bhairava form; and the Mother-goddess in the form of Ai Bhuvānī, whose image they keep in their houses. Besides these they worship snakes and the spirits of their dead ancestors (BG xii. [1880] 118 ff., xvii. [1884] 172 ff.). At a temple in Khāshīwār the Dheis worship what is really an image of Viṣṇu reposing on his serpent Sesā as Hānī, who is said to have been a deified woman of the caste. Women who are unable to nurse their babies and owners of cows which give a scanty supply of milk use the popular god of that milk if their milk be increased (BG xiii. [1884] 415).

In the Central Provinces the great body of the caste worship the ordinary gods Dev, Hanumān, and others, though, of course, they are not allowed to enter Hindu temples. They primarily observe the Hindu festivals of the year and the days of the new and full moon. On the festival of Nāgāpanchamī they make an image of a snake with flour and mix it with a sweet and eat it. At the sacred bathing place of Mahār they have a special bathing-gāh set apart for them, and they may enter the cleanness rule as far as the body goes, but may not go up to the temples: here they worship the god and think that he accepts their offerings. They are thus permitted to
travers the outer enclosures of the citadel, which are also sacred to the Mahádeva. In many cases the touch of the shrine of Mahádeva, but must stand before them with their hands joined. Then in Berar they worship a curious collection of deities, among whom are included the archangels Gabriel, Azrael, Michael, and Anâdîn, all of whom, they say, come from Pândharpur. In Berar the worship of these archangels was probably borrowed from the Mânavamsa; but in Gujarât it was apparently taken from Christianity.

It seems that the attraction which outside faiths exercise on the adherents of the old religions is due to the social degradation under which they labour, itself an outcome of the Hindu theory of caste. Hence they turn to Islam 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 Mahârâjas equality with his co-religionists, and 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 Mahârâjas are the warmest adherents of the Muhammadan Saint Sheikl Farîd, and flock to the fairest held in his honour at Girîr in Wâhâba and Fratîghâr in Bâhûrâ, where he is supposed to have slain a couple of giants (Ruschen, p. 767).

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities quoted in the art. see Census Report, Central Provinces, 1901, i, 182, Bombay, 1911, i, 577; Anjum, Ethnography, "Gujarat P. L. i, S. Bombay, 1912, p. 761.

W. CROOK.

MAHATMA.—See THEOSOPHY.

MAHÁVASTU.—The Mahávastu, one of the most noteworthy books of Buddhist antiquity, is a huge confused compilation of legends on the origin and development of Buddhism in the life of its founder (up to the gift of the ājataśatru) 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. Beside the stories proper, there is a treasure, which is also traditional, an enormous mass of játakas (birth-stories) and tales, certain dogmatic speculations (see below, § 3), intermittently interspersed with digressions, mere padding—two, three, four accounts and more of the same episode, from different sources, sometimes contradictory, sometimes following one another, sometimes scattered through the book; doctealled into order, dismembered, incalculated.

The interest attaching to the Mahávastu is of many kinds: (1) it is a book of vinaya (discipline) of one of the ancient sects, and its history, so far as it can be traced, is instructive; (2) it is a vast repository of legend and folklore, which, when compared with Pali literature, was also inexhaustible, and the common property of the Maháyâna and the Maháyâna, and (4) its language, too, deserves attention.

1. History and contents.—The Mahávastu, or, according to the colophon (which is open to suspicion), Mahávastu-Kathà, claims to be a part of the Vinaya-pitaka, of the ‘recitation’ (i.e. the canon) of the Lokottaravadin Mahâsâghikas of the Madhyadesa.

(1) The Mahâsâghikas are one of the old sects or branches of the Order, the other branch being that of the Sthaviras or Theras (see sects (Buddhist)); from the beginning it probably had special rules of vinaya, or discipline. (2) The expression Lokottaravadin, ‘believer in the supernatural character of the bodhisattvas’ (see below, § 3, a), indicates a dogmatic school. It is possible that there were Mahâsâghikas who were not Lokottaravadin. It would not be difficult to prove from the Mahávastu the passage which have a Lokottaravadin tendency. (3) The Madhyadesa, or ‘middle country’, of the Buddhists comprises N. India, Magadha, Kosala, and Videha; but there were Mahâsâghikas outside of the Madhyadesa, notably the Pûrâsâlas and the Aparâsâlas, who were also Lokottaravadin.

In order to understand the word mahávastu and to see how the Mahávastu, 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 (Vinaya) was from the beginning composed of two parts: (1) the formula of confession (pratîtipada, pratîmokkha), a list and explanation of grave and venial transgressions 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 Sarvastivadin school this commentary is called Piṭaka Vinaya; (2) the statutes of the Order, a collection of the texts (karmavâkyâ, karmavâcha) relating to ecclesiastical acts (ordination, sightly consecration, etc.) and of rules referring to ordination, consecration, the vajra-stick, the body during the rainy season, to parishes, medicines, beds, and scisms. These texts and rules were also embedded in a historical commentary. In the Pañcin they are divided into two sections (khandhâ-ka), in which chapters or books (partly the Great Yagga and the ‘Little Yagga’ (Mahâvagga and Chullavagga), the latter being devoted to subsidiary questions. There is the same division in the chronicles of the Sarvastivadins, under different titles; the Kṣatriyapakâga (consisting of ‘point of discipline or doctrine’, ‘story’, corresponding to the Chullavagga, and the Vinaya-vastu, which, although it does not bear the title ‘Great’, corresponds to the above.a Since a monastic exhibition of the Mahâvagga (and the Vinaya-vastu) 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 imbued as an introduction to the vastu 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. of the Vinaya-vastu (which is, as we have said, the Mahâvagga of the Sarvastivadins), who came long afterwards, took far more liberties: in the first ten chapters their work preserves the character of a historical composition of innumerable documents on the history of theusters of Buddhist tradition; (3) the Mahávastu, from the point of view of the individual of ordination, marks a period in the history of the Mahávagga and the Vinaya-vastu (which is, as we have said, the Mahâvagga of the Sarvastivadins), who came long afterwards, took far more liberties: in the first ten chapters their work preserves the character of a historical composition of innumerable documents on the history of the Maháyâna, and the Maháyâna, and (4) its language, too, deserves attention.

1 Barth, Journal des Savants, 1899, pp. 463, 422.

2 The Mahávastu is often cited as Mahávastu, and the Mahâsâghikas as Mahâsâghikas, without the article. Bodhisattva, indicates a dogmatic school. It is possible that there were Mahâsâghikas who were not Lokottaravadin. It would not be difficult to prove from the Mahávastu the passage which have a Lokottaravadin tendency. (3) The Madhyadesa, or ‘middle country’, of the Buddhists comprises N. India, Magadha, Kosala, and Videha; but there were Mahâsâghikas outside of the Madhyadesa, notably the Pûrâsâlas and the Aparâsâlas, who were also Lokottaravadin.

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implies that the book was, like the Mahāvagga and the Vinayavagga, meant to be a history of discourses. As a matter of fact, of thirteen hundred pages about twenty treatise of discipline (especially at the beginning, two lines on ordination), and certain parallelsisms with the Mahāvagga cannot be mistaken; e.g., there is a series of stages of life in the Mahāvagga which is paralleled in the Tibetan Vinayavagga (Barth, loc. cit. p. 404). But, on the whole, the Mahāvastu is a collection of legends without any connexion with discipline.

One can easily understand how a primitive Mahāvastu, a historical treatment of discipline, would be fed (Barth says naurus) 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 Mahāvastu. This task of enlarging and rearranging would, if it had been wound up in the Mahāsūraṇa, we may suppose, that it had no shelves in which the jātakas, euttaras, and stanzas would be arranged. The only course was to gather together in the Mahāvastu all that seemed relevant.

The development of the Mahāvastu, 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 Mahāvastu systematically cut away the elements of vinaya already sunk in the legendary mass? Or that, in the fearful disorder in which the literature of the Mahāsūraṇa was wobbling, these elements fell into the void? On this point, that the Mahāvastu 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 Dīrapāṇada. E. Rüher (and after him S. Levi) has proved that this book is, above all, a collection of anecdotes and legends taken from the Vinaya of the Śrāvastī sect. The extracts have not always been very consistently, and some fragmentary non-disciplinary rules—see to be found the Dīrapāṇada. The history of the Mahāvastu is probably similar. The colophon gives it the name of Mahāvastu-amadita: it is to be thought that the narrative part of the Mahāvastu is derived from the Mahāvagga. In the Pali Vagga the various episodes are linked to the history of the second Sangha, the first or second generation; those, with some exception, are wanting in the Mahāvastu. So those same episodes which in the Mahāvagga and the Chatuvatthu are more or less prolix and discursive chapters of a treatise of discipline are here mere narratives, which end by making the Mahāvastu a book of stories.

However this may be, the materials which have entered into the composition of the Mahāvastu are of widely different ages; the source of the compilation is certainly ancient, since it forms part of the canon of one or more 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 completed until very late. The mention of astrologers under a Western name (kordopaṭika) and that of the writer of the Chinese account of the Hsun Ki Pellya (Felix I), Ujjivahanka (Uzbek I), indicate the 4th or 5th century. At that date, however, the persistence, in the prose, of the ecclesiastical jargon, which will be discussed below (§ 4), is an argument for an older date. Moreover, the late interpolations and carry the date of the compilation a little further back. In order to realize the character of this compilation, it must be

2. Comparison with Pali canon.—There are numerous parallel passages in the Mahāvastu and Pali literature. Minayeff, Oldenberg, above all Senart and Barth, and, lastly, Windisch, have called attention to the fact that Mahāvagga passages which seem to be marks of sect are rare. We are able to study the unsettled state 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 events from simple community of subject and vague resemblance to complete identity. The latter, however, is rarely attained, and never for long. The similarity, especially in the verses, is to a large extent to an earlier one; it is shown in mode of expression, in general assurance, in words more than in matter, in sounds more than in words; the stana 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 example of the fragments as well as for the detail of their rendering, it is the Pali that is in the biggest, and that gives the best representation of the original version.

It is well known that all the comparisons set up between the Pali canon and the other canons arrive at the same conclusion. The Pali writings were fixed and codified first.

3. Relation to Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.—The Mahāvastu may be said to form the bridge between the Old Vehicle and the New. As is seen in art, Mahāyāna, the two vehicles are not incompatible, and the book may present certain characteristics peculiar to the Pali literature while remaining unaccompanied with the others.

1) The 'Buddhology' of the Mahāvastu marks a stage between the conception of Buddha as a simple mortal (Little Vehicle) and that of Buddha as a quasi-eternal god among infinite beings found down to this world (Great Vehicle). The Buddha of the Mahāvastu is a superman. He feels neither hunger 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 world (lokottarastana), that he behaves as a man, or that he gives to men the false impression that he is behaving as a man. In technical terms, he is lokaśāsa, superior to the world.

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 Sarvastivādin, who are reputed to be free from Mahāyānism, 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 Mahāvastu, entitled Dao-tshul-mik, the book of the ten bhūmis—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 Dao-tshul-mik ought to be set forth . . . for they will believe; the other will only cæli. (I. 195).

The Mahāvastu, therefore, has incorporated a book which is addressed, in so many words, to those who wish to become, not arhats, but Buddhas, i.e., to the men who enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas, the Mahāyāna.

1 Barth, loc. cit. p. 634.
2 Barth, loc. cit. p. 634.
3 S. Levi, op. cit. p. 207.
4 Barth, loc. cit. p. 639.
5 Ith, p. 627.
6 The text says that his body is mūrojñāna, 'mind-made.' This expression has been discussed by E. Schumann. According to the Abhidhammakośa, it means, not 'mental body,' body formed in the mind, but 'body created by the mind;' without intervention of seed and blood. Such is the body of the creatures called supapariṣtro, 'apparitional,' one of whose characteristics is that it leaves no trace.
7 Several other instances of Mahāyānist tendency are discussed by Senart and Barth (loc. cit. p. 585). Different interpretations may be suggested from that of these two scholars for
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On the other hand, Amitābha, Avalokita, Mañjuśrī, the dārāçā (spell), and the śāyāvatā (voidness)—and, we may add, karuṇā (compassion)—are unknown in the Mahāyāna, which remains 'a book of the Hinayāna in its mythological and legendary elements', as K. W. Schindler (pp. 259 ff.), and which is really Mañjuśrīnāsti only in the considerable interpolation of the Daśabhūmikā. 1

4. Language.—The ancient religious literatures of India—with the exception of the Brahmanic—were written in popular and archaic dialects. In course of time these dialects became 'fixed languages,' subject to rules. This happened with the Jains (avardhanyāgārhi), and with the church which was afterwards that of Ceylon (Pali). The Buddhist school of the Sarvāstivādins adopted Sanskrit, and Sanskritized both the ancient nomenclature and the traditional texts in prose and in verse. The language of the Mahāśāṅkha school remained 'in an unsettled state; it was neither Sanskrit nor Pāli, nor any of the known Prākritis, but an arbitrary and unstable mixture of all these.'

It is a literary language, says Smart, and it is certain that it was no longer (i.e. at the time of the compilation of the Mahāyāna) a spoken language, and not less certainly that, for several centuries and after that time, inscriptions and books were written in much the same way. But, in the Mahāyāna, there is a shibboleth. At bottom, there is undoubtedly the substance of a real idiom, akin to that of the most ancient inscriptions and to that which has come to us so admirably from the Buddhist texts of the Mahāyāna. At bottom, there is undoubtedly the substance of a real idiom, akin to that of the most ancient inscriptions and to that which has come to us so admirably from the Buddhist texts of the Mahāyāna.

Such is the language of the Mahāyāna in the present state of the text—more Prākrit in the poetry than in the prose, and extremely interesting for the linguistic history of India. This language is the language of the śīla, because it was first studied in the books of the Great Vehicle, the prose parts of which are in Sanskrit or quasi-Sanskrit, and the verses or stanzas (gāthās) in this peculiar jargon. This difference of treatment does not exist in the Mahāyāna, which, in the Sanskritisms seem to be unconscious.

5. The Mahāyāna asserts that salvation can be quickly gained; but it is a vehicle drawn by deer (arṇḍarātra). It prospers, when duly practised, in nirvāṇa in this existence (dṛṣṭānāma). One has to become an arhat, i.e. a sasana (q.e.), a man free from desire and lust. In fact, the arhat has already obtained nirvāṇa, the nirmāna called sādāhātra, the liberation from desire and lust, the machinery of life continuing automatically until it runs down.

It is mysticism, and a perfectly coherent mysticism. 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 is consciousness in contemplation (dārāçā = 'right', 'truthful'), and meditation (bhāṣya) in the four truths: everything is painful, etc. These four truths may be summarized in a philosophical doctrine: what we call the 'sun,' or the 'ego,' is only a complex of innumerable, etc. (abādhya), which endures by means of desire (or thirst) alone; and an ethical doctrine: desire can be rooted out and the consequences of action can be suppressed by meditations which enunciate and deliver from existence.

(3) Although the Buddha is neither a god nor a supernatural being, he is nevertheless very different from the other saints. The saints, like the Buddha, have attained nirvāṇa in this life, because they have attained bodhi ('illuminized'); but it was the Buddha who discovered the truth of salvation which potentially contains bodhi, and who showed the 'path'; and he was able to do so because in the course of his innumerable existences, with a view to saving humanity, he accumulated good works and acquired infinite 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 Abhidharma-kosha employs the term. Veneration of relics, stupas, etc., is useful and recommendation, if it is good, is helpful; as penance (tapas) is, but it is not essential.

(5) Ancient Buddhism is not merely a vehicle of nirvāṇa; it also teaches how to be re-born in heaven or hell.

Three Vehicles are usually distinguished: (1) the Vehicle of the Srāvakas, (2) the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, (3) the Vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. The first two together constitute the Little Vehicle, the third the Great Vehicle (see E. Burnouf, Le Lotus de la bonne loi, Paris, 1872, pp. 32, 316, 390; H. Kern, Geschichte des Buddhismus, Munich, 1888, p. 41, Indian cosmology, meaning ‘human’, ed. F. Max Müller and H. Wendt, Oxford, 1888, p. 11, and excerpts on p. 52; E. J. Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, London, 1888, a.j., Tipitaka; ed. C. Buddhaghosa, PTS, London, 1888, Commentary, p. xx, where the Srāvakas-Pratyekabuddhas are opposed to the Samskāramahāviśeṣas. There is no difference between the Vehicle of the Srāvakas and that of the Pratyekabuddhas; both arrive at the same bodhi, or illumination, and the same nirvāṇa; but, while the Srāvakas appear at a time when the Law of the Buddhahood is known, profit by the teaching of others, the Pratyekabuddhas attain bodhi themselves at a time when the Law of the Buddhas has disappeared; while the Srāvakas preach (preceptual) law, translated ‘teacher’, means rather ‘preacher’ (see SBE xi, Buddharmacaparājika, iv. 50), the Pratyekabuddhas do not convert, therefore, to enter the Vehicle of the Srāvakas. There are still other differences, e.g., they are of no importance to the Vehicle of salvation (see Abhidharma-kosha, iii, Pr. tr., London, 1883, p. 109, and notes; Chandakritika, Mahāyānāsastra (Pr. tr., Munson, new ser., vili. [1907] 2 ff., quoting literary authorities). It is marked that the Srāvakas and the Ven. Mahāyāna and the Pratyekabuddhas be in the Little Vehicle (Hinayāna g. 3)

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’ (lokottaravāna), the ‘path leading to nirvāṇa’. But whereas the latter is a sīlas of a brāhmaṇa, yāna, and this fact explains the diversity of definitions and the evident difficulty in which early writers—e.g., the Chinese pilgrims—found themselves when they tried to explain the difference between the Little and the Great Vehicle. The Great Vehicle consists of (1) the practice of the virtues (pāramitās) of a bodhisattva or future Buddha (i.e. pāramitāyāna [nayana] or bodhisattvayāna); by it one becomes a bodhisattva (bodhisattva); (2) the gain of knowledge of nirvāṇa (prajñāyāna or jīvānāṃjñā); (3) devotion; (4) it is the path of devotion (bhaktimārga).

(1) Career of the bodhisattva. The books which portray the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna sūtras) tend to assert that nirvāṇa cannot be attained by the ancient method. To obtain deliverance from desire, ignorance, and existence it is necessary to practice all the virtues and acquire all the knowledge of the Buddha, to enter on the career of a future Buddha (bodhisattvarūpā) and pursue it for centuries. Instead of ‘Great Vehicle’, it may therefore be called ‘Vehicle of the future Buddha’ (bodhisattvayāna), 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 Buddhas’ although married. Nothing, however, prevents monks from making the ‘vow to become Buddhas’; by this vow they mount the ‘Vehicle of the future Buddhas’, but by their union they bring themselves to the ‘course of the Buddhas’, and form part of one of the disciplinary schools of the Srāvakas. Young monks often take the vows of monks, and, after acquiring merit in this way for a time, renounce them in order to take the vows of a full career.

(2) Vacuity. The books that treat of philosophy explain that the ancient dogma, ‘The soul is nothing but a complex of transitory elements (skandha),’ 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, and it is good, it is helpful; as penance (tapas) is, but it is not essential.

(5) Ancient Buddhism is not merely a vehicle of nirvāṇa; it also teaches how to be re-born in heaven or hell.

The doctrine of vacuity (śūnyātā) is the second characteristic of the Great Vehicle. A layman or a monk can perform the vow to become a Buddha without thinking out the doctrine of vacuity. The ‘theologians’ 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. Some texts even explain that, if the doctrine of vacuity is really indispensable to the attainment of nirvāṇa, it is sufficient, without the career of the future Buddha.

(3) Devotion. The characteristic of the Great Vehicle is the worship of the Buddhas and ‘future Buddhas’ of high rank (see art. BODHISATTVA).

The Buddhas are great gods, almost eternal, who sit upon thrones in heavens surrounded by saints, and send ‘magic bodies’ down to earth in the paradise of this god, the blissful world (Sukhāvati), the western paradise, by the grace of the god and with the help of the holy sants Avalokitēṣvara, etc.

This Mahāyāna, purely devotional and with monistic tendencies, is not a ‘Vehicle of future Buddhas’. In the books discussing it (Sukhāvatisūtra, etc.) there is practically no reference to nirvāṇa. This Vehicle is a Buddhist form of the Hindu Mahāviṣṇu, or devotion. Bodhita must be accompanied by highly orthodox acts of worship, which are recommended in the Hinayāna: worship of stūpas, images in honor of the Buddha, abstinence from food before worshipping Buddha, etc. For the Mahāyāna Mahāvīṣṇu is held to be the lord of the heavens, it declares that rites efficac sin, and attributes salutary virtue to the reading of the srūpa and the repetition of the name of the Buddha—which is not quite orthodox.

It is to be noticed that the worship of Buddha, Tārā, etc., is compatible with the strict orthodoxy, as has been remarked in regard to Jāra, which is very idolatrous and yet attached to the Hinayāna.

3. Vedantic and Tautric Vehicle. The Mahāyāna, as analyzed 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 pantheism and polytheism led to conceptions of immortality and monism. In the days of Asanga (A.D. 4th cent.) men believed in an Ādībuddha (g. 5) who would play the part of Brahmā in his various aspects, divine, or Kṛṣṇa incarnate. These speculations upon immanence and emanation, which often mingle with the doctrines of the Mahāyāna proper,
are the basis of the 'Vehicle of formulae' (mantrarāja), the 'diamond method' (vajrayāna), also called the 'Tantric Vehicle' (tantrarāja). This Vehicle is Vedānta in Buddhist disguise as regards its doctrine, and Saivite and pagan as regards its mythological elements, names and its rites. Its goal is the condition of a Buddha, its doctrine that (1) every being is, in his innmost nature, a Buddha, and (2) every being can, by meditation, spells, Tantras, and therapeutic practices of all kinds (often erotic), 'realize' the Buddha nature at little expense (see TANTRISM).

4. Is the Mahayana the only Vehicle?—This is an interesting question and worthy of our attention. Do the Mahayana teachers regard the Mahayana as the only Vehicle of salvation? I-tsing's remarks may be accepted as giving the general opinion:

'These two systems (Mahāyāna and Hinayāna) are perfectly in accordance with the noble doctrine (of the Buddha) . . . Both equally conform to truth and lead alike to Nirvāna.'

But the scholastic literature and the Mahāyāna-sūtras of course differ and often narrow their views. Maitrey-a-Asanga says that 'the meditation of the Mahāyāna (of the Hinayāna) seems impracticable, leads to salvation'; 2 but for Śāntideva it is only a question of truth, and its followers are completely upon a path that has no issue; 3 Chandrakīrti sees no value in the Hinayāna except its teaching of 'vacuity' (see MAHĀYĀNA, p. 352), whereas there are old sūtras which proclaim vacuity (Sanyatapratisamayukta) in an extreme case orhatship and nirvāṇa may be attained by meditation on these sūtras. 4 In an extreme case, we say, because the Hinayāna has no part in the spiritual aids that are reserved for the future Buddha; he does not have the 'great means' (upaya) of salvation, compassion, great knowledge, great compassion (maitreyāraja), i.e. the desire and the vow to save all creatures: the possession of wisdom (prajñā) is unavailing, since he lacks the 'great means' of remission of sins and elimination of passion. In fact, there is only one Vehicle, as the Lotus of the True Law (p. 353) and several sūtras teach very clearly. The only way to salvation is to become a Buddha. But this demands a long career; so the Buddha has shown men a nearer goal, the nirmāṇa of the arhat, that they may not lose heart—like a caravan-leader who creates a magpie town in the midst of the forest, far from the end of the journey, that the travellers may think it nearer their destination, and take heart to advance. 5 The men who mount the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas and Śramanas is a mere preparation of the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas; embracing a false nirvāṇa, they are like a lover who embraces his mistress's corpse; they have, however, nearer to the true nirvāṇa. At death, they falsely think that they have attained deliverance and exemption from re-birth; they are not re-born, for they are not yet delivered, but they are re-born beyond the world (tridhatu), in the 'pure realm' (anantaravātāra), in lomasas which open their petals to the rays of Amitābha and other Buddhas. There they learn the true Vehicle, make the bodhi vowe, and enter, through numerous lives, upon the career to the true Buddhas. 6

The Chinese texts studied by J. J. M. de Groot (Codex du Mahāyāna en Chine, Amsterdam, 1886, p. 94) reduce the Hinayāna to the observation of monastic rules, taking no notice, either purposely or through ignorance, of all the Noble Path and meditation on the truth. They say that the Little Vehicle, thus understood, leads to re-birth in the very inferior paradises of the world of Rama (see CONVIVAS and DOWSON) and determines the birth of a Vehicle that leads to the gods (deva-śramaṇa, according to de Groot's translation), and not a Vehicle of salvation.

5. Speculatively the doctrines of the Mahāyāna.—These are examined in the arts of MAHĀYĀNA and VİJÑĀNA-VIVĀDA, which discuss the two chief philosophical schools of the Great Vehicle. The doctrines connected with the 'career of the future Buddha' (bodhisattvaraschna) and BODHISATTVA are shown in the texts, while BODHISATTVA is a very serious difficulty to be added to the technical of meditations; but the works on the subject (Abhisamayālaṃkāra, Bodhisattvavibhāga) have not been published, and present very serious difficulties.

6. Discipline (Vinaya) of the Mahāyāna.—The Indian schools of devotion (bhakta) are often not strict as regards morality and discipline. There existed, accordingly, i.e. Mahayana, inclining to Tantrism, which preached salvation and the remission of sins by the recitation of formulae, etc., independently of rules of conduct.

But there is also a rigid Mahāyānins monachism, sometimes adhering to the ancient Vinayas, sometimes introducing new ones. 6

(1) The Abhidharma-kosāstra says: 7

'The Bodhisattva (i.e. an adept of the Great Vehicle) begins to think: 'The Bodhisattva does not require to know the law which forms part of the Hinayana; he need not make it a rule for himself. What is the use of this rule? What is the use of this rule?'—if he thanks in this way, he is guilty of error, and renders himself very culpable.'

Śāntideva speaks in the same strain: 8

'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 formulae, while abandoning the rules of conduct.'

One fully realizes I-tsing's statement: 9

'Which of the eighteen schools [of the Hinayana] should be grouped with the Mahayana or with the Hinayana is not yet determined . . . Both (Mahayana and Hinayana) adopt one and the same discipline (Vinaya).'

Monks and convents practising the strict monastic observance of the ancient Vinayas adopted the dogmas and worship of the Mahayana; Yuan Chwang therefore mentions monks who were Mahayanaists of the Buddhavira-school and all perfect in Vinaya observance. 10 It has been supposed that the Vinaya of the ancient Maḥāyāna sect was the most popular in Mahayana convents, because it was a Mahayana convent that Fa Hian found the Maḥāsāṃghika Vinaya, 11 because the Mahayanaists have to have been the forerunners of the Mahayana. 12

(2) The Mahayana apparently introduced into the discipline some new rules concerning the use of milk and meat. The Sarvastivādins (Hinayana) allowed the use of meat under certain conditions; the Mahayanaists condemned it. I-tsing tells us a touching story of a young Mahayanaist, Chittavarn, who was refused ordination in a Mahayana convent until he renounced, in tears, his principles of diet. 13

Sooner or later, however, the Mahayana created a new Vinaya for itself—a Vinaya that was independent of the ancient Vinayas, that had a different purpose in view and that could be and was often


8. A Bodhisattvavibhāga-kahāna, p. 106 of Poussin's MS, on Abhidharma-khaṇḍa, xxxvij. 2, who allies the Lokottaravatāra, the Ratnagotra, Nāgarjuna, etc.

9. A Bodhisattvavibhāga-kahāna, p. 106 of Poussin's MS, on Abhidharma-khaṇḍa, xxxvij. 2, who allies the Lokottaravatāra, the Ratnagotra, Nāgarjuna, etc.
expected to be, used together with the ancient Vinaya. The ancient Vinaya were for the use of monks; the Mahāyāna Vinaya is the 'Vinaya of the future Buddha', or more exactly, 'of incipient future Buddhas' (ākārākrodhī bodhisattva).

(a) It was while making the Bodhisattva, Boddhisattva, prostrating himself at the feet of a Buddha, became a 'future Buddha'; this vow is valid, not only for present existence, but also for numerous future existences, like the voice of the wind which creates the divine line (śāntamātra), 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 content to take the 'disciple of a son of Buddha' (vijñāntimāsānāvara) before a qualified person (śrīvarika), or, in the absence of such, before all the Buddhas of the quarters.1 (b) The future Buddha must perfect the perfect virtues (parānityā); theologians have therefore to explain how he is to fulfil the virtues of giving, energy, and meditation. (c) He commits errors; he must know how to confess them, before whom (i.e. Buddha, or Bodhisattva, or the divine line that obtains parānityā). (d) The ancient devotional practices, worship of stūpas, etc., are not sufficient for devotees of Avalokita, Amṛtābha, and Tāra; fixed rules of worship are therefore established.

We have no exact information 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 Brahma-kūṭa (tr. de Groot, Codex du Mahāyāna en Chine), and in the Daily Manual of the Shaṅgāna (S. Beal, A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, London, 1871, p. 239). The ritual of the office in honour of Avalokita (Beal, Catena, p. 386) indicates the nature of the cult.

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 adscribed solely to the monastic code of the Mahāyāna (the type given in de Groot, Codex du Mahāyāna en Chine), which became a complete code in itself, a conglomeration of different Vinayas. Finally, it is partly to the influence of the Hinayāna and return to the world; the Great Vehicle favoured this tendency inasmuch as it had a special code of the future Buddha for the use of married people. It is understood, however, that ordination for the bhikṣuhood can be granted only to persons who are at least Upāsakas, devotees, who have taken the three reñeges and are ritually bound by the five vows (not to kill, etc.).

The relative importance of duties for monks who are at the same time 'future Buddhas' is not always clear. I-tsing declares that he is not writing 'concerning those who claim to follow the practice of a Bodhisattva rather than the Vinaya rules. Sántideva 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 requirement of benevolence and kindness that is the essential law of future Buddhas.1 For them the sins of hatred are very serious, while the sins of desire are trivial. The very spirit of the Mahāyāna, therefore, may perhaps be responsible for the singular development of Kasmir monasticism, viz. married monks.2

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 'quest of the quality of arhat'; in other words, the substitution of the bodhisattva, who might be a layman, for the bhikṣu, 'monk'; (2) the substitution of the doctrine of the void (śūnyatā) or of the 'non-existence in themselves of the constituent elements of things and of the human ego' (prakāramāraṇa-taya), superimposed upon the doctrine of the 'non-existence in itself of the human ego' (prakāramāraṇa-taya); and (3) the transformation of the Buddhas into great mythological gods, almost inhuman in their power of reaching out to and helping, providences; and, by a parallel development, the practice of devotion (bhakti) towards these 'great beings' (mahāsattva) instead of the respect and meditation practised by the ancients towards the Buddha; thus the language of the Buddha, what was formerly rendered in the Buddha, what men 'took refuge in' (stavayogana) when taking refuge in the Buddha, was the complex of the moral and intellectual qualities of which a Bodhisattva is capable. To admire and meditate on these qualities is an excellent means of gaining morality, tranquility, virāga. 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 would be bodhisattvas to strive for the career of a future Buddha. This is a fundamental change from the dogmatic point of view, and involves a corresponding change in morality: in short, the monk believed that the quickest way to reach nirvāṇa was by meditation; he worked entirely for himself (avatāra); the activity of the future Buddha, on the contrary, is, above all, altruistic (śrāvaka). Our literary evidence on the stages of this transformation 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 insensitive ego, the extent of insensibility, appeared mean when compared to the Buddha, the being of compassion and pity. Hence the 'saint for himself,' the 'delivered while
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 so many lives consecrated to the work of the individual, is an essential element in ancient Buddhism; towards the doctrine of the 'career of the bodhisattva' open to all.\(^1\)

(2) The question arose, further, whether the bodhisattva actually obtains nirvāṇa. Formerly the arhat was considered as one, not only 'morality,' 'harmlessness,' but also 'feelings of benevolence' for the mass of human creatures, as it is only just, to mention, but his 'equipment of merit' 'appeared somewhat drab,' and we may suppose that men were even then tempted to ask whether his 'equipment of knowledge' was sufficient. Metaphysics and psychology had made progress. Many existences are necessary, they may have said, to obtain 'knowledge' sufficient for deliverance; just as, in order to achieve deliverance from desire, love of self, and love of existence, the first necessity is devotion to others.

(3) It is possible, also, that faith in nirvāṇa was shaken, that, not knowing exactly what nirvāṇa was, men were somewhat afraid of it, and devoted their attention rather to the acquisition of celestial powers and the bliss of the Bodhi (now transformed into very happy and long-lived personalities) (see below, \(2\)).

The Dāsabuddhaṁika, a very technical work on the 'career of the future Buddha,' was translated into Chinese between A.D. 295 and 316; the Mahāvastu (q.v.) of much earlier origin, gives a lengthy account of the stages or degrees (bhūmi) of this career. According to Chandrakirti (Mādhyamakavatāra), the Hinayāna knows nothing of the 'Vehicle of the Future Buddha,' which is the characteristic trait of the Mahāyāna.

2. Vacuity.—We have more extensive information on the philosophical doctrine. Here we are dealing with a philosophy rather than with a transformation: (1) the principles of analysis and speculative amplification applied by ancient Buddhism to the ego and the great unities (the body, the chariot) were now applied to the dharmas (elements of things); the minute elemental realities constituting the ego and the great unities; this is the Madhyamika system (see art. MADHYAMAKA); and (2) the ancient idealist tendencies developed which saw in thought the cause of all: 'All that we have thought is the result of what we have thought, the object of our thoughts, it is made up of our own reflections and thoughts.' (Dhammapada, i. [SBE x. (1898) 3]. Hence the conclusion that matter does not exist; thought alone exists.\(^2\)

The two philosophical schools of the Mahāyāna (Mādhyamikas and Viśṇuvādins) are both in line with the most ancient tradition. Nagārjuna, the great master of the former, is placed in the 2nd cent. A.D.; but there is a great deal of Mādhyamika philosophy in the Pali canon, and the sūtras of the Prajñāpāramitā, where this philosophy is predominant, are ancient.\(^3\) Chandrakirti establishes the fact that the true doctrine of the void was known to the Hinayāna, or, to be more exact, that the Buddha had already taught this doctrine in his first revelation, in the sūtras of the Hinayāna. But it will be asked, if this Vehicle, the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, teaches the non-existence of themselves in the elements of the ego (dharmas), is it possible, where is the need of the Mahāyāna? The Mahāyāna, replies Chandrakirti, teaches not only the dharmas, but also the stages of the career of the future Buddha, the perfection of merit, the resolutions or vows to save all creatures, the application of merit to the acquisition of the quaternity of Buddha, the great compassion (Mādhyamakavatāra, tr. in Macleod, new ser., viii. 272), whereas the Mahāyāna was necessary.

3. Devotion.—As regards the deification of Buddhahs and worship of Buddhhas and bodhisattvas, we have a sure date in the Chinese translation (between A.D. 118 and 170) of the Sudhodana Sūtra, the book in which the monothist religious of Amitābha (see above, I. 2. (3)) is formulated.\(^4\) The Gandhāra monuments, the exact date of which is not known, but which is certainly later than the last cent. A.D., take us back even further than the earliest date of the Chinese translation. They show, or at least must be held to show, the worship of the bodhisattvas associated with that of the Buddhhas.\(^5\)

On the other hand, we know from the commentaries of the Hinayāna that the worship of the Buddha is of great antiquity. In the art of ADI BUDDHA the present writer has mentioned some of these documents, and although he no longer sees in certain passages the quasi-deification of the Buddha which he saw in 1908 he show that the Buddhists, or at least certain Buddhists, came to the conclusion that Sakyamuni did not descend in person to the earth, but was content to send his message (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 Kālidāvatītha 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 the real devotion 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 this basis, Sakyamuni as a Buddha, Buddha as a real person, Buddha as a person who, through his own efforts, attained the highest perfection of knowledge, the highest true state of existence, the highest happiness. This is the origin of the devotion to the Buddha as a real 'puzzle' (Max Müller), and this idea is to be found in the influence of the 'barbarians,' notably the Manicheans—a influence which is exercised especially in Northern India, the Punjab, and Kashmir, where religious statues reached their highest point. The pre-historic mythology of the Great Vehicle is replete in obscurity, and the foundation of this hypothesis; but the comparisons to which attention has been called up to the present have little value and do not prove that Amithābha is an Alacrana Māra or a cosmic god. In any case it is useless to explain the worship of the Buddha by the influence of Greek sculpture which followed, the one of the first to make images of Buddhas. The whole 'Buddhhism' is a mystery.

\(^1\) See the tr. of Max Müller and Takakusu in SBE xic. (1894).

\(^2\) See A. Fouche, L'Art grécoc-buddhique, ii., who deals with the definition of Greek sculpture with precision, as well as with the definition of the great statue of Buddha and their date.

\(^3\) Bull. de l'École françois, d'Études Orient., xi. 442.

\(^4\) See Pouxon, Bouddhisme, Opinions sur la dogmatique, p. 368.
religion of Amîtâbha is Indian; the belief in the providence of Amîtâbha, in his saving grace, and in the idea of the Pure Land, is little in common with ancient Buddhism, but is excellent ReâÂ mism. The paradise of the Pure Land (Tûshítâvîrî, and Thammarâ) is the carriage of Amîtâbha, 'light of the Infinite light,' which probably are in reality 'sol's,' have not up to the present been sufficiently studied and understood. The idea of multiple universes, but only one created by a Buddha, is very authentic Buddhism (see, e.g., the Mahâyânâ).

III. HISTORY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE MAHÂYÂNA.—1. Controversy on the authenticity of the books and legends concerning them. We know that the books of the Hinayâna appeared surrounded with a very strong ecclesiastical halo; and that even the modern scholar may be the value to modern scholars of the tradition referring to the Councils (e.g., K. O. Franke, Dijâjâ-miyâvâ, âGöttingen, 1913, p. xii), the Buddhist of the Mahâyâna and of the Hinayâna admitted the authenticity, in the strict sense, of the ancient canon. But the adherents of the Hinayâna did not recognize the books of the Mahâyâna for the simple reason that these books were unknown in ecclesiastical history.

This is the word of the Buddha which is found in the Sûtras, which appear in the Vinaya, which is in harmony with the Vinaya (dharma-mâtvâ), this old text of the Dâipâ, is, according to them, the condemnation of the Mahâyâna, which not only is not authentic, but is even full of heretical novelties.

The most weighty argument of the Mahâyânist is the speculative argument. The Mahâyâna, they say, is in harmony with the dharma-mâtvâ; it is the only vehicle of nirvâÂ n. The Hinayâna is indeed authentic, but the Mahâyâna taught it only as provisory truth, taking into consideration the weakness of mind of his hearers. Besides, in the Hinayâna the Buddha taught it only as provisory truth, taking into consideration the weakness of mind of his hearers. Besides, in the Mahâyâna the Buddha taught the non-existence in themselves of the elements of the ego (see above, II. 2: Madhyamakâvâistrâ, p. 2). The doctrine of the multiple teaching of the accommodation to the ideas of the world (lokiâmukâvâstra), is taught in the Canon of the Pâthas, a sect of the Hinayâna (Madhyamakâvâistrâ, Fr. tr., Muston, new ser., xi. [1910] 124); which is also (3) said to have possessed the sîstras of the Prajñâpâramîta edited in Prakrit. 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. AGNOSTISM [Buddhist], vol. i, p. 221); Madhyamakâvâstrâ, p. 251). (4) The Mahâyâna (a book of the Hinayâna) teaches the stages in the career of a bodhisattvâ and the perfect virtues.

1 For a description and analysis of the literature of the Great Vehicle see Wassiliev, Dhammaism, pp. 157-507, and Winternitz, J. H. L., The Buddhists, ii. 157-256; see also Winternitz on the Lâliyâcâstrâ and the Mahâyâna in works which belong to both Vehicules. Among translations see The Lotus of the Tathâgata, infinite light. Amazing Sûtras, etc., SEE xii.

2 Dâipâ, ii. 134; Mâjñâkasa-mahâvâja, Siddhânta, i. 1280; Sûtraâslâdha, ed. S. Lövi, Paris, 1907, i. 20.

3 See Bodhisattvâstrâ, tr. 451; Fr. tr., Introduction à la philosophie des Boudhismes, p. 127; Siddhânta, Fournin, Buddhism, Opinions sur la dogmatique, p. 127.

4. MAHÂYÂNA, HISTORY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE MAHÂYÂNA.

If the whole of the Mahâyâna was not known to the ancients, it was the sublime and sublime was to be understood by the compilers of the Hinayâna. But it was the Buddha who taught them, and they were heard by the bodhisattvas Samantabhadra, Mâjñâkasa-mahâvâja, Gûhyâstra, Vajrayâna, and Maitreya. We cannot say that having obtained illumination, the Buddha preached to the gods (in the heaven of the Thirty-threet) and to the bodhisattvas (J. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, London, 1886, p. 18; A. Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 86). The bodhisattvas, through the course of the ages, have revealed the Mahâyâna to men; Mâjñâkasa-mahâvâja took the form of a hûnâk, and it is said, made known the Prajñâpâramîta in 80,000 articles (Târânâtha, tr. A. Schefner, Petrograd, 1869, p. 58). It was Maitreya, the future Buddha, who explained the Prajñâpâramîta to Asanga, and who is the author of the treatises of the Vîjñânavâda school (Mâsterton, vi. [1905] 145, xv. [1914] 4). According to a Japanese tradition, interesting as an example although without historical value, Mâjñâkasa-mahâvâja and Maitreya had published the Mahâyâna in the year 116 of Nirvâna: 'If these books had not existed before, whom of us have we obtained!' — a very childish argument. This Mahâyâna is said to have been completed in 200 of Nirvâna, notably by the publication of the Avatamaka (= Gâo-dàmô-stûra). All these relations took place before Nâgârjuna (R. Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme japonais, Paris, 1888, p. 54).

Nevertheless, it is to Nâgârjuna that our most trustworthy documents give the honour of the revelation of the Mahâyâna. The Mahâyânist, and a Mahâyâna-sûtra, put into the mouth of the Buddha words like the following:

Four centuries after my nirvâna this Annada will be the blisâ called Nâga; he will teach the Great Vehicle. It is said that Nâgârjuna obtained the Prajñâpâramîta, or the Arita-sûtra from the Nâgas (Wassiliev, Buddhisme, p. 118 f.). We cannot give an account of all the legends referring to the revelation of the books of the Mahâyâna (see Târânâtha, p. 118 f.), what has already been sufficient idea of the beliefs that arose in the Buddhist world concerning the origin of these books. Apart from a few artistic partisans of the Hinayâna, all Buddhists readily believed all that appeared as the word of Buddha.

2. Criticism of the legends and conjectures. — The library of the Mahâyâna consists of two parts, which the Tibetans have carefully distinguished: first, the sîstras, divine works, uttered by Bhagavat himself, which are arranged in the Kâra (aka huyr, 'word of the Master'); and, secondly, the commentaries on the sîstras and the treatises (dibhas) properly so called, human works, the greater number of which were written by the monks to whom tradition ascribes them; all this literature forms part of the Tantrâ (bhatan huyr, 'instruction, scholasticism'). This distinction has not always a historical value. Many sîstras are frankly scholastic works, and it is probable that some of them are later than the signed treatises 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 in fact the part of the Tantrâ, because in form they are not sîstras, but more treatises (kârikas, mnemonic verses, with a
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Invent, preaching vacuity or the career of a bodhisattva, they make use of old models, reason in the manner of the Abhidharma-ahammas, 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-Hassafiyah, and, apparently, given by him by the adventurer Mukhtar b. Ali 'Ubaid, who, after the death of Husayn at Kerbele, ostensibly championed the claims of this personage to the Khalifate. 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 root has not been definitely traced; yet this explanation did not give universal satisfaction, and several others were current (see Yaqut, Geographical Dictionary, ed. F. W. Winterfeld, Leipzig, 1850, v, 342).‘ It is clearly used as a title attached to the name of 'Ali, calling him 'the Mahdi, son of the Wali' (Tabari, Chronicle, ed. Leyden, 1879-1901, ii. 539), where the latter title means 'the legatee,' i.e. he to whom the Prophet bequeathed the sovereignty; it is, however, often interpreted as 'the trustee.' It is doubtful whether this Muhammad used it himself, as a letter purporting to be from him, in which it is prefixed to his name, was condemned as spurious by one of his correspondents on that account (Tabari, ii. 611, 66 A.H.). After the death of 'Ali's two sons by Fatimah, 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, impugned for a time by some of his companions of 'Abdallah b. Zubair, who endeavoured to wrest 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 Kaisáníyyah, who declared that he remained alive in his supposed tomb in Mt. Raiwa, whence he would one day emerge; and the poet of this sect, the Sayyid 'Imám, fully expected this occurrence, though the Mahdi had disappeared for sixty years (Aghatri, Cairo, 1285, v, 32). The poet Kuthayir as-Suli, that his reappearance had been foretold by al-Kub al-Abhar (44 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 how the Mahdi came to be substituted for that prophet is not clear; if the reference to the Kab be genuine, we should gather that the word had been used before Mukhtar's time with a religious import. The poet further declared that this Mahdi's book was studied by the Kaisáníyyah, in which event his work must assuredly have been a forgery. With this personage the idea of an awaited deliverer is first connected in Islam, and this notion is expressed by the name Mahdi, which the participle 'expected' (mu'tattaq) is sometimes attached. The various pretenders from the house
of Ali received the title—e.g., Zaid (after whom the Zaidis 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 before seen a Mahdi hanging on a tree (Mas‘ūdī, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Les Prairies d’or, Paris, 1881-77, v. 471). When the pretender Muhammad b. Abdallah first appeared (c. 122 A.H.), and was called the Mahdi, he was called out: ‘The Mahdi has come forth!’ (Tabari, iii. 159 [A.H. 144]). 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 questionable 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, 1889-1903, i. 161), being

‘The world shall not pass away until my nation be governed by one of my house who name agrees with mine.

This tradition is also found in the collection of Tirmidhī († 279; ed. C. Roos, 1892-2, i. 20), where it is followed by another in which the Mahdi is mentioned.

‘We were afraid of some troubles 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, during which time he shall rule, and then he shall go away, “O Mahdi, give me!”; and the Mahdi shall pile into 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. Somewhat more information is to be found in the contemporary collection by Ibn Majah († 298; ed. C. Roos, 1892-2, i. 292); the tradition just given is repeated with some variations, indicating that under the Mahdi men would enjoy greater blessings than they had ever experienced; to 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 hand it (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 Fatimah; another gives as the list of lords of paradise the following members of the family; the Prophet, his uncle Hazza, his cousins ‘Ali and Jaafar, and his grandsons Hasan and Husayn and the Mahdi. The last is:

‘Men shall come forth from the East, and shall prepare the way for the Mahdi.

It is certain that the authors of these fictions had somehow heard of an expected Mahdi, and made up traditions calculated either to encourage 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 Mahdi—It is not quite easy to find room for another Deliverer and in this respect the Mahdi is more plausible for the name, viz. the man of the mahdī, ‘cradle’, favours this view, the reference being to Qur’ān, xix. 30 ff., 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, and the perturbed condition 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 chosen by the pretenders whose office is, as has been seen, an unsolved puzzle. To the etymology suggested we should be inclined to add one more, viz. from hādū in the sense ‘to give,’ making the word mean ‘He to whom has been given,’ as in Mt 22:27 the Risen Saviour says, Ἰδοὺ μου ἀπαύγασεν κράτος καὶ τιτάνιον εἰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, and a similar interpretation was current for the Mahdi for that the Mahdi in Qur. 46:15 until Shiloah come, viz. shalūh, ‘whose is.’ Thus, the ‘Shi’ite author of the Fakhri (ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gottinga, 1860, p. 88), speaking of the Mahdi, says: behind the name 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 among persons who had been deprived of his ‘right.’

The function of the expected 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 among persons who had been deprived of his ‘right.’
before, and preselhets to whom the mysteries had been communicated were forbidden to divulge them until the Mahdi appeared. Probably with this community in theory, both the 219th, at Baha, and 219th, at Baha, who died of poison in Baha, and at Baha, and at Baha. Several others are mentioned with these by Ibn Hazm (Kitab al-Fihal, Cairo, 1321, iv. 179 f.). The sect called Qaf'iyah got their name from making sure of the death of the Mahdi, but having ascertained it (Mas'udi, Tuhd, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894, p. 232). Believers in the continued existence of Muhammad b. Hasan al-Askari, whose father died 260 A.H. There was, however, great doubt as to the age of this Muhammad 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. Shahrazad locates him in Sama'a al-Dar (ed. W. Cureton, London, 1842-46, p. 129); but at some time in the 7th or 8th century he appears to have taken up his abode at Khissal. The traveller Ibn Ba'thah (*) 709 A.H. (ed. C. de Dangeau and R. E. Savigny, Paris, 1853-55, ii. 98) gives a weird account of the ceremonies which he found there, and which seem to be relics of some pagan cult.

"The poisoner prophesied all that would come forth. On the day of the departure, called the sanctuary of the Lord of the Age. Each afternoon a hundred of the inhabitants come out of their houses armed with drums and buzzers; going to the governor, they obtain from him a horse with saddle and bridle, or else a mule; beating drums and sounding buzzers, they then proceed, fifty before and fifty behind, in front of the charger and fifty behind. Others arrange themselves on either side. Coming to the mosque that has been named, they halt before its door, and say: 'Bismillah, O Lord of the Age, come forth. Mischief is rampant, and wrong abundant; this is the time for times to come forth, that God may distinguish thee between the true and the false.' This they continue till the prayer of sunset, playing their musical instruments the whole time."

Ibn Khalidun, a contemporary of Ibn Bat'tah, who has no high opinion of his versificity, tells the same story, with some variation. According to him, the people of Khissal hold that their Mahdi entered a cell in their habitation, and every night they appear with a mount before the entrance to this cell, and keep calling him to come out, from the public door, until he has killed all the animals (Protogonos, Beirut, 1900, p. 190). It is surprising that in the Yaruck-i-Guzaish (compiled 730 A.H. ed. E. G. Browne, London, 1910, p. 208) the connection of this Mahdi with Khissal appears to be unknown.

"In his ninth year he disappeared in Sama'a, and was never seen since; the people of the Khissal, 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 Ba'thah's story requires further redaction.

The majority of the Mahdis have thus played a larger role in the imagination than in reality; there have, however, been cases wherein the promises they have held has been considered and even permanent success. The first capital of the Fatimids in Africa was called Mahdiyyah after the Mahdi who founded the dynasty (297 A.H. = A.D. 909). The conquests which prepared the way for his sovereignty were all achieved by an agent, who had ultimately to produce the person to whom he had preached; and, according to the statements of his enemies, the person whom he pretends to be, so that called to play the part, the real Mahdi having perished on his way to Africa. According to an author of weight (Nizam al-Mulk, * 485 : see C. Schefer, Oriental Fiction, 1883-85, i. 163), the propaganda of this sect began at least a century
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(tr. G. Ranking, Calcutta, 1898, p. 567 ff.). This person was named Shaikh 'Ala'i, and was born in Bahān in Hindustan. To the same place there came one Miyaq 'Abdallah, who had come under the influence of Muhammad of Jauzpur.

He adopted the manners of a Mahdi, which would seem to have been settled by Ibn Tūmār, for they consisted in extreme asceticism; making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men, on the borders of a tank, he used to cast water on his head; and when the times of prayer came round, he would ride on the back of one of the labourers who had to pass that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer, with such a degree of asceticism that, if he met any man directly coming for the meeting, he would give him a few coins and encourage him.

Shaikh 'Ala'i was much impressed by this example. He too, transgressing under too self-esteem and conceit, devoted himself to the poor of his neighbourhood, and, entering the valley of self-renunciation and aseetism, he bestowed all his worldly possessions, even to his books, upon the poor. He became a disciple of Miyaq 'Abdallah; they two formed a community of ascetic socialists or communists, consisting of three hundred householders, who, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture, and skilled labour, spent their time with them.

In spite of their asceticism, they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them as a protection against their neighbours. They also in order to interfere with any proceeding in the city or the market of which they disapproved.

They would go and call the offenders to account by main force, admitting to be governed by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it.

After a time the place came to be too hot for Shaikh 'Ala'i, who, along with his followers, whose numbers had now reached six or seven hundred heads of families, migrated to Khaawāspur, near Jodhpur; but here, too, he interfered seriously with the government of the place, and he was recalled to Bahān, accompanied by his disciples. Islam Shah had by this time obtained possession of Agra, and he summoned Shaikh Alā'i to his court, whither the Mahdi proceeded with a party of select companions fully armed; according to the chronicler, the Shaikh nearly effected Islam Shah's conversion to his views, but he was presently expelled and sent to the Deccan. Meanwhile, his former teacher and associate had started a sect of his own, which, with some difficulty, he had got the authority of, and the Shaikh 'Ala'i himself was ere long summoned again to Agra, and requested to abandon his claims to the Mahdi ship; refusing to do this, he was deprived of life. His followers, however, were numerous, and increased, and were known as the Mahdawis; they were persecuted, but not exterminated, in the reign of Akbar.

Blochmann observes that these Indian Mahdis were men of considerable eloquence, who, by their preaching obtained great influence over the populace, and that they regularly came into conflict with the authorized exponents of the law with the Mahdiats in the courts. Badshahi takes evident pleasure in narrating how Shaikh Alā'i triumphed over the official theologians who were employed to argue with him. They endeavoured to bring the practice of their co-religionists into harmony with the strict principles enjoined by the Sunnite codes, and especially to bring the country was subject to violent oppression, and the broad basis of the Mahdi's appeal was the injustice and cruelty of every sort which sprung up the moment Gordon's wholesome discipline was withdrawn' (p. 12). Muhammad Ahmad, who took all this title, was born at Dongola in 1848 of a family of boat-builders; at the age of 22 he was already a Shaikh with a great reputation for his piety and knowledge. He became a powerful preacher; he denounced the iniquities of the Egyptians, and laid stress on the promised appearance of a Mahdi, with whom he generally identified himself, and, indeed, in the Shi'Ite sense; he claimed to be the true successor of 'Alī and the son of Hasan 'Askari. His claims were first recognized in 1881 at the island of Khartoum, when 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 organiser and as a military leader, for he soon won an influence over the South Sudanese, and proceeded with victory to victory until, at his death in June 22, 1885, shortly after the historic fall of Khartoum, his empire extended from lat. 5 to 21 S., and from 23 S. to 23 E. of Greenwich. Wingate suggests as an epitome of Mahdist the sentence: 'Your money or your life'; in practice it was an enforced communism, maintained by compelling the people to divide their wealth arbitrarily by the Mahdi. Success also appears to have made of the Mahdi a coarse voluptuary. Like some of his predecessors, he seems to have aimed at producing 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 epithet Aniq ('helpers'), which had been given by the Prophet to the Prob. of the Mahdi's entertainers in Medina. The Mahdi himself clearly aimed at reproducing the career of the Prophet, since he had a hajjah, or 'migration', viz. from Agra to Bahān, where he first assumed the Mahdi title, to Sāfārī, to Māsāt in the Nuba mountains; and he assigned as title to persons representing the eminent associates of the Prophet who became the first successors. The title of Nāfi' Bakr, the first khalif, was filled by 'Abdallah al-Ta'i, who afterwards became famous as the Mahdi's successor, or Khalif, and is said to have suggested the title of Mahdi first to Zabair Pasha and then to Muhammad Ahmad (Muqaddas, xxiv. [1900] 5).

The asceticism of the Mahdi, like that of the Wahhabs, 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 Sufism, and would gladly have obtained recognition from the head of the Sufis; this being refused, he abolished all orders except his own.

After the fall of Khartoum the South Sudan was gradually evacuated by the Anglo-Egyptian government, and the Khalif 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 Mahdi achieved nothing but devastation and destruction.

The success of the Sudanic Mahdi encouraged many others to play the part. It seems that the title 'al-Mahdi' in the Sudan, the Mahdi community was originally a proper name; its holder, however, gave it the familiar applica-
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After several years of obscure practice he became court physician to Saladin, pursuing his Rabbinical and philosophical studies undaunted while following out the exacting duties of his profession. The eminent position which he ever held in Jewish estimation is explicable in the popular Jewish saying, 'From Moses to Moses there was none like Moses.'

2. Works.—Maimonides' works can be classified under the following heads:

I. PHILOSOPHY AND REASON.

(a) Dala'il al-Haqiqah ("Guides of the Perplexed"). This was written in 1267 and was completed by 1270. It was printed in some ten editions, the best being that of Venice (1580), and has been translated into various languages. It contains a discussion of the nature of reality and the relationship between the created and the uncreated.

(b) Yad Ha-Ma'aseh ("Book of the Laws of the Universe"). This was written in 1263-64 and was completed by 1267. It contains a discussion of the nature of the universe and the relationships between its parts.

II. Commentaries.

(a) Commentary on the Mishnah ("On Yerushalmi").

(b) Commentary on the Mishnah ("On Tractate").

III. Miscellaneous.

(a) Commentary on the Talmud ("On Tractate").

(b) Commentary on the Talmud ("On Tractate").

LITERATURE.

The authorities have been cited throughout the article.

D. S. MAGUIRE

MAIMONIDES.—I. Life.—Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon), Talmudist, philosopher, and physician, was born at Cordova, 30th March 1135, died at Cairo, 13th Dec. 1204, is known in Jewish literature as 'Rambam' (the letters r, b, m being the initials of Rabbi Moses ben Maimon) and in Arabic literature as Abū l-Ṭairān Mīshā b b Mīmān ibn Aḥdālā. His native city falling into the hands of the Almohads, Maimonides, when yet a lad of thirteen, was compelled either to leave or to embrace Islam. He, together with his father, chose the former course, and settled at Fes. Here he led a life of study and research. The period from 1155 to 1175 was spent in the study of the Talmud, the Mishnah, and the Tosefta. Maimonides fixed upon Fes as a more congenial centre. A home was made in Fes, a suburb of Cairo. Soon after their arrival here, both the father and the brother of Maimonides died of a fever, and Maimonides was compelled by the necessity of earning a livelihood reduced in consequence, Maimonides took up the practice of medicine as a means of livelihood.
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 'Sefer ha-Mitsvot,' and the 'Mishneh Torah.' The most essentially 'Jewish' of the three is the Mishneh Torah. It is an elaborate text-book of 'law' as understood by Jewish orthodox tradition, its sources being the Bible, the Talmud, and the various Rabbinic literature previous to Maimonides. What prompted the author to write it was the fact that the Talmud and the Rabbinic literature generally are large, unwieldy, unsystematized mass of opinions and rules, laws, counsels, preceptons, 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 appears 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 guise. All the controversies, disputes, and doubts are in ordinarily set forth. The faithul Jew who wishes to know the settled Rabbinical view on any subject of ritual or belief need no longer waste for the information through oceans of unnecessary details. It is given 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 a form of Judaism which was to be the norm of future religions practice and belief, felt that he was exercising 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 certain amount of material 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.

In the making of 'codes' or 'compendia' of Jewish law, Maimonides had both precessors and successors. But his work stands out from all these in two commanding respects: (a) a greater variety of subject, a badder interpretation of the laws of Judaism as a system both of 'law' and of 'theology'; (b) the metaphysical (Aristotelian) colouring pervading his treatme of religion and ethics, as well as the addition of dissertations on such subjects as the calendar, idolatry, and free will. He was no mere codifier in the sense that others were. His was the genius of the literary artist working out his own original conception of divine truth as perceived by the Jew. Hence whereas to-day resort is had to other codes only when enlightenment is sought on points of strict 'legalism' or 'strictly orthodox ritual'—what is called 'by letter'—the 'thirteen principles' of the Talmud—the code of Maimonides is a source of edification to the theological student generally, quite irrespective of its relation to the Jewish life. The first of the fourteen books comprises the 'Principles,' or 'Mishneh Torad' ('Knowledge'). Maimonides feels that, before a man can be ordered to worship God, he should first be informed of what God really is; so he sets out with proofs of the existence of God, of the impossibility of a plurality of gods, of the impossibility of a world without God, of the various grades of animate and inanimate existence—angels, 'spheres,' men, plants, minerals (introducing, of course, the four elements, viz. earth, air, fire, water). He shows how all these have their places in the cosmos, and how all reveal God in their several ways and degrees. In this part of his treatment he discusses the Rabbinic views of prayer, divine worship, Sabbath, feasts and fasts, repentance, and the whole host of ethical and civil preceptions which the Talmudic Rabbis had deduced from Scripture and had laid down for observance by the Jewish commonwealth. It is all done in a way which shows that, while Maimonides defended what he considered the eternal sanctity of 'ceremonial,' he was too spiritual, too mystical a thinker to omit giving due prominence to the ethical and spiritual aspects of Judaism—the aspects which justify and transfigure the rest.

The 'Guide,' or Commentary on the Mishnah, has not as yet had full justice done to it by scholars and students. It is has been in many senses overshadowed by the more popular commentary of Obadiah Berlino, an Italian Rabbi of the 16th century. But there is nothing to doubt that the growing modern recognition of the necessity of studying the Rabbinical literature on strictly scientific lines, the 'Guide' will yet come into its own.

The object of Maimonides was to enable the layman to understand the Mishnah—its technical phraseology as well as its general drift—without the necessity of working through the involved conclusions of the Talmud. The Mishnah is the '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 opinion. This is just one of the facts that make his work serve 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 of the Synagogue, 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 'Rabbantine' (i.e., as opposed to 'Karaita') Jew to ask the Synagogue to accept a set, formulated creed of Judaism. For this he was severely criticized by a famous 15th cent. Jewish philosopher, his cousin Crescas, in his Or Aschonai ('Light of the Lord'). But, as subsequent history proves, there was no necessity for attaching any really serious importance to these 'Thirteen Principles of Faith' held down for the Synagogue at no time did, and even at the present time does not, attach any canonical validity to them. In all probability Maimonides profligated them with no dogmatic intent. They are of the often-forgotten fact that Judaism emphasizes inward belief as well as outward conduct.

Another remarkable excursion is that known as
that He exists. God is indefinable. Even to assert, as Scripture repeatedly does, His unity, power, wisdom, eternity, will, is inadmissible. But how, then, can we justify Scripture! By assuming, he says, that, owing to the poverty of 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 God is not a plurality. Hence the deity cannot be described 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 unqualifiedly active in the universe; He is the creator of the cosmos, and the traces of divine design are everywhere obvious. 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 kalâm (q.v.). As against Aristotle, who maintained the eternity of the universe, these Arabic philosophers defended the createdness of the universe. Maimonides, as a Jew differing on this fundamental point from his teacher Aristotle, agreed with the Mutakallimun, but differed from the latter again on several other fundamental propositions of theirs.

Maimonides’ greatest contribution to metaphysics, however, is his ‘Guide of the Perplexed.’ It is designed, as he himself says, ‘for thinkers whose studies have brought them into collision with religious men, who have acquired sound knowledge, and who, while firm in religious matters, are perplexed and bewildered on account of the ambiguous and figurative expressions employed in the holy writings.’ Thus the book is not intended to convince the unbeliever, but, rather, to correct the believer. His introductory motto is, ‘Ye who have gone astray in the field of the holy Law, come hither and follow the path which I have prepared. The uncleanness of the soul shall not pass over it.

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 starting point for his study? Is it the philosophical, or the religious, or the legal? The book is written for the follower 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. The written prophecies are really instinct with the fundamental philosophies of the OT, as it were, imbedded in the text. In Maimonides he took as the starting point the rationality of the world as a whole.

Maimonides conceived it his duty to devote the major portion of the first book of the ‘Guide’ to an exhaustive examination of the 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 God as a body, etc., the foot’ of God, in which describe divine movements such as ‘passing,’ ‘dwelling,’ ‘coming,’ ‘standing,’ etc., must be understood allegorically, seeing that they express transcendental metaphysical truths about the deity. But a priori metaphysics is ultimately of little service. What about the Scriptural ‘attributes’ of God? Is not the misunderstanding of these liable to lead to an infringement of both the incorporeality and the unity of God? Maimonides saw real danger here. If the elucidation of the meanings and inter-relations of the different attributes of God, he proves the inapplicability of them all to God. All that can be predicated of God is...
of moral and intellectual perfection which prophecy necessitates, another factor is still required. This factor consists in a special vouchsafing of the divine will, i.e. divine inspiration. A man may have an intellectual insight morally perfect, but may be unable to prophecy, because prophecy arises, in the last resort, only at the call of a divine fiat; and the fiat is arbitrary.

Schelling's prominent 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 unvarying 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 1st., 'And God saw everything that he had made, and, beheld, it was very good.' The Midrashic comment upon which is: 'Gewiss, gedacht, gedacht in Aharon,' (Pirkei de Rabbâ, xviii. 9). Divine providence extends to individual human beings, but not to animals, plants, or minerals. Here Maimonides differs from Aristotle, who held stringent laws in regard to count of particulars, because his knowledge was limited to universals. Scriptural passages are quoted in refutation of Aristotle's views. Can free will be reconciled with the fact of divine omniscience, and yet be a simply pre-determined destiny? 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 senses as they think and speak of man's. It is identical with possession, and is the element 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 truth and knowledge, to make men good' (Ex 19, 1), to acquaint men with God's knowledge, or to give a correct ordering of life or 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 also in his relations to society, to the State, to the world. Maimonides discusses every precept of the Torah with the object of showing how their right understanding and practice lead to this end. By an ingenious adaptation of Scripture he shows that the reason why God 'told the people, by the way of the wilderness by the Red sea' (Ex 13, 2), instead of leading them straight to the land of Canaan, is that he gave 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, man knows not God. Before he can live and think on the high level of knowing God, he must live on the lower level of an obedience to all the divine precepts which are the training-ground for his more exalted 'Knowing' God and 'loving' God are identical.

Maimonides influenced all succeeding generations of Jewish thought by his introduction 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 carrying over from nature to the religious sphere of representations as interpreted by the Rabbis—is not a series of 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 be a mere formalism, 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 time goes on. Although much of the substance of the Rabbinc tradition is now obsolete, its encouragement to a freedom of spirit in the handling of religious problems will always, unlike the dogmatism of the Mishnaic Torah, make its appeal to the thinking and the freethinkers. 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 18th cen. affected the great Franscan, Alexander of Hales, as well as his contemporary, William of Auvergne. The great Christian scholars, Albert the Great and Duns Scotus, directly borrowed from its pages. Thomas Aquinas's whole theological system is permeated with the theological views and opinions 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.


The last of these works, however, is not a complete edition of the letters, but a series of important correspondence between the chief Jewish scholar of his time and other prominent scholars of his day, and the emphasis is on the intellectual and philosophical aspects of his life. This edition was first published in Olomouc in 1883, and has been re-edited and re-published several times since then.

The letters of Maimonides are an important source of information about the intellectual and philosophical currents of his time, and about the relationships and interactions between different Jewish scholars and thinkers. They provide insight into the development of Jewish thought and the challenges faced by Jewish intellectuals in the late medieval period.
MAJHWĀR, MĀNHJI.—A non-Aryan tribe numbering, Majhwar 14,210, Manjhji 4933, according to the Census of 1911, and found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam. The name is usually derived from Skr. manjha, in the sense of 'hand', and ethnologically they are closely connected with the Goonds and Kharvars (q.v.).

In the United Provinces the Majhwar possess a well-marked system of totemistic exogamous divisions, some being named from trees, animals, or 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 their forefathers 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 the taking place of a sacrifice to placate the power of the malignant 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 Dubbi Deo, the spirit of a bridegroom who in the olden days perished in a specially tragic way. As is the case with the cognate tribes, there is, in their beliefs, a close 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—a deity who seems to be identical with Bara Deo, 'the great god' of the Goonds, both of whom are believed to use the ox as a ‘vehicle’ (adghana). This cult has a basis of phallicism, which is more clearly seen in the worship of Lingko or Lingal (Skr. linga), the phallic stone; the potāri, at his periodic visits to his parishioners, worships Mahādeva by rattling a number of iron rings fixed on a staff. The collective village-gods are impersonated by a male deity (Hindu village, the sarvācāra, ‘house of the gods’), whose name is a mixture of modern origin, while his female counterpart is known as the Deolār (Hindu devārā, Skr. devapaksha, ‘house of the gods’), so named because she occupies the village-shrine, a mass of rude stones piled under a sacred tree, usually the sāli (Shorea robusta). More advanced members of the tribe identify her with the Hindu Devī. The shrine contains a water vessel, over which a red flag is hung, and the use of the deity is a little mound on which offerings are laid and a fire sacrifice is performed. The officiant at these rites is the bāgī (q.v.), the village medicine-man, who holds a goat or fowl 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 and then cook and eat the flesh. No blood sacrifice is offered to ancestors, but flesh is eaten. The wife of the eldest son (a survival of mother-right) is offered in the family kitchen, where the honoured dead are supposed to live. When they eat they throw a little food on the ground for the earth-goddess, who is supposed to sit in the worship of the higher gods, but not at that of the village-deities. They also propitiate a number of demons or evil spirits, such as Turkin, the ghost of a Turk or Muhammadan woman, and her consort Barwar, who rule all the mountain-spirits of the neighbourhood. Other spirits inhabit streams and water-pools, and with these are joined the snake-gods—of the Nag and his consort, the snake. The tribal rite is the worship of the sacred karan tree (Nucifera parvifolia), which is ceremonially cut down and brought into the village, where the people dance round it to the beating of drums. The rite is probably, like similar rites in other parts of the world described by J. G. Frazer (GP, pt. i, The Magic Art, London, 1911, i, 247 ff.), a form of symbolical or imitative magic to promote the fall of rain and the fertility of the crops, and cattle (W. Crooke, PE ii, 94 ff.). Only the more Hinduized members of the tribe employ Brahmins, the real priests being the potāri and bāgī, who are usually drawn from the more primitive allied tribes, which are believed to preserve unimpaired the knowledge of the local cults. Petilism, so called, appears in the reverence for the sacred chain (gurūk) hung in the village shrine, with which hysterical girls are beaten in order to drive out the evil spirit supposed to cause such attacks. The belief in witchcraft, the evil eye, and omens is widespread.

LITERATURE.—W. Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Calcutta, 1905, liii, 635 ff.; W. Crooke.

MĀL, MĀLĀ, MĀL PAHĀRIA.—A non-Aryan tribe, containing various groups, numbering, Māl 2,135,326, Māl Pahārī 94,669, according to 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, to a large extent, pure Dravidians, and those in the Rājāmahl Hills in Bengal are closely allied to the Orāons (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-godess, Manasa, is their special guardian, and they also worship the local village-deities. The earliest account of their religion in the Rājāmahl Hills is that by Shaw, which has been supplemented by Riley and Dalton.

'S at the head of their system stands the Sun called Dharmer Gosin, and represented by a roughly-hewn post set up in front of each house. He is worshipped with offerings of tallow, goats, sinur [red lead], and oil at the commencement of the harvest season, and at other times when any calamity affects the family. When people are gathered together for this purpose, the village headman, who acts as priest, goes round the congregation with an egg in his hand, and recites names of demon spirits. He then throws away the egg, apparently as a prophylactic offering, and enjoins the spirits to hold aloof and abstain from troubling the sacrifice (Riley, TC, i, 67).

Shaw describes various gods inferior in rank to the sun-god.Whenever a tiger, small ox, or any other plague attacks the village, Ruksey or Rakai is supposed to desire that a shrine should be raised for him. Accordingly the women, or tribal priest, is directed to search for the god. He gets a branch of the sāli tree, and gum benjamin is burned, which he smears. He is thus enabled to point out a place where he directs the people to dig a pit in the shape of a sacred black stone, is discovered. The mānhji, or headman, then sets out in search of a large tree, under the shade of which he places the stone, and encloses it with a stone fence and hedge. A fowl or small bird is laid on the headman or some other worthy person does worship to the god and then retires (Anon. Res. iv, 461). This god at the present day is the tutelary deity of strong drink. The headman before he begins to distil liquor from the fresh crop of mānakus (Bagia latifolia) (Riley, ii, 57). Chal, or Chalan, presides over a group of villages, but he is not worshipped until some
plague attacks the people, when the demaño dreams that a shrine should be raised, and the god, when found in the shape of a stone, is placed under a malumuk tree near the village, the stone undergoing no change of form from the chisel (Astitvis. Res. t. 48 ft.). Goats and pigs are usually offered to him, but the triennial sacrifice of a cow, mentioned by Shaw, seems now to have fallen into disuse (Risley, ii. 58.).

The first worship performed by young men is offered to Páni Gosán, 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 bel tree (Ligul. nobilis), in the centre of which he plants a branch of the mahosor tree. Round it he makes marks with red paint and, laying some rice and an egg decorated with three streaks of vermilion near the second branch, he invokes the god of the highway 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 rice concludes with the breaking of the egg, and is never repeated unless the person concerned should meet with an accident in travelling (Astitvis. Res. i. 51 ft.).

At present the offering prescribed for the god is a white goat, and the sacrifice is very expensive, owing to the rarity of the animal, which is not offered to the god, and then drunk by the assembled worshippers (Risley, i. 58.).

The tutelary deity of the village, spoken of by Lieutenant Shaw as Dwira Gomot (god of the doorway), is now called Bóra-Dwirí, because he is supposed to live in a temple near the village worship him in the month of March (Jan.–Feb.). Colonel Dalton suggests that this god may perhaps be the same as the Oronian Dáni. K. G. Headington, the head of the mountaineers," and Angas, the god of bonding, appear not to be known at the present day. Gunno Gomot, who represents in every household by the wooden post (gunna) which supports the main rafters of the roof. On this the blood of a slain goat is sprinkled to call down the blessings of ancestors. The fact that this god is common to the Malá and Mal Paháriá, and is worshipped by both in the same manner, points to a common origin of the two tribes. As in Lieutenant Shaw's time Chanda Gosán still ranks high among the tribe, and demands offerings on a larger scale than any other god (Risley, ii. 58.).

At the present day the priests of the tribe are said to be the demaño, who are originally divinities, but it is declared that generally the demaño does not officiate as priest, but merely directs the village headman, head of the household, or other influential person chosen for the occasion (60.).

The Mal Paháriá has of the same type. Their chief god is the sun, who is addressed as Gosán, 'Lord,' to whom an offering of rice is presented and then given to a goat, which is devoured by a blow from behind. The meat is soaked, and served up at a feast, of which the neighbours partake. The head alone, which is regarded as sacred food (prasada), is carefully reserved for the members of the family. Next in honour to the sun are Dáhi Jí, Maitá, Mother Earth; her servant or, as some say, her sister, Garáni; and Singhbáñi, 'she who rides on a tiger,' who rules tigers, anakes, scorpions, and all manner of noisome beasts. The tribe also performs the kumuthí dance round the sacred tree (see MAJJHÍRÁ). Chordaná, 'the thief demon,' is a malevolent spirit, who must be propitiated by sacrifice and the offering of the firstfruits of the crops, which are under tabu (J. G. Frazer, P.B., ii. 11. 48 ft.). To Mahádaná eggs are the appropriate offering. Gunnu Gosán, the house pillar, represents the lóre of the household, and every year the tutelary deity, which lives in a nil tree (Shorea robusta). This is periodically dabbé with red lead, 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 islands of the Malay Archipelago, all of them belonging to the great Malay-Polynesian family, were certainly in their essence identical, 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, Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes, professes the Brahmán religion, the Brahmánism of the Tallow, Later, and Talait Islands, and has an increasing number of adherents among the Battak, Torajas, Sawunese, and Rottinese; Ruman 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 what is generally denoted as animism. In speaking of the beliefs prevailing in the Malay Peninsula Sketch rightly says: 'The root-idea seems to be an all-pervading Animism, involving a certain common vital principle (anesan) 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, says the author, the Malays, 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, subdued, or in some way made subject to the will of the magician.1'

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.

SUMANGAT, with dialectic variations, is the general word with the Malays also in Indonesia for soul,' vital force,' penetrating every member of the body, but distinct from the latter, so that it can leave the body temporarily, e.g., in dreams, and finally at death. The Macassars and Buginese use the same word, sumango, sumango with the same meaning. The term tená, tondi for exactly the same idea; and the Dayaks have hamburuan, amuru, amari, blu, and other dialectic variations of the same word.

With the Torajas in Central Celebes the term is tanasa, properly homunculus; another expression is waygo, or limehati, i.e., 'shadow' (Jav. wayang, Malay. bayang). 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, monkey, buffalo, or cat. 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 sleeping persons. Such beings may be compared with the Mal. penemupatana, vampires.2

1 With the doubtful exception of the people of Ternate Tidore, Halmahera (Gililbo).
The word for ‘soul’ in Nias is *nosa*, which, like Skr. *prāṇa* and Gr. *pneuma*, is properly the ‘breath of life,’ and then ‘life,’ ‘vitality.’ The same may be said of *bangga* (Java), *malu* (Malay), etc. There are several other Indonesian words for ‘soul’—e.g., *Tontembua* *nimukur*, *nimukur*, *Sangir hinkudal*, *Bentenan hinkudal*, *Ponosakan nimukur*.

The common belief is that not only men, but also all creatures, vegetables, minerals have a soul. The Ngaju Dayaks make a distinction between *hamburuan* and *gana*, the former belonging to men, animals, rice, money, and the latter to angels, some trees, and things. The *gana*, like the *hamburuan*, 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 its origin, the creator, or passes, directly or indirectly, to another life. The residuum of the individual, however, continues a shadowy existence as spirit. Such a spirit of the dead is called *lau* among the Ngaju Dayaks, and *angau*, *andaau*, among the Oceanese. It is believed that the *lau* goes forthwith to Lewu laiu, the spirit land, which it often leaves to roam in the woods or haunt its burial-place. During that time it is often harmful to the survivors, particularly by causing disease.

The common word for ‘soul’ in Battak is *boyu*, Nias *bohug*, which not only denotes the spirit of the departed, in which case we may translate it by ‘ghost,’ ‘spectre,’ but is applied also to supernatural beings, the *roto* or god. The Torajas use the term *angka* for the spirits of the dead, and, in particular, *aniku* for the spirits of chieftains and heroes. This word *aniku*, or *anskum*, so wide-spread throughout the whole area of the Malaya-Polynesian, in Formosa, the Philippines, and the islands of the Pacific, is the common term for the ghosts of ancestors in the Moluccas, Timor, and Rotti. The Rotineese use it also for demons, whereas the Hill Torajas apply it to their gods, who, in fact, are delineated ancestors. In general it is difficult to distinguish the ghosts of the departed from the spirits of higher beings or god, but among some Torajas who use the term *lauau*, we find that a distinction is made between higher and lower *lauau*.

According to R. H. Codrington (*The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1896), it must not be supposed that every ghost becomes an object of worship. A man in danger may call upon his father, his grandfather, or his uncle; his nearness of kin is important for it, and the ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his lifetime had means to help 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 to be found in powwow, The Karo Batang hold the ghosts of stillborn children in particular awe, making little houses for them, and honouring them with offerings. The inhabitants of the Luang Sermata Isles believe that the ghosts of those killed in war or by accident are called *ditik* in Galearase, *ditik* in Tobelorese. 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 belongs 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 *gajah deus*, with frequent offerings. The tutelary deity of a place is called *danghyang*, i.e., ‘the god’; as the name implies, he is not a ghost, but a supernatural being. The worship of this reputed founder of a settlement is very common in the Moluccas. The Galearase call the genius of a village and the forefather of its people *wongé*.

The Indonesians in general live in constant dread of innumerable ghosts, who are mostly malignant, and therefore must be propitiated by offerings or warded off by other means. Most feared is the *pointa* or *pontaan*, a word which with slight variations recurs in the whole archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. The *pointa* or *pontaan* 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 other means see Kruijt, *Het Animisme*, pp. 245–251).

All sorts of diseases are ascribed to the baleful influence both of ghosts and of other spirits. Especially in Nias we find several names of *behus* 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 the symbolic gesture of doing this is to scatter ashes, as if to blind the ghost. 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 restrictions 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 dwelling, whereas the spirits of the living are in the act 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 *tataau* of the Ngaju Dayaks and the *tengka* and the *monopone* of the Western Bare’Torajas. For the ceremonies of the feast among the Dayaks of Sarawak see Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak*, i. 288–310.

In the primitive belief of the less civilized Indonesians there is a bond of connection between a dead man and his body, chiefly his bones. It is usually the skull that is used as a medium for

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3. Described in Adriani-Kruijt, *De Bare’s-sprekende 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-working relics. Another method of communication is in idols representing the deified ancestors; these are held to be inspired after due initiation. Such images are very numerous in Nias, where they are calledatsu, and occur also in Ceram and in some other islands. The Battak have no idols of particular ancestors, but keep two puppets in their houses, one male, the other female, called Silaan (‘the primeval ones’), or Debata Idap (‘deities of life’). They seem to represent the primordial couple from whom mankind is sprung. Among the Nagaj Dayakas' puppets called hampitong represent the ghost (gaana) of the slaves of the deceased at the tawuh, but the term has also the more general meaning of ‘puppet.’ The Torajas, on the other hand, except the To Lagoes and To Onda's, have no images, but wooden masks (pennia). Stones are also objects of worship, as well as certain earthen pots or urns, which are regarded as sacred and inspired.

3. Fetishism. - The belief that persons, during madness, epilepsy, and sometimes abnormal states of mind, are possessed by spirits has led to attempts to reproduce the same phenomenal condition under the pretence to get in contact with spirits, to learn from them what medicines to apply or how to act in matters of importance. The medium through whom the spirits manifest themselves is the shaman, who is brought into a state of mental abnormality, and the rites employed for this purpose being multifarious among the peoples of Indonesia, but, in general, similar to what we find elsewhere, e.g., among the Burmec (q.v.). The Battak distinguish the shaman (tiboso) from the priest (datsu). Though their functions are not seldom analogous, there is this difference between them: the former acts unconsciously, under inspiration, whereas the latter gives his decisions, basing his acts on his knowledge of the classics 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 spirit in the form of a boy (tubao) of a shaman, or to conjure up the ghost of the dead. The manap, a word properly meaning ‘one who exercises power,’ is with the Sea Dayaks the man who is able to meet and converse with spirits. The same character belongs to the wakal, bii, kacor, and dayung 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 show signs of ecstasy caused by their being inspired. A peculiar kind of shamanism, which, however, is of foreign origin, is found in Halmahera.1

4. Mythology. - In general it may be said that the pagan 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 punishes the transgressors of his laws. In the Moluccas and the South-Eastern Isles the supreme deity is generally known under the name of Upa Loro (with dialectic variations). The word means ‘Lord Sun’—a sufficient proof of its origin. Upa Loro may be identified with Upa Langi, i.e., ‘Lord Heaven.’ The earth is a female deity, and represents the female principle, who, in the West monsoon, is impregnated and fructified by the male principle, Lord Sun-Heaven. Similarly, the Torajas recognize two gods: Ilai, ‘the Man,’ and Indara, ‘the Maiden;’ these formed men, but not animals or plants. In the Minahassa Muntumuntu is the sun and lawgiver. In the confused mythological lore of Nias we find Lowa Langi representing the creator of men, though himself is not primordial, but came forth from the bud of a tree. His counterpart is Lature, the chief of the evil spirits, who, curiously enough, is said to have his seat in common use, he is the master of all that is pitiable. The highest god of the Tobu Battak is Ompu mala jadu na bolan, ‘the Great Lord Origin of the Creation;’ and his subordinates are the three gods Deba na bolan: Battara guru, Sorinadu, and Mangala bujan. The use of the somewhat corrupt Sanskrit words is sufficient proof of foreign influence, but the name of the highest god is original, Bhatar Guru is a title of Siva among the Sakitas in ancient Java. Among the Kayans Battak, he is the highest god; and likewise among the Macassars and Buginese in former times. The Sanskrit word bhatera, in some more or less changed form, is found in many Indian languages in the sense of ‘god’ or ‘divine spirit,’ and is the name used by the Manyan Dayaks. With the Sea Dayaks it is batara or batar for higher beings. Thoroughly original is the word for the supreme being in Halmahera, viz., Galezarese Giki-moi, Tobolorese Giki-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 Narawalai, 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 saangu 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 after-life. The spirit of the djata (from Skr. dvata) are water-gods, whose ministers are the crocodiles. The water-spirits are called tagasangaraya in Nias. The hantus and hantuans of the Ngaju Dayaks are malign spirits, or demons, whereas the antu is considered by the Sarawak Dayaks to be a helpful spirit. The belief that demons make their appearance 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,
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, Tenang, and Deh Tenang, the patronesses of women. Laki Tenang is identical with Pas Silong of the Klementans, and Bali Pong-long of the Kenyahs.

Nature-worship. — Nature-worship in its widest sense finds its expression in the sacred character of mountains, volcanoes, seas, and rivers, all of them being inhabited and ruled by superhuman powers.

Literature. — The following is only a selection from the writings on the natural history of the Malay Peninsula.


MALAY PENINSULA

Trengganu on the east coast, all of which have recently been taken under 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. It is common to speak of the north of the Peninsula as British Malaya, a term which formerly included our far greater possessions in Sumatra and the densely populated island of Java. Occasionally the term is more accurately extended to include the island of Labuan, Borneo, 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 conclusions deducible from the geographical data. The Malay Peninsula itself would appear from very early times to have received a wave of migration from the Asiatic continent, while the protected character of the waterway on the west side, and the richness of this part of the peninsula in minerals and other products, have favoured its economic development. This has made it the only attractive objective for 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 peninsula are the aboriginal races, Chinese from the southern provinces of China, Canton, Fu-kien, and the island of Hai-nan, Tamils from S. India and Ceylon, and, in a lesser degree, Sikhs, Panjabis, and Pathans 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 Kraw Dividie, overstepping the natural 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 hedge of thorny bamboo, which is indigenous to 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) Malays.—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 Malayan 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 greater extent if not entirely, of aboriginal races. The Malays proper belong to the modified Southern Mongolid group of peoples found in Formosa, Sumatra, Java, and throughout a great part of the Malay Archipelago. When the Portuguese took the stratification of their immigration from Sumatra, about 900 to 1000 years ago, introducing a Hindustani civilization into the peninsula, it is probable that they found some Indio-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 Perak and Koman colonists, are still in the matriarchal stage as distinct from other Sumatran settlers, by whom customs of a patriarchal type are followed. In the Malay peninsular people, the influence of the Negri Sembilan 'follow the adat perpatih', which may be described as such a type, 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, together with Malay tourists, 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 Mohammadanism 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 Sumi Mohammadanism of the Shafiite school has remained (as in Java) the official religion of the peninsula, although among the less civilized of the Malays it is the nearest veneer covering a vast body of 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 describes the fact that, with hardly any exception, the countries of racing inhabitants of 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 Mongolid and a non-Mongolid, both terms being used broadly. Belonging to the latter family we have (1) Indo-negresses (defined by A. H. Keane1 as the pre-Malay 'Caucasian' element, of which the Veddas and the Kornhits, and one at least of the 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 generic culture, a more fully developed or specialized type, possibly the tall, brown-skinned Polynesian. These two main Indo-Negress types are said to be represented in the peninsula, the pre-Malay 'Caucasian' element by 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),2 while to the pre-Malay Oceanic 'Caucasians' (of the Polynesian or Maori type) belong the taller, more robust, 'Malays' of Kelantan and part of Patani. The latter may be described as very tall, somewhat fleshy, 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 Mongolian 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 Malayan proper being perhaps best regarded as a highly specialized offshoot of the southern or 'Oceanic' Mongolid race, immediately immigrant from central and southern Sumatra. They have long, lank, brinshy, black hair, and are almost beardless, with skin of a dark yellow-brown or olive hue (or the 'colour of newly-fallen leaves'); they are round-headed (brachycephalic), and often have more or less wide

1 Kroeber and Permoltz, Cambridge, 1890, 221.
2 E. O. Winstedr, Malay Grammar, Oxford, 1912, p. 12. This connection was first definitely asserted by Fr. Conil de...
and flattened noses, and somewhat thick ears, and on the average are about 1'61 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 prehensile; they will walk up a thin sloping pole leading to a raised platform or house-floor by gripping it with the hands and at the same time treading on it, evidently in order to make their motion more certain. Their hands are remarkably fine and small; the dagger-like ends of a well-developed old-style belt 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 certain feats 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, (b)), whom they drove before them into the fastnesses of the mountains and beyond the interior. It is thought that they also found some branch of the Môn-Khmer or Môn races holding the coast-line and other points of vantage, and thus occupying almost the same relation towards the aboriginal races as the Malays do at the present day, and that they then partly absorbed the Môns, by thinning them of their women, and partly drove them into the jungle. This episode is, however, a lost chapter in the history of the peninsula, although some such theory becomes necessary in order to account for all the actually extinct conditions.

The Malay races are but partly 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 Cambodia, Cham. 2 See CAMBODIA, CHAMS.

The hereditary savagery of the Malay nature, for many years after the introduction of the British Residental system (introduced to curb the tumultuous Malay Rajas, who were fostering piracy), continually broke out, the commonest form in which it showed itself being perhaps the "amok," the national Malay method of committing suicide, until the gradual strengthening of the right arm of the British law made it too risky to indulge in, when by degrees it became fashionable. Other striking evidence of the high-strung excitability of the Malay temperament is still to be seen in the form of the hysterical disease called "latax" (corresponding to what has been called "arctic hysteria"), which also has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

(b) 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 types are to be found among these primitive tribes. Of these tribes two, at least (the Semang and Sakalai), can be found in a relatively pure state, though only in very limited areas, and the third (the Jakun) is probably nowhere really pure. Admixture between the three has taken place in varying degrees throughout the peninsula, and the only satisfactory procedure anthropologically is to compare each tribe with the pure, unmixed standard or standards 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 Negritos (Filmy) 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 relic of the aboriginal population as far as New Guinea and the Philippines, although it is remarkable that no traces of such a race have yet been quite proved to have intermingled in Borneo midway between these two Negrito centres. The physical characteristics of these people are short stature (1'491 mm. male, 1'408 female), brachycephaly, skin varying from dark copper to shiny black, hair woolly, nose broad, lips curved, beard scanty. They extend from Patani to Kedah, and from Kedah to Mid-Perah and N. Palang.

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 — it cannot be too strongly stated that this is a mistake. At the utmost, it may be conjectured, with W. H. Flower, that they represent, with the true Pygmies, an original undeveloped stock from which the Papuans and 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 way 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 admixed with Malay, but are now clearly differentiated as a separate and independent type* most nearly akin to the Dravidian group of peoples. They are taller than the Semang (average height 1'594 mm. male, 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. Palang.

(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 Pronounced "Mouv". The Môns, or Talings, are remants of an old pre-Malay race, one that once covered the whole of lower Burma. The Talang language is the oldest linguistic structure of Indo-China, and is fast dying out, though it is the original tongue upon which the Burmese alphabet and religion were modeled, and in which were composed the Môn-Khmer works, which go back to about the 11th cent. of our era.

2 The Cham dialect has in recent years been shown to contain Malay elements (E. C. J. Hobart, Dictionnaire anglo-français, Paris, 1906). One of the most peculiar customs (the custom of a man non-Malay) attributed to the Chams is that the women ask the men in marriage.

3 Wilkinson has recently suggested that five aboriginal race types should be recognized. When, therefore, the new elements such as would be required in order to form the two proposed new types, have been differentiated, and these elements are all shown not to be referable to either one or the other of the types already identified, the problem will have reached a further stage of development. Certainly, as at all times, there must remain some unexplained points, it is probable that some further racial element may eventually be isolated. [R.S. G. Gov. Papers on Malay Subjects : Aboriginal Tribes, 1910.]

4 Hugh Clifford, In Court and Kampung, London, 1907, p. 175. But this is a microscopical slip for one of many as many as any other ten men to familiarize the English public with the peoples of Malay.

5 This all-important differentiation was first clearly established by E. Hartin; see his magnum opus, Inhalt und Entwicklung der malayischen Halbinsel, Leipzig, 1905.
varying degrees consists of some Malayo-Polynesian tongue, the vocabulary of which shows affinities with the Malayan languages 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 natural speech was in 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 so far as they are of Malayan type, they should be considered as aboriginal Malayan. In physical character they are a little taller than the Sakai, the head is brachycephalic, the skin dark coppery, hair long, straight, and smooth, nose straight, 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 (Orang or Jakun Bukit) and Sea Jakun (Orang Laut).

The most recent in regard to these tribes is the hair-character; hence we may distinguish the three main racial groups as ulotrichi (‘woolly-haired’), cymotrichi (‘wavy-haired’), and liso- trichi (‘smooth-haired’). This has undoubtedly been a considerable admixture between all the wild tribes, but, owing in particular to their being still pagans, it is improbable that they have been materially affected by intermarrying with the Malays, since nothing could be rarer than that a Malay woman should demean 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 Musulmans; many live in many districts, especially in Kedah, the adoption of the Muhammadan religion by a large portion of the aboriginal Semang element has caused them to be reckoned as part of the recognized Malay population.

3. Culture. (a) Malays. Apart from such tendencies as have already been mentioned, the Malay character may be regarded as a softened and more civilised form of the Mongol, since under ordinary circumstances he may be more or less helpmeet to his wife, a peaceable, quiet, civil, and loyal subject, though he still retains much of his old proud sensiveness, and in inland districts he is still reserved in his ways of life, and suspects and suspects strangers. In countries where he is less tramelled by civilization, the Malay is frequently of a bold and even savage character and makes an excellent soldier; there should, therefore, 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 all the 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 bowery hollows crowned with summer sea. It must be remembranced, too, that before the advent of the British the employment by his rulers of the krat or corete system, as well as the wide prevalence of debtslavery, made it difficult for the average Malay to rise above subsistence.

Among the institutions of the Malay race which share more or less with other races in the same region are the use of sea-canoes (prohuk), once associated with piracy, the building of houses on piles which have also developed on the border of tidal rivers, the practice of nesting on trees or even on the border of tidal rivers, by men-of-wars’ boats by slipping over the inundated river banks, the introduction of salt-water creeks. It was not till the second half of the 19th cent. that the prohuk was vanquished by the paddle-wheel.

These prohuk, being roomy boats paddled by large numbers of men, and of extremely shallow draught, could habitually单 pursuit by men-of-wars’ boats by slipping over the inundated river banks, the introduction of salt-water creeks. It was not till the second half of the 19th cent. that the prohuk was vanquished by the paddle-wheel.

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perforated half coconut 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 a manganese incrustation is traceable, the types being both graceful and attractive. In some cases the hematite, which turns black on firing, is used as a varnish. The wide-spread use of bamboo and the palm-spathe bucket as a receptacle is, no doubt, responsible for the making of more extended development of fibric ware, in spite of the great abundance of clays 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 heartbreaking effect of the superficial Muhammadan veneer which has been imposed on the Malays from without. The further from such influences, the nearer the climate becomes, and the better its quality. The Malays are especially ingenious in adapting means to ends and in conforming to the conditions of their surroundings; their houses are well adapted to the conditions of life of a jungle-dwelling race, whilst the seaworthiness of the Malay prau, or sailing-boat, bears witness to the reputation of the Malay as a sailor.

(b) Aborigines.—The culture of the wild tribes presents generally many features of similarity. They are similar in some respects 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 practise a primitive agriculture, sowing in a rude way small patches of rice or millet; their method of cultivating the wild 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 Sen Jakun 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 slaying 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 typical clothing consists of a girdle of leaves or on festal occasions, a belt of shining black strings, made of the rhizome of the Hawaiia. Their typical habits are of a primitive character, consisting of mere lairs, 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 toes are likewise formed into a concave surface, possibly in accordance with a once usual Malayan custom. They do not circumcise or (as a rule) chew betel, nor do they tattoo or scarify the body. They have no bows, but the arrow-reaches. Their most distinctive weapon is the bow with poisoned arrows; in fact, among the pagan tribes, the bow is, in the present writer's opinion, good prima facie evidence of Semang admixture; the northern Sakai, who also possess it, are more likely borrowed it from the Semang. Almost all, however, now also employ the bamboo blowpipe, of a different type from that of the Sakai, the idea of which has been copied, in all probability, from their Sakai 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 are settled by the chiefs. Complete equality exists as between individuals, and all property is held in common. Crime is rare, and punishable generally by fines.

The Sakai, a mountain race, are still largely nomadic. Their habitations 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 bathe in the sea and practise circumcisions and body-painting, and sometimes wear a porcupine quill or a metal ring through the nasal septum. Their distinctive 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 implements, more especially the blowpipe 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 only functionary is the pêngbulu (Mal. 'head-man'), 1 who has every right over his tribe. Except when enforcing his position, however, he is only the leader of a small tribe. The office is hereditary, but, failing a direct heir, the pêngbulu 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 executors of the death penalty. For theft, also, 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 is the unit which cultivates the land, and the produce is shared among the members. The limits of the family property are designated by the pêngbulu, 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 Sakai, who show strong Malay influence.

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 resembles that of the Malays, but is scantier. They sometimes file their teeth to a point. Their typical weapon is a blowpipe of bamboo, or, as in Kuantan, uniquely made of two half cylinders of wood fitted together for the purpose—corresponding exactly to a form of blow-pipe used in Peru. They have no bows. They use spears and enticusses; in some cases they also carry sword and kris like the Malays. They live in huts built on piles and use 'dug-out' boats of hollowed tree-trunks, but on the river only, not on the sea. They still use face- and body-paint, but do not tattoo or scarify the face. Their marriage customs include, like those of the Malays, 'bride-purchase,' the ceremony of eating together, and, in addition, the bride-chaos, which takes place round a large bell-shaped mound, constructed for the occasion, or an ant-hill or tree, if the tribe is a land one, or in a dug-out canoe—the form which it took among the sea-gypsies (Orang Laut). Their social organization is a higher type than that of either Semang or Sakai. The chief of their tribe, the batin, is the head of a group of villages, and has certain subordinate officers.
who represent or act for him upon occasion. Thus, among the Besisi 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 any misfortune or disaster, and the judge whose duty it is to punish wrong-doing. His substitute is the jinayang. Their subordinate, known as the penghulu balai,豪华 charge of the tribal feasts and councils, whilst the jukruk (probably = Mal. Juruk) is another officer. He is the summoner of the tribe; the penglima is the executive officer. Among the Benna each batin has authority within his own jurisdiction, but difficult or unusual cases are referred to a council composed of all the batin. In the absence of the headman, the batin is, indeed, almost an illegal crime against personal property is rare, and is expiated by payment of fines in the form of coarse Chinese plates or saucepans. One 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 Jober Jakun, where the eldest son has to be accepted by the tribe, and, if his brothers as well as himself are rejected, a suitable boy, selected from among the sons of minor officials, would be appointed by the batin to succeed his father. The inheritance of property was generally from father to children, but varied from tribe to tribe in the proportion assigned to sons or to wives and other relatives. Property held by a man before marriage among the Mantra was assigned on his death to his parents, brothers, and sisters.

A "language" (of Malay).—The Malay language belongs to the Malay-Polynesian family, related forms of which occur sporadically over an astonishing vast insular area, extending from the north-east coast of South America to the west of Fiji. The languages spoken by native Malays in the Malay Peninsula, Celebes, and Sundas are more closely related to the Malay-Polynesian languages than to any other group of languages. Malay, with its dialects, is the chief language of the Archipelago, and is spoken by nearly the whole Malay Peninsula. Malay is the true Malay word in tabulating the various elements in these aboriginal dialects first made this identification possible.

The Malay tongue, by which the standard speech of the Peninsular and Singaporean states is meant, is of such a nature and is so much modified by contact with foreign languages that it is impossible to give a satisfactory dictionary of it. Malay is a language of the Sino-Tibetan family. The words are of two kinds: (1) native words and (2) borrowed words.

From a phonetic point of view, Malay shows a remarkably small, almost a minute, number of changes during the last four centuries. At an earlier period it had, however, become a very different language from that of the present day, and the great number of loan-words formed by the Malays during the last four centuries is an indication of the rapidity with which the language of a people is becoming modified by contact with foreign languages.

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more interesting element has been proved to show a very close affinity with the Kâmar or Mô dialects of western Indo-China. The identifications, though certain and numerous and even striking, are rather disappointing, if considered as evidence of the fact that the Semang as a whole are a sub-breed himself once remarked by the present writer: 'What is the use of our assuming (as certain scholars maintain) that all Jakun dialects are identifiable with Môn, when all that has been identified is about 20 per cent of the entire vocabulary? The question is, what is the remaining 80 per cent fit for?'

To reply, we must study attentively both the Semang and Sakal syntax structure and a considerable percentage of the vocabulary, as regards Sakal, the phonology of the modern Jakun dialects are of no importance. In general, there remains an unidentified element. Semang embryo, a number of words which are confined to the Negritos and which are completely sui generis. It is clear that the Semang and Sakal dialects belong to the Mon-Anam group. These words relate to matters of everyday life, and presumably they represent the old original dialects of the Negritos. Relation ship with Andamanese has been suggested, but remains completely hypothetical; for hardly a single word of Semang is recognizable in the Andaman dialects, and this fact is one of the many and great puzzles of the Semang problem. For the unidentified element in Sakal so supposed or of origin has been made, though it is possible that many of the uncertain words may yet be traced not to a Malayu but to a Môn-Anam 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 words which seek the support the view that Jakun dialects were originally allied to Semang; on the contrary, a large number of Jakun words are certainly allied to Sakal, and with Sakal certain southern Sakal dialects seeks to eliminate any linguistic Jakun, but leaves uncov ered both Kâmar and the common element in which Mâtri, Bedunman, and Bedun speak every other known language.

Religion: greater gods.—(a) Malay. The official Malay religion, as has already been stated, is Muhammadanism, but the popular beliefs and ritual afford abundant proof, which is supported by the historical evidence, that this religion has been superimposed upon some form of Hinduism, which itself, when introduced into the country, superseded an earlier and more primitive type of belief, of shamanistic character. Folklore, charm-books, and romances go to show that the greater gods of the Malay pantheon—so far as their names go—are borrowed Hindu divinities, while the lesser gods and spirits are native to the Malay religious system, incorporated in and modified by the higher religion, that is not entirely forgotten.

Taking first the Hindu deities, we find Vînu, the preserver, Brahma, the creator, Batârârû 1 (Siva), Kâla, 2 and Seri 3 simultaneously invoked by the magician. Of the greater divinities of Batara Gâ, the majority of the gods of the Malays, unquestionably the most important; in other words, the Malays were of the Saivite sect of Brahmansim. In the Hikuyat Sang Senamo, the Malay version of the Bhavamahâkyâ, Batâra Gâ appears as the supreme god, with Brahmû and Vînu as subordinate deities. He alone has the Water of Life which resurrects slaughtered heroes. The Malay magician will, on occasion, boldly declare that he was the all-powerful spirit who held the place of Allah before the advent of Muhammadanism, the spirit so powerful that he 'could restore the dead to life'; and that to him all prayers were addressed at that period. It may be noted that most of the theological terms in use among the Malays are of Sanskrit origin, and that the titles Sang-yang ('the deity') and Batâra are used mostly of the older Hindu divinities. The Malays, however, continue to invoke the Sanskrit title of Gâ, seems to have transferred it to a hunting-god, whom they identify in certain localities with the 'Spectres,' or 'Demon Huntsman,' though pure Hinduism would certainly not have recognized hunting (one of the duties of the deity) as a pursuit fit for one of their deities. Further, the Malays distinguish between a good and a bad side of Batâra Gârû's character, which may point back to the combination into one of what were originally two distinct personalities, Batâra Gâru and Kala. Thus the Malay Kala holds as his only definite sphere of influence the sphere of spirits intermediate between the land-sphere of Batâra Gâ and the realm of the dominion of a third deity called 'Grand-Sire Long-Claws' (Toh Panjang Kuku). This attempt to divide the spheres of land and sea must again be attributed solely to the Malay. Malayology knows nothing of the sea. It is clear, therefore, that in the greater deities of the Malayan pantheon we may, after all, recognize Malayan deities simply re-named after the gods of the Hindus. The Batâra Gâru of the sea is identified by some magicians with Si Raya, and occasionally with the god of mid-currents (Mambang Tal Filu). Sickness is sometimes ascribed to him, but it is not described as being brought by the malice of the Demon Huntsman, and fishermen and seafarers, on the other hand, obtain from him many benefits. The only other deities of importance are the White Divinity, who dwells in the sun, the Black Divinity, who dwells in the moon, and the Yellow Divinity, who dwells in the sunset; the last is considered most dangerous to children, and Malayan parents always endeavour to keep their children within doors at sunset and during the twilight in order to avoid any harm.

(6) Pagan race.—In view of the still inadequate evidence of the beliefs of the pagan tribes in relation to a supreme deity, it is necessary to exercise some caution in making any statement as to their ideas upon the subject. On the other hand, it is at least safe to remark that any one who, as the result of mere worrying by questions, commits himself to the statement that any of these pagan races have no such beliefs whatever, proves merely that his own methods of investigation are at fault in these matters.

It appears, moreover, clear that the Semang and Jakun, and possibly also the Sakal, are at present in the stage of development, common to most primitive peoples, in which the supreme deity belongs to the realm of mythology rather than of religion proper. Since he stands more or less aloof from the affairs of this world and the next, and possesses no cult, his claims to recognition are set aside in favour of spirits more closely in touch with mundane affairs, whose powers for good and evil are constantly capable of exercise and who at every turn must be propitiated. Among the Semang there is clear evidence for a belief in the existence of such a being, combined with a crude dualism based upon natural phenomena.

According to one account, Tû Pûn ('Grandfather Pûn') is a powerful but beneficent being described as the maker of the world. He was, in fact, described to the present writer by the Semang of Kékal as being 'like a Malayu Raja; there was nobody above him.' He is the moon's husband and lives with Ag-Ag, the crow who is the sun's husband, in the eastern heavens. Tû Pûn has four children, two male and two female. His mother Yûk is the old earth-mother, and lives underground in the middle of the earth. He has a great enemy, Kakhû, who lives in the west. He is dangerous and very black. It is said that why the east is bright and the west dark. The heavens are in three tiers; the highest of which is called Kakhû, and which are defended against unauthorized intrusion by a giant coco-nut monkey, who drives away any one found trying to enter the heavens.

The naturalistic dualism of this account is obvious; from his place of abode, and from his having the moon as his consort, we may perhaps conclude that Tû Pûn is a spirit of the right hand. In addition it has been maintained that the Semang recognize two other superior deities, Kari, a thunder-god, the supreme creator, ruler, and judge, and Ple, a related but subordinate divinity, who, under Kari, created earth and man. The evidence, however, is too slender for dogmatic statement, and the point still awaits the collection of further material.
The religion of the Sakai is more shamanistic in character than that of the Semang, and, if any corresponding belief exists among them, as has been maintained, it is overshadowed by the cults of demons, ghosts, and spirits. The Jakan afford more certain evidence of a belief in a supreme deity and deceptions at the best a vague and shadowy. The Mantri say that Tuhan Di-Bawah, lord of the under world, created the earth and dwells beneath it, supporting everything above him by his power. The Benua believe in one supreme deity 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 Tuhan Allah; the grotesquely slight influence, however, that is really exercised by Muhammadan-

47. 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 Mahayana Buddhism, although its influence may in part be due to the law that the gods of the auto- chthones are usually considered by an invader more powerful than his own deities. These lesser gods are the river-gods, the fakirs, or hantu. The Malayan, 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 Geni (Sang Gala' Raja) appears to rise on occasion to the level of the great divinities, when he is regarded as a manifest-

48. The soul.—(a) Malay. In Malay beliefs the sëmangat (‘human soul’) is a thin, unsubstantial mannikin, temporarily absent from the body in sleep, trance, or disease, and permanently departed after death. It is about the size of the thumb and invisible, but it is supposed to have a proportion, and complexion to its embodiment; it can fly quickly from place to place, and it is often, perhaps metaphorically, addressed as a bird. In mental attributes it is similar to a man, with a person,

1 But this name (Penduduk, ‘Word of God’) is clearly borrowed, like Allah, from Muslim sources.

2 literally Skr. akṣara, ‘beneficent,’ an epithet of Siva.

3 Or ‘hidden.’

faries and very easily cheated; blood-sucking demons of various kinds, mostly birth-spirits (these last being certainly among the ghostliest conceptions of humanity); and others such as the hantu kopek, which is the equivalent of our own night-

5. Pagan races.—Except in one or two cases, little has been recorded concerning the beliefs of the pagan tribes relating to the spirits or demons. Those which most afflict the Sakai of Sul- Bertam are the ‘tiger-spirit,’ the ‘jungle-spirit,’ the ‘river- or water-spirit.’ Against these charms and simples can prevail. Against the tree-spirit, however, who slays his victims before any one can help, there is no protection. The Sakai of Selangor had a ceremony at which they sat and blew bamboo pipes and sang to the demons. The spirits in which the Besisi believe include the wind-demon (jin angin), who lives on a white rock near Tanjung Tuan (Cape Rachado); the demonic legion (jin sa-rau), which dwells in the earth and, when possible, feed upon human beings; and the rotting demon (jin sa-ropat), who lives in the uplands. Certain trees are the embodiment of spirits, notably the gasta, eagle wood, and bambobor trees, and this is why, as a law of nature, objects—e.g., canoes, treasure-jars, and stone implements. Chipping a jar kills its spirit.

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the semangat is distinctly referred to as being sevenfold, and, as a similar multiple division is found among savages (PCS I. 351 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 kingdoms are clearly recognized. While in the case of animals the semangat is a counterpart, on a reduced scale, 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 eagletree wood, 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 chipped 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. mayor, 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.

Although Malay animism is consistent and complex in extolling the belief in the semangat to all nature, animate and inanimate, side by side with the purely animistic belief there is abundant evidence of a special Circum-like theory attributing animism to trees, birds, and connected with the (accursed) human origin. The elephant, tiger, bear, deer, crocodile, solid-crested hornbill, and stick-insect are examples. Evidence of such anthropomorphisms is found not only in the folklore but in many magical ceremonies and charms of Malayans (on the semangat see, further, INDIANS).

(b) Pagan races.—Of the conception of the semangat held by the pagan tribes very little is known, but it is known that their beliefs must be inferred from their methods of burial and treatment of the dead and their views of the after life.

According to the eastern Semang (Pangun of Kayan), each man was a semangat shaped exactly like himself, but 'red like blood' and 'no bigger than a grain of maize.' It was passed on by the mother to her child. After death the semangats 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 clutch, and in this contemptuous fashion pulls them out. The old and wise men for this reason would often throw stones into the lake, the time could fly over the demon's head. The western Semang believed that only the medicine-men went to the Land of Fruit; the lay members of the tribe crossed the sea in the land of the seafarers and thatch-palms, wherein was the hole into 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 moons of day and one moon of night.

1 See also W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1900, pp. 59, 91, etc. It is surprising to find among Malays this sevenfold division of the semangat.


3 It is generally said that semangat proceed to a Hades (Nirvāna) where they are washed clean by one 'Granny Long-Breasts,' and made to walk across a rolling cauldron on the sharp edge of a chopper. Bad semangats fall in, good ones escape to an 'Island of Fruit,' where they wait until a friend comes to show them the way to the 'Hueks of the Goddess.'

The Mantari semangat is peculiarly positive faith in the continued existence of the semangat after death. It leaves the body and is carried by Bayang Laos either to Ngangani or to Fruit Island (Palau Budak), far away in the region of the region, where all semangat dwell in harmony, marry, and have children. Those who die a violent death go to Red Land (Tamah Merah), a desert place and barren, repairing thees the Fruit Island to get their nourishment. The Benus, on the other hand, believe that after death the semangat dissolves into nothingness again, having been fashioned from air by Firman. Notwithstanding this, they hold that the semangat of medicine-men, while their animal bodies remain behind, are conveyed or carried to heaven in music.

3. Animism.—Although it would in any case be justifiable to regard the attitude of the Malays towards the kérans, or holy place, as a survival from an earlier stage of religious belief on the analogy of similar ideas among more primitive peoples, there is, in addition, abundant evidence to support the view that not only Muhammadanism, but also the popular ideas traceable to the influence of Hinduism, are superimposed upon a form of religion in which animism was the predominant factor. A belief in spirits pervades the whole of the everyday life of the bulk of the people. The position and importance of the animals of the Malays with (pawang and honmor), the language of the innumerable 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—tell 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 statements that in certain cases the Malays believe that animal powers, such as those of the monkey or the tiger, are the spirits of human beings, and that the spirits of the dead are wont to assume the form of supernatural beings.
to one tribe of Sumatrans, the Korinchian Malays, of whom there are a number living in the peninsula. In one case a dead tiger was identified by his possessing a gold tooth derived from his human origin (see Lycanthropy). Both ghost-elephants and ghost-tigers are strongly believed in. They are represented as thin men with elephant-like feet, harmless, and are the tutelary spirits of certain regions of sacred localities. The most famous ghost-tigers of the peninsula dwelt on Mount Ophir (4000 ft.), near Malacca; in Selangor they were 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 tied with a man's moustache, to strike terror into his enemies, and the former is 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 monkey. One animal occupies the place of Brer Rabbit in Malay folklore; it figures in numbers belief sayings and romances, and is honoured by the title of Mentari Belakar, 'the Viser of the (secondary) Moon'. In the rain-making ceremony it is said to ask for fire wherewith to ' singe its mother-in-law's feathers' (a bird).

Hunting dogs are continually addressed as if they were human beings. It is, however, believed that it is the duty to keep them in the jungle, unless the person meeting them barks after the manner of a wild dog before they have time to do so. Cass, in addition to possessing supernaturnal powers (e.g., in the rain-making ceremony), are lucky because they went for their owners. The other hand, cat-killers, when in purgatory, will be required to cut and carry coco-nut logs to the number of hairs on the cat's body, wherefore cats are not eaten, but only set adrift on rafts to perish of hunger. The flesh of swine is now regarded as unclean by the modern (Muhammadan) Malay, 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 it 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 monkey and cat, it is self-imposed by magic, by special charms supplied by the medicine-man, 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 an appeal to the tutelary spirits of the elephant-wizard, the Malay deer-wizard himself must first enter the toils before a hunt begins, in order to influence the deer magically to enter the deer-anees. If this was omitted, the result would be that none of the deer, nor would the deer enter. The marks on the legs of the sambar deer (russ) are due to ulcers on the legs of their natural origin.

Fish and other invertebrates, 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 accorded to have lain like one 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 Anuahuma is recalled by a Perak story of a large specimen of the mudfish called arvan. Many magical or semimagical 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 the cane-paddle or holding a toy 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 eating the tail of curries for fear that the wooden cross-piece buried in the bait will fail to hold the crocodile.

An elaborate ceremony precedes and accompanies a fishing expedition. It includes noication by three loud cries to the wind-spirits that offerings, consisting of raffles, beefsteak, goat sacrificed for the purpose, cigarettes, etc., hung up on a tree in a sacrificial tray, and their acceptance, and the slaying of two similar trays, one in shallow water and one, containing the goat's head, at the seaward end of the fishing stakes. Miscellaneous offerings from a basket are scattered while the boat is rowed out to the stakes, and, when they are reached, saffron-coloured and parched rice is scattered on the water, while the neutralizing rice-paste ceremony is performed on the stakes and the boat. A number of tabus, such as seven days' refrain from sexual indulgence, the avoidance of bathing without a bathing-cloth, or of taking an umbrella into the fishing-boats, or of climbing the fishing-stakes with boots on, are strictly enforced. The use of a taboo language by the fishermen is also de rigueur.

Among the wild tribes similar beliefs are entertained, but in particular they look upon animals as the embodiment of their illustrious forefathers. The elephant, the largest and most important of the animals, is the one into which the sinangats of Semang chiefs are supposed to migrate. In consequence, it has euphemistic and propitiatory 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 sinangats of chiefs are supposed by the Besial to migrate is extended beyond beasts of prey, including deer and pigs as well as tigers and crocodiles. Among the Mantri the tigers are the slaves of the wizard, or pungang, 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 in such a form he may wreak vengeance on his enemy or give play to his malignity. The amount of unmagical history associated with the sinangats is quite remarkable for a race whose jungle knowledge is so complete as it is among real up-country Malays. The case of the large eel which is believed to metamorphose into a squirrel is typical. (b) Birds—are ideas of elephants, wise or amiable, or anthropomorphic 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 hoots, it is said that...
there will soon be a 'tearing of cloth' for a shroud. If the Bòborek, a nocturnal bird which flies in flocks (a goat-sucker or night-jar), is heard, the peasant beware; a wood pigeon beats it with a knifeful and calls out, 'Great-grandfather, bring us their hearts,' in the hope of deluding the spirits into the belief that he forms one of the train of the Spectre Huntsman (hantu pénbura) which these birds accompany, and must therefore not be attacked by them.

The argus pleasant (kwan) is said in Perak to have been metamorphosed from a woman; the female, moreover, 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 (rhinoplaez) to have been a man who slew his own mother-in-law. The tok kotamoi (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-hue, ensures a good harvest to its owner; a ground-deve, kept in a house, is a prophylactic against fire. If any one is fortunate enough to secure the nest of a kind of heron, or rat-tailed pigeon in forests upon him the power of invisibility. But the list of birds to which it has been recorded that the Malays attach peculiar ideas and significance may be said to be limited only by the varieties indigenous to the peninsular.

In following, as in hunting, sympathetic magic plays a prominent part, while every operation has its appropriate charm for repetition. In catching wild pigeons, constant reference is made to their simanguat, and the aid of three charms is required to perform the 'neutralizing rice-paste' ceremony in the space in front of the conical smarier'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-tube or pigeon-call. During the operation great care is taken that no part of the smarier's paraphernalia is called by its proper name (which might be understood by the pigeon); everything is called by some euphemisms beginning with 'the Mother 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 degree, if not entirely, their customs in relation to animals. It is not clear that they hold that all trees have a simanguat, but it is certain that some trees, such as the durian, the coco-nut-palm, the trees producing eagle-wood, camphor, and guutta-percha, and others are supposed to possess simanguats. 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 groves into addressing 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 collected from the coco-nut-palm, 'Thus I bend your neck and roll up your hair; and here is my ivory toddy-knife to help the washing of your face.' The maleca cane is regarded from the same animistic point of view, and it is believed that the smarier 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 maleca cane-spirit. In selling a tudang 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 service of a special spirit who is supposed to be the demon by charms and incantations. In the course of the incantation the heads of two white fowls are cut off and the blood is sprinkled upon the tree-trunks. The line is another tree of which the spirit is the object of a special cult, and looked upon as their chief patron by the theatrical players of Penang. In searching for the diseased and perfumed wood known as ghariu, or eagle-wood, the smarier of a petjung are required to burn incense and repeat the appropriate charms. According to one account, the petjung 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 ghariu-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 polished uses and carries with him to a piece of eagle-wood, the ghariu wodupa (or shaped eagle-wood), which possesses a natural resemblance to some animal or bird. This is believed to contain the simanguat of the eagle-wood and confers upon him the power to produce. Similar beliefs are entertained, and similar ritual is followed, in the collection of camphor and guutta-percha. It is interesting to note that in the collection of camphor a special language must be used, pantung kapar, which, so far as known, is Malay in part only. A portion of any food eaten during the search for camphor must be thrown into the jungle for the bian, or camphor-spirit. Many rules followed in planting the groves are based upon sympathetic magic and amulets. In the first place, the propitious season for each operation must be indicated by the petjung. Sugar-cane must be planted at noon; this makes it sweeter by drying up the juice and leaving the saccharine matter. Maize should be planted with a full stomach, a thick stick, and thick dibble; this will swell the maize ear. Plantains should be planted after the evening meal, as they fill out better in the night air. Sweet potatoes, etc., are planted with 'eyes' when they begin to sprout; should be set about when the night is starry. Of all agricultural pursuits, however, the cultivation of rice exhibits most completely the animistic ideas which form such an important part of Malay culture and customs.

At every stage of the procedure the men are taught to avoid 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 petjung; prayers are read over a portion of the seed used at the mosque (replacing an earlier ceremony at the holy place, or kertidin); 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 propitiatory ceremonies, and occasionally, may occasionally, occasion, three or four times, one accompanied by a ceremony—a sort of mock combat (tisulak)—to chase off evil spirits. When the rice is ready for reaping, in order to begin the harvest, the first operation is to take the simanguat 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 cut there is a path and where there are seven joints to the stalk, seven stems are clipped ceremonially to be simanguats of the rice-crop. Another handful is tied by the petjung in the centre with a strip of a special variety of sugar-cane, to be the mother of the rice-crop of the year following. This mother-plant is cut last, preferably by the wife of the owner. The simanguat was made into the shape of a small bud dressed in swaddling clothes, placed in a basket with a painted face, the sun, and held on a new sleeping-mat, with pillows at its head, in the house of the owner. For three days the house must observe certain tabus; e.g., rice, salt, oil, money, etc., must not be kept in the house, perfect quiet must be observed, hair must not be cut, and so forth. These tabus are generally identical with those imposed in the case of the birth of children. For three days after the taking of the simanguat the
mother-sheaf was treated as a young mother; &c., young shoots of trees were pounded and scattered over it every evening, and on the evening of the third day coco-nut pulp and goat-dung, mixed with sugar were eaten and a little ejected from the mouth on to the sheaf—an analogue of the Salem administered before entering the clean house. The person must kiss the stalks, saying: 'Come, come, soul of my child,' as if embracing one of her own infants. Ultimately the rice is ground (representing the child) and from the sheaf (representing the mother) are mixed and placed in the forest where the rice is stored, together with a wreath of the straw of the first ceremonial pounding of the padi. While the ears first pounded being those cut immediately after the taking of the harvest and mixed with next year's seed, and some is used to make the tepung tawar.  

From all that has been said it will be clear that the gist of the Malayan harvest ceremony consists in the attempt to simulate, on behalf of the vegetative rice-crop, a lucky birth as of a human infant, in the hopes that this mock-ceremony may simulate the productive powers of the rice-plant for the following harvest.

(d) Mining.—In the western States of the peninsula tin-mining was, and is still, the most important industry. Although mining is now carried on chiefly by Chinese, the ceremonies in use at the mining of a mine are purely Malayan. Formerly a lucrative and highly important past was that of mining wizard; some of those magicians were believed to possess the power of bringing ore to land, and it did exist, and of turning it 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 baboon, 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 roc-tree—an idea 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 Lump 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 new-born child, and that of steel is frequent (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 charm that might have been thrown around him. Bezoar-stones and stone implements alike are said to be endowed with magical 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 spirit to partake of a banquet spread for it in a receptacle intended to represent a royal hall of audience. The spiritual 'audience chamber' is usually two or three feet square and furnished with offerings similar to those normally placed before a mother. A woman, when entering the stratum, and immediately after the city of Sumatra. Another version of the Creation, in part ostensibly due to Muslim influence, describes how God, the eldest magician, pre-existing by himself, created the pillar of light from the four corners of the earth, and the world-a snake, Sakatimuna, which was killed by Gabriel and broke asunder, the head and fore part shooting up to heaven, the tail part penetrating downwards beneath the earth and devoured by a certain serpent (whose name suggests an Indian origin).

1 Lit. 'cube' (the cube-shaped sanctuary of the Black Stone at Mecca). For the Ra'is see Mecca.
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 body of fire moves 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 perforations. The earth is declared to be carried by a colossal buffalo on the tip of its horns—an obvious Malay parallel to the world-elephant in the Ramayana and the boar- incarnation of Vishnu. When the buffalo gets tired, the buffalo tosses up the earth and catches it on 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 girt round by a huge serpent which feeds upon its own tail. Particularly Malay, on the other hand, is the idea of the tides, which, it is said, are caused by the motion of two other serpents that twice a day leaves and re-enters its cave at the foot of the world-tree Pauh Jiangi (the sea-coco-nut-palm), which grows on a sunken rock or quicksand on the Great Whirlpool of the Ocean (pseudotase). 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 through the heavens by angels during the day, and led back again at night-time to the point whence it started.

Eclipses of the sun and moon are considered to be due to the devouring of these bodies by the gigantic dragon (Rahu), or, according to some, a giant clam. The Chinese also invented other races, and race notions, to save the sun and moon by making a vigorous noise to drive away the destroyer. The spots on the moon represent an inverted banyan tree, under which sits a old huntsman, plaits strings of tree-bark, or, as some say, spinning cotton. As soon as his task is finished, he will angle for everything on the earth's surface. The line has not yet been completely developed by a rabbit, which, if it is at all present, is always watching. It should be added that the Malay phrase, bulan bulan pindadok ('the moon is great with the mouse-deer'), is doubtless explainable by the fact that in Sanskrit mythology the mouse-deer are thought to be a hare or antelope, 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.

Landslips 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 on the backs of the water-beasts. 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 in which a water-jar (tampayan) hails itself 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 (ramam), '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. The root of a plant, Ampelos tithos, an evil-smelling root much disliked by evil demons. Pulau Tiongan, an island south-east of Palang, is believed to be actually the body of a dragon, or naga. The Malay who told this to the present writer said that, on one occasion, when he was on a Government vessel passing this island, when her 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 now 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 in reality 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 Japanese, who have been credited by some authorities with Malayan ancestry, they start the new year with a crew (Ag-Ag), whom they assert to be the husband of that luminary, whereas the husband of the moon is Tt Pomm (see above, p. 354). When the sun sets, it falls into a cavern, where some Semang identify its spirit with that of the Great Serpent. Eclipses are caused by a huge dragon, or serpent, which tries to swallow the luminaries; in the case of the moon, the Semang assert that the serpent is the moon's mother-in-law, who has assumed this form and is trying to embrace it. The explanation is clearly regarded by the Semang with loathing and abhorrence. The rainbow is a huge python, or serpent, and the spots where it touches the earth are wherever and hard to live near. The Semang say that the great shower of thunder and lightning the Semang draw a few drops of blood in a bamboo internode and throw it skywards. As the ghosts of wicked tribesmen 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 (Pangan).

Thunderbolts are supposed to be hurled as the result of undue familiarity towards a mother-in-law. An unusual explanation of thunder and lightning from Kadah is that the latter phenomenon is the flashing of the female doctors and medicine men. The thunder is the hum of the toads themselves when revolving.

The Kadah Semang hold that heaven consists of three tiers or layers: the highest is filled with the 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 pillagers by a gigantic baboon who pells any such would-be assailants with 'false durian-fruit' (the produce of a wild fruit-tree); the third has nothing but the low brooding clouds which bring sickness to humanity.

Of Sakai belief little that is typical has been recorded, such information as is available testifying to a close resemblance to Semang beliefs. Râ-hù (obviously the Indo-Malay Râh), a being resembling a dragon, round the sun and moon, but is driven away by the beating of drums and clappers. Kelang Belok, a world-sage, at one time destroyed all human beings except a boy and a girl. With a magic knife the boy slew the
eagle, and from this pair all mankind are descended. The Sakai are said to indulge 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, though the forces themselves are not demons. The earth is a thin crust resting on the nether ocean, and the heavens possess several layers, or tiers; the inhabitants of the uppermost are said to include a race who has to wash the six-blackened souls in hot water.

The Blandas of Selangor say that the earth was originally the shape of a flat long betel-box (sodok-sodok), the nether ocean had the form of a globular tobacco-box (lipok-klik), and the heavens round and arched like an umbrella. The Blandas' account of paradise resembles that of the Bésai. 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, an 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 a bridge 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 which sits at the parting of the ways by which they have to go. Those who do not have access to the spirit 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 protects from wild animals 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 motion of the sun, moon, stars, etc. The dark spots in the moon they believe, however, to be a tree beneath which sits the shadow-man Moyang Bertang, an enemy of mankind, who is constantly making noises with which to catch them—a task which he is prevented from accomplishing by mice, who continually gnaw through the strings. Elephants are not allotted to harm the 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 swirling about it, while the stars stick to it. Women's children are said to be as many children as the moon, but, having been tricked by the latter into eating them, now pursue 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 Bena 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 Malay, or South-East Asian, race is the son 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 four elements by the angel Azael, not without strenuous opposition and the consent of the earth itself. A common feature of Malayan romances and legends, which also appears in Japanese folklore, is probably also presented in the story of the discovery of human beings in the interior of some vegetable product, as, e.g., in the story of a giant bamboo, which contained a fresh shoot that was cut down, and in which King Darassà, according to the story in Sri Rama (the Malay version of the Râmâyana), found the princess, or, again, in the tradition of the discovery of the ring of the ring of the ring of the river of the rice paddy.

(b) Pagan races.—The Semang story of the origin of the human race is that the first woman, seeing that all other animals had children, was desirous of having offspring of her own, but did not know how to obtain them. So her husband took to carrying a brace of fire-logs under their arms in a way of make-believe. But one day the coconut monkey (Bôo), on noticing what they were doing, gave them advice, as a result of which they had two children, two boys and two girls. These married and had children of their own, but the ring-dove (ôkôkor) 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 greater story of the creation: the first man, Mërtang, the first medicine-man, and his younger brother, Bîo, who came from a place called Rûsing land (Tanah Bangun) in the sky and returned there after a sojourn on earth. They were the children of two women, Vûlul and Vûlul of the two tribes Sa-Tidik and Handful of Earth (Tanah Sâ-Képàl), the latter being their mother. Mërtang took his youngest sister to wife, and from them the Mantri are descended. Bîo married the other sister, but had no offspring. When Mërtang died, Bîo, being an alarming extant, Òé Entah (or 'Lord-knows-who'), the first batin, a son of Mërtang, drew his father's attention to the circumstance. Mërtang wished things to remain as they were, but Bîo suggested that they men ought rather to die, after the fashion of the banana, which itself expires, although its young scions survive. Thus it was decided, and so the old now die, although they leave their children behind them. According to another version, the Mantri are descended from two white apes (ungka putih) who sent their young ones down into the plains, whereupon 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. The story of the princess found in the bamboo also occurs among the Mantri.

Benau tradition says that a man and woman were created by Firman when he formed the world. When the Lulum 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 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 belief 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 alleged that the Malay king originally had the right of raising beings in the interior of some vegetable product, as, e.g., in the story of a giant bamboo, which contained...
without being guilty of a crime and without any indemnity being asked him. Not only is his body sacred, but that sanctity extends to the royal regalia, which no one may touch, or even make models of, without incurring the risk of a grave illness, possibly even death itself. Any one who inadvertently pollutes the royal person, or wrongfully makes use of the royal insignia or privileges will be struck down by the divine (quasi-electric) discharge of the royal sanctity (daoulat). In the Malay Romance the kings are credited with all the attributes of inferior gods; they are usually invulnerable and gifted with miraculous powers, such as that of transforming themselves, returning to life, and resuscitating the lives of others. As a divine man the Malay king possesses a number of prerogatives which enter into almost every act of life and effectually set him apart from ordinary men. One of these is the sole use of white for the royal umbrella, and the use of yellow cloth (the white umbrella, once the royal emblem throughout Indo-China, has now been abandoned for yellow). Linguistic tabus are also employed with reference to the king, such words as santap, 'to eat'; beriu, 'to sleep'; gering, 'to be'; substitute for the usual Malay words when reference is made to the royal person. At the Malay king's death his name is dropped and he is called Marlum, the deceased, with the addition of a phrase descriptive of some prominent, and often uncomplimentary or grotesque, event of his lifetime. One of the most important and significant beliefs connected with the king is that which attributes to him a personal influence over the works of nature, such as the growth of the crops and the bearing of fruit-trees. This also, in a minor measure, applies to his delegates, and in modern times even has been extended to European officials employed in the government of the country.

The king is said to possess a magical property upon which the regal sanctity is based. It is a quality of the ordinary individual, though usually inversely in the sense that it is susceptible to evil influence, and, in the case of parts of the body, capable of coming to grief even to the owner. The head is still, to some extent, regarded as sacrosanct. In cases of assault greater penalty is exacted for an injury to the head than for that to any other part of the person. The hair is carefully supplied to be employed in cutting the hair; sometimes it is never shorn; more often it is not cut during a special period—e.g., after the birth of a child. Often a boy's head is shaved after birth with the exception of one lock in the centre of the head, which is allowed to grow until he begins to grow up, or even, in consequence of some parental vow, until he attains the period of puberty or marriage. These customs may be due to the sanctity of the head, or possibly to the idea that magic may be brought to bear upon the former owner of the hair by means of that which has been cut off. For this reason both hair-clipings and nail-parings are carefully disposed of, while they are invariably mentioned as part of the ingredients of the well-known wax mannikin still believed to be most effective in bringing about the illness or death of an enemy. To the same category belongs the practice of kneading up with the substance an image of a mannikin the eyebrows or other hairs of the intended victim, or soil taken from his footprint.

12. Holy places.—Notwithstanding the existence of the mosque as the centre of religious life, there is a strong element of belief in the efficacy of holy places (kérmat), at which vows are paid on special occasions. Such spots are invested with a high degree of sanctity. In theory they are the burial-places of holy men, the early apostles of the Muhammadan 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 kérmat are not graves at all, but fall into the category of those holy places which the Malas themselves, when asked to interpret them, explain as being 'spirit places' (kérmat jin). For instance, the kérmat of Nakhooda ( 'shipmaster') Usain on Bukit Nyalas, near the Johol frontier, consists of rocks exhibiting no sign of any kind of burial. This (orthodox) jin presides over rain and streams and all kinds of water. Incense is burned 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 kérmat is a tree with a protruberance 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 Bata Tre, to which the Mantri have resorted from time immemorial. A similar rock is situated on the top of Gunong Berembun ('Benign Mountain'), while other mountain summits also have similar wishing-places, each possessing its good spirit. The supplicant who visits these places carries with him a couple of white fowls and samples of various articles of food in a tray, which is left on a tree or placed on the highest peak of the summit. After his wishes have been silently addressed to the spirit of the mountain, the petitioner sets a meal prepared on the spot for the purpose.

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; its efficacy 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 buffalo a goat, for a goat a cock, for a cock an egg—a fact which explains the frequent use of an egg in Malay sacrifices. The idea of abnegation among the Malas appears to be confined to votal ceremonies or vows in which the votary's offering is not regulated by cash. All ceremonies ('His Glenn Farg'), understanding that he will sacrifice something of value to himself.

The chief rites performed on various occasions, to which reference is made below in connection with special beliefs, are: (a) prayer, performed at
shrines; (b) the rite of burning the incense; (c) the scattering of the sacrificial rice; and (d) the application of the neutralizing rice-paste.

The purification of the rice performed at shrines are the burning of incense, the offering of nasi kunyit (yellow-stained rice), and the killing of be-gods. The worshipers partake of the congee and, in some cases at least, of the yellow rice, while the white (‘soul’) cloth, five cubits in length, one for each of the river arms, or ‘arms’ of the mosque attendant (tutiak), though formerly it doubtless went to the puaqang.

(6) The burning of Incense is the commonest form of burnt sacrifices. An invocation is sometimes addressed to the spirit of the incense, urging it to pervade the skies and enter the nostrils of the god. Omens are drawn from the way in which the smoke rises.

(7) The scattering of the sacrificial rice is performed with four varieties of rice-grain (parched, washed, sulfonstained, and a special kind called ‘glorious rice’, or palaqang). The parched rice is generally used for scattering on the sacrificial tray after the basilisks have bitten on the ridge of the intended victim, the pagan cutting the rice with an iron knife. The rice is then thrown on the sky or over the huts of the village.

(8) Lustration is accomplished by fire or water. Of the former there is the ceremonial burning of the genitals of infants and the roasting of the mother after childbirth. One of the functions of lustration by water is an integral portion of a large class of ceremonies connected with bathing, fishing, agriculture, marriage, etc. It is called ompang sauvar, or ‘neutralizing rice wind’ (river). It consists in the application, by dabbing, painting, or sprinkling of a wash of water made of the rice used when burning offerings to the ancestors, the brush is made of boughs of five, seven, or nine leaves, and the rice is (a) planted on the floor, or (b) tied in strings of five, seven, or nine grains, or (c) burnt. The materials and combinations vary, of course, with the occasion and character of the ceremony, and in the last case as the embodiment, blessing the fishing-stakes, or for taking the rice-soul). Short rhythmic charms were often used to accompany the rites, but were not repeated audibly.

Developments of the idea of lustration by water are to be found in the curing of the mother and child after birth and the washing of the floor on similar occasions, the ablation of the sick, the bride and groom, and of corpses, and also annual bathing ceremonies which purify the bathers and protect them from evil. Fasting in the form of religious penalties is now seldom practiced, but in former days to be undertaken to secure a state of expiation, to induce visions, or to acquire supernatural powers. The fast always took place in a solitary place, and the fasting person was usually clothed in white, as the royal colour, and he might, like the king himself, enforce the ceremonial use and disuse of certain words and phrases. Probably both offices are held to be dangerous. Other powers and attributes of the medicine-man who may be mentioned are his ability to act as a spirit-medium and to give oracles in trances, and his practice of austerities and observation of chastity for the sake of his use of mesmerism is not yet recorded, but motor automatism is frequently observed. Although the office of the medicine-man is hereditary, the power may be acquired by certain recognized methods. One of these is to raise and meet face to face the ghost of a recently buried person, or the soul of an infant, by means of incantations and formigations performed at the grave-side.

The Malayas themselves make some distinctions between the puaqang and the bomor, 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 medical man’s art are identical with those of the puaqang; they depend upon a belief in spirits, and the aim of his treatment is either to propitiate or to overcome their influence.

The bomor’s procedure in dealing with disease falls under two clearly distinguished headings. First comes the ceremonial incitation and instigation of the spirit 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 coins thrown in a water-jar, or by the aspect of parched rice floating on the water’s surface.

The therapeutic rites are various in character:

1. Propitiatory ceremonies, the most popular of which is the use of the sacrificial tray called anahak, a small frame of bamboo or wood decorated with a fish, and the rice-leaves mentioned, on which offerings of food are laid for the spirits to eat when they has been hung in a suitable spot outside the house.
As an alternative method models of certain objects are placed upon the body of the sick person, or the spirits are invited to enter them, and then the tray is then got rid of by being hung up in the jungle or set adrift on the sea or nearest river.

The Balinese rite of counter-charms to neutralise the active principle of poisons, extended by the medicine man in most cases where any evil principle (even a familiar spirit) is believed to have entered a sick person's body. The ceremony of applying such charms usually consists in making use of certain powdered herbs or cal of water and drinking it after reciting the incantation.

Some of the charms intended to expel from the patient's body all kinds of evil influences or principles, such may have entered him on touching a dead animal or bird, or being improperly handled, etc. This is known as 'Wild Huntman.' The evil principle is known as bodi atarny to everything that has life, including inert objects such as trees, and even stones and minerals, which, in the Malay view, are animistic. Of these evil principles or 'mischiefs' there are one hundred and ninety, or, counting to seven, one hundred and ninety-three. To 'cast out the mischief,' the patient is smoked down with a brush (made of certain prescribed leaves and plant-sprays) which has been dipped 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 'mischiefs' are driven from the body along a red thread, which the patient holds in his hand, until it reaches the neck of the patient. According to popular belief, they may also be expelled by a long and elaborate ceremony in which a protective spirit, such as the tiger, or elephant, comes to the assistance of the spirit, setting upon the medicine-man, who, while in a state of possession, simulates the movements of the animal spirit summoned, enabling him to mobilise the superior spiritual powers.

(a) **Recovery ceremonies**—cere monies to recall the sick person's soul. In these the dead is rolled into a human figure, which is laid upon five cubes of cloth. Rice is scattered, incense burned, and a charm recited to induce the deity to enter the body and be transferred thence to the soul-cloth, and thence to the patient. Similar ceremonies are also to prevent the sémangat of a swooning person from escaping.

(b) **Pagan rites.**—the bélam (shaman, or medicine-man) is the most important member of the tribe. The Beni Béru separated in the case of the chiefs or head-men are always bélams of more or less reputation. They obey certain prohibitions which do not affect ordinary members of the tribe; they may not eat the flesh of domestic animals, like pigs, fowls, or goats, and are of donkeys and fowls but rarely. They receive a special form of burial, traditionally regarded as specially honorable, consisting of a rude shelter built in a tree, in which are placed a medicum of food and water, a jumkayf, etc. It is believed that they are able to proceed to paradise in trances and to drive out devils. They alone know the love-charms that never fail, and can slay men by 'sendings' at a distance, and are the only ones who can give a person the power to change themselves into werewolves, and at their death their sémangat passes into 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 exorcised as such. They are abstracted sympathetically from the body by pulling up sapling stumps at near the place where the disease is believed to have entered the patient. The affected part is rubbed with earth taken from the hole in which the root grew; chewed betel is ejected on the body (in imitation of the Malay medicine-man, and the hurling of dead saplings into the wood, so that the evil spirit may escape in the form of the tree's bark. 'Sendings' are performed by a minute dart or splinter of bamboo about two inches long, which is laid on the right palm and is ordered to go through the patient's heart, and then forth to the demon. 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 'sendings' were said by the Semang to be effective at 'a distance of probably two miles.'

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 avoid even mentioning by name; the droplenic demon (kántu kémbong), which haunts the abodes of men and afflicts them with pains in the stomach and head; the Demon Huntsman (the kántu si buru of Malayan origin), who dwells in lakes or pools, is black, and has three dogs which he will cause to chase a man in the forest; if they catch him, they will drink his blood and that of his substance; they will then 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 their causing their death. When a person is wounded, the kántu pari fastens on the lesion and causes the blood to flow by sucking. The Berembun tribes believe that diseases are inflicted by the spirits of the rivers (kántu sungen), which are evil and feed on the human sémangat.

The Mantri magician's most noted form of 'sending' is the fijyu, or pointing ceremony, which is achieved by the use of wax from an abandoned bees' nest.

When a wind blows in the direction of the victim, the magician takes a vessel of water and a lighted candle or two, and arranges an incision where the wind is supposed to be. Then when he discerns the image of his intended victim in the water, he throws the wax into the air and the wind will carry it to his victim. The latter feels as if struck by some unseen agent, 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 or has set up a way off the blow, but may even prevent the magician from seeing the image of the victim in the water. Amulets are much used as prophylactics against those diseases which are most frequently attributed to 'sendings,' but which may also be due to unsatisfied cravings (abhít pánum).

Among the Bena Jakun the magicians are an order combining the offices of priest, physician, and sorcerer. They and the Belel medicine-men are much dreaded by the Malays, who believe them (as autochthones) to be more powerful than their own magicians, especially, e.g., in matters in which the performance of the Beni bérpan ceremony is likely to be effective. Not only can the medicine-men cure, but they can inflict disease and death-sickness. This is usually effected by the 'pointing,' or fijyu, ceremony. Every tiger is subject to the pointed. They alone are allowed to perform the ceremony. Any magician of repute is believed to have one in constant attendance. In curing disease, incantations are accompanied by the music of the gélondong, a long bamboo stick by sticks, which are always made of wood of the mermuu tree. Conjurations are addressed to Jiwa-jiwa (=Mal. Skr. déva), who resides in heaven and alone can approach Firman. 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 Malays, attribute the magician's powers to his command over spirits. Every shaman has disciples, who accompany him when at the point. These pupils alone enter the small hut of leaves erected near the house in which the medicine-man performs his incantations, these being continued until the wizard is possessed by the spirit. The latter then answers the medicine-man's questions respecting the mode of treating the diseased person."
A ceremony of exorcism known as sōi, or, more commonly, an sawi, is employed by the Béisil 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 initiations accompanied by the rhythmic drumming of bamboo sticks, a man, who has been selected, usually descends upon one member of the company, who answers any questions put to him while he is in a state of possession. In the case of illness the magician erects a small leaf-chamber or cell (bali bandom) near the walls of the hut, in which he keeps a number of leaves. The Blandas 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 specially feared by the Malays in relation to child-birth. The b小孩, 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, be inherited, and its possessors can send its emanations in the form of clouds or missiles to an enemy. It is especially inimical to children, who are sometimes made to wear a black silk string armlet as a protection against its attacks. The tancub, a demon who has died in child-birth, becomes a flying demon, or banneru, 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 toرار at villages merrymaking, they will assume their original form and fly off again into the forest. The pontianak is the still-born daughter of a langur. As a precaution intended to prevent the dead mother or still-born child from originating these mischiefs, the langur and pontianak 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 thrust into their nostrils (to prevent them from opening and shutting their hands in flying). The pontianak appears under the form of a species of night-owl. The pinanggalam, a colossal flying head with hair made of roots, and the amblang, who, it is believed, lives in the armpits of women, are vampires or banneru that sucks the blood of children, sits on the roof-tree, or endeavours to force 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 pelais, which also give rise to anxiety at this time, though they do not confine their activities to new-born 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 presented as the pelais, which in the form of a cricket, searches for a victim and enters his body, when found, tail foremost. The pelais is obtained by exhuming the body of a first-born child, a first-born mother's offensive garment, fish caught in a river, or the sould of a victim by an owner, and, as such, are sharply distinguished from the more primitive animistic ideas relating to disease, etc., which are held by the Béisil.

In regard to the observations at after child-birth, it is usual to engage the medium (bésil) to make the sick person take a bottle containing four or five areca-nuts, three or four packets of betel-leaf, tobacco, and so forth, all of which the bésil distributes and then sends to the owner of the bottle to use for the purpose of taking the cemers. The medium then recites some of the charms and assuages the child's horror, and so long as the number of leaves she chooses the luckiest place in the house for the child to be born, by dropping an adze-blade, point downwards, first in one place and then in another, until the floor, the stone, or the ground (under the usual Malay pile-dwelling). Beneath this spot, under the rafters, a small bunch of prickly screw-fruit leaves, the 'acid' egg-plant, or brinjul, and a black juniper (rattan stand for a cooking-pot) as a snare for and protection against any misfortune. The mother is believed, prick herself with the former and catch his head in the latter as soon as she is born). Demons must be kept away from the child by the fowls. A tray covered with husked uncooked rice and two mutes with several thicknesses of saree between are prepared for the child's reception. As soon as the new-born infant is laid upon this, it is formally adopted by the father, who (nowadays) breathes into its ear a Muhammadan formula. Mother and child are purified by bathing in warm water containing various kinds of leaves, with areca palm-blossoms. The child is then swaddled. Mother and child are next marked, especially the latter, as a precaution against convulsions and straining, and also, in the case of both, by way of protection against evil spirits. For this ceremony chips of wood from the thin end of the threshold, from the house-ladder, or from the house furniture, in combination with a coat of garlic, a coat of an onion, an aspic, a rattan pot-stand, and fibre taken from the monkey-face of an unfertilised cocoa-nut, are collected and burned, and the ashes are mixed with a little betel-water. When the betel-water has cooled, the charm is repeated, and, the forefinger having been dipped in the mixture, the centre of the child's forehead is scored by a boy, with an arrow-shaped mark; if a girl, with a cross, and also with dents on nose, cheeks, chin, and shoulders. The mother is marked with a line from breast to breast and on the end of the nose also. The evil one will then, it is thought, take woman and child to be his own (who are supposed to be similarly marked) and remain with them. Inasmuch as if the child is a girl, the eyebrows are shaved, and a curve is drawn in their place, extending from one side to the other on the ear. If the head is considered to be 'too long' (the Malay being on the whole a round-headed race), a yam-leaf cap is made to compress it.

Other ceremonies affecting the child are the administration of the 'mouth-openet,' the rite of giving the first drink from half a green coconut, followed by the laying of a gold and a silver and an amalagam ring on its lips, and by fumigating it before it is laid for the first time in the swing-cot, which takes the place of the Malayan cradle. The cot is protected by a funnel-shaped bunch of leaves of the brinjul and other materials, including the rendering of the charm and the use of the umbilical cord, a spice-block, and a trap against blood-sucking demons, made of a parang-blade, a coconot scraper, and a rattan pot-stand. This trap hangs under the bunch of leaves. The spice-block is explained as a substitute for the child itself; it is laid in the cot during the first part of the fumigation ceremony, and for the first seven days, whenever the child is taken from the cot, the block must replace it. The naming ceremony takes place usually within the first week, and the first head-shaving and nail-cutting a few days later. Of the naming ceremonies the most characteristic is represented by the east-coast practice of writing seven different names on as many separate banana-fruits, and then allowing the infant to choose between them.

The most characteristic Malay custom connected with child-birth is that which requires the mother to eat the roasting of the roasting the roasting (salak soltan) daily. A rough cough is prepared for her on a small platform, beneath which a large fire is lighted, and upon this bed she has to recline two or three times a day, and to remain there for an hour or two together less than forty days, and burying the child's tongue, with incantations, in a spot where three cross-roads meet. It has been noticed that these demons belong to the category of familiar spirits who are sent against the evil by the victim by the owner, and, as such, are sharply distinguished from the more primitive animistic ideas relating to disease, etc., which are held by the Bómer.
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and scratched over by the claws of a fowl held tightly in the grasp of the cleanser. At about the same period, of the forty-first 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, places the cocooned fish in the mouth of the clay idol and, if it is a girl, the cocooned fish in the mouth of a fish idol. The clay idol, if a girl, a girl acts as the fisher. In Upper Perak the baby himself, with a number of other young children, is caught in the net; he will then eat fish for the first time.1

During the forty-four days' period there are 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 faintness, sugar (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 un- towards act may cause deformity: a child was born with only a thumb, forefinger, and little finger on one hand, the thumb having been cut off, just 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 life whatever during or for thirty days after the birth, by or distorted in growth by, a parasite, if used in building the house, would cause deformity, protract delivery, and endanger the life of both mother and infant.

(b) Pagan races.—Superstitions and practices connected with birth among the pagan tribes, or, rather, among these pagan tribes for whom Malayans origin and affinities are here claimed, strongly confirm the view that the popular beliefs of these more highly civilized natives of the peninsula are essentially primitive in character. The practice of roasting the mother, e.g., is found among the Semang, Bésaí, and Mantri, while among the Hlandas the practice of birth is as at least against the demons, the longuis (Malay langsurui), polong, and pontianaks—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 evil demons. The head-dress of the mother is bunched up in the back of the sufferer. The Sakai bury the umbilicus and placenta under human habitations 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 semangut, or birthing bird, is said to be familiar to the Malayan, 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 purposes of confinement. The act of decorating the mother's mosquito-curtains with the leaf-hangings used on all important ceremonial occasions, while among the Mantri a cup of water is charmed during labour and administered to the mother. The act of certain leaved herbs to the child, and a charm is repeated. A name, which is retained until marriage, is given to the child at the moment when the umbilical cord is severed. The Benua Jakun fastened round the neck of the child at birth a string to which pieces of small буты, were attached. The Jakun also observed a number of food prohibitions: while the children were unable to walk, the parents abstained from certain fish and animal foods, the latter including fowls and eggs, deer of all kinds, etc.; and during this first month the children were not given fish to eat.2

16. Adolescence and maturity customs.—(a) Malay.—Of the purely Malay ceremonies at adolescence the most important are the filing of the teeth and the cutting of the first locks of hair—the latter, of course, only when, owing to some want of attention of the parents, the 'first head-shaving' operation has been postponed until marriage.

Tooth-filing is done by a professional tooth-wielder (gusan giri). Neutralizing the hair is done by the boy who, 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 as part of the rite of exteriority are used in the hair-cutting ceremony. The bride's hair is arranged in seven long tresses before either having done by the barber, which, on this occasion, shaves her head; to each of these is attached a ring of precious metal, and then each tress of hair, on being cut, is allowed to fall to the ground. The falling of hair is then symbolized by a coco-nut vessel (ornamented for the purpose with a charron edge), which is half full of fresh coco-nut milk. For this ceremony also the proceedings are opened by the aspersions of the bride with the neutralizing rice-water, some of it being also sprinkled on 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 ear-rings, called krida 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 remarries, the latter being regarded, so to speak, as a sort of 'merry widow,' and being clan-fast, actually called jeeringly 'the widow adored' (janda bér-hiués). 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 necessary of the practices it seems to be entirely a non-Musulman rite. Especially in the Northern States it is accompanied by such a wealth of irrelevant ritual as to make it appear as if it had been grafted upon an ancient festival (probably the tonsure ceremony) belonging to an older faith than that of Islam.3

It is performed by the usual purificatory rites, and the ceremony is made the occasion for a banquet, at which the boy is dressed like a pilgrim and stained with henna like a bridegroom, after which the customary gifts are offered. In Perak he is then taken saile and robed in rich raiment, his mouth filled with the sacrificial saffron-stained rice, and his body sprinkled with the purifying rice-dust. After this, two coco-

3 Ib. p. 19.
which means literally 'admission into the body of the Malay people'—the most usual meaning of *jawat* being the vernacular, or 'Malay', language. Yet another term for the ceremony in these parts was 'purification' (*chukhi tābhok, literally 'cleansing of the person')—a phrase which is also applied in the same parts of the country to marriage.

(6) Togga rucek. Of the various operations with which it is usual among primitive peoples to mark the attainment of maturity, neither initiation nor circumcision is practised by the wild tribes except in the case of the former, among the Sektong and Jakun of the Batu Pahat in Johore and the Benua, and, in the case of the latter, as elsewhere, only where Muhammadan 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 Muhammadanism and mere pagandom. Nor, with the exception of a single record from the Perak Sakai, is there any hint in the strict sense of the expression. Siffication, however, is found among both Semang and Sakai, but not among the Jakun, and, judging both from distribution and from frequency, there is good reason to believe that the custom originated among the Semang, and was introduced, though only to a limited degree, among the Jakun. The siffication consists of divergent lines on the cheek from the nose towards the ear, produced by the scratches of a thorn or edge of a sugar-cane leaf, charcoal being rubbed along these scratches by way of payment. Body-painting is of wider distribution, and is to be seen among Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, but more especially among the Sakai. The colours used are black, white, red, and occasionally yellow. These are decorative and magical rather than tribal. Perforation of the nasal septum with the wearing of a nose-bar or porcupine's quill also appears to be more especially a Sakai practice. Boring the ears, however, is, as a ceremony, practically universal, and is probably of Indo-Malay origin. The frequent filing and blackening of the teeth may belong rather to the Malay or order of ideas. It occurs among the Semang of Kedah and Kelantan, but is doubtfully borrowed from the Malays of the neighbouring country.

The shaving of the head, with the exception of the top-knot, which is temporarily removed at puberty, is found among the Semang, but, though also found among those of the Malay, is more likely a native custom of the wild Negritos, as it is also found among their 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 rhythmic stanzas. The term of the engagement is then settled. The amount of the settlement at present custom at two *dharas* of dollars ($22, about £2. 6s.) in Selangor, or $31. 25 (about £3. 6s.) in Perak, etc. The sum is not usually mentioned unless a modification of the engagement is to be made. A breach on the part of the bride's parents involves forfeiture of double the marriage portion. The aflained pair avoid one another, but there is a regular system of exchange of presents, those given by the girl being deposited in the house of the betrothed, and returned by her companions, who also provide two *piles* and a barking dog. The present is in the case of the bride in the shape of birds or fishes. It should be added that the Malay name of the ceremony in the peninsula, *bē בי* a, is an interesting parallel to the splitting of the betel-nut (pinang), which is the symbolical act of betrothal to this day among the Dayaks of Borneo.

The actual marriage ceremonies cover a period of four days, beginning with the betrothal, and extending over two settings of the dais with two standard candelsticks, often 6 ft. high, before the door of the bride's chamber. The arrangement of the dais (pōlamann) is of extreme importance, since the number of copies of the marriage register (in the case of a Raja, yellow) pillows used indicates, according to a rigid code of etiquette, the rank of the contracting parties. The whole of the dais is covered with a mosquito-curtain, and the walls of the chamber are adorned with striped or 'rainbow' hangings (kain pēlăng), while the ceiling is decorated with an awning or 'heaven' (langit-langit).

The basic forms of the rice, which were those of a royal wedding, include the so-called 'bride-price', the food-sharing or toga *togetong*, and the apparent resemblance to royal ceremonial (as that may be noticed in so many Malay customs. The idea seems partly to disguise the subjects of the ceremony in order to evade the possible danger attaching to what is certainly regarded as a sacred occasion, and partly to promote a more perfect union between the pair by means of (1) a pledge passing between them (i.e. the 'bride-price') as well as by (2) the sharing of a meal together, and (3) the obliteration (so far as may be) of the distinctions of sex. The pretence of kingship by which the bridegroom is made to wear the bracelets, chain, neck-ornament (and, if we may go by the analogy of Malay funeral custom, even the kris) is simply, therefore, to secure a really effective disguise for the party in danger. The shaving of the bride's forehead may be similarly explained, since the bridegroom is also shaved. Although these are all likewise usages of royalty, it is wrong to regard them merely as a species of social self-advertisement; they are really the paraphernalia worn by all persons of the Malay race on certain critical occasions, in order to banish the spirits of evil and ward off mischief and danger. Till recent years the ceremonies over the greater part of the peninsula were almost entirely non-Muhammadan, and often took place in or in country districts without the intervention of any mosque official whatever. The customs followed, and on the east coast processions in monstrous or bird-shaped litters.

In certain details the wedding ceremonial has now become Muhammadised in character; among these is to be included, most probably, the wearing of the ring by the bride and bridegroom with henna. The henna-staining at first is done in isolation ('by stealth'), the initial public appearance of the married couple at their respective dwellings occurring on the second night, when ceremonial rice-water is sprinkled, offerings of rice made to each of the parties, and the 'henna dance' (kanti kisau) performed; on the fourth day the procession takes the bridegroom to the house of the bride's parents takes place. Here, on his arrival, his progress was in earlier days occasionally opposed by a mimic conflict (melaine), which terminated only on his payment of a small fine or ransom to these (for the nonce) self-appointed 'authorities'. This part of the ceremony, which used to be conducted even in the case of the so-called 'marriage by capture', is now taken to be merely an expression of the antagonism between the sexes. In some cases a rope or piece of red cloth has been thrown across the threshold, and wedding resistance was offered until the bridegroom had paid the fine demanded. Even then admission to the house had to be made against the resistance of women of the bride's party, as the simple marriage service—a mere bald statement of the fact and its acceptance by the groom—is not followed by the imam (Muhammadan priest) in the presence of the bridegroom only. It is said that, according to this form, the ceremony took place on the day before the procession. The groom
is then taken to the bride, and both are seated ceremonially side by side, in the presence of the bride's father and mother, feeding the other from a specially-prepared receptacle (nasi asilakai = bêlom, nasi asilakai = octagon). An octagonal erection of three superposed storys of small plates (nasi asilakai = 'octagon' and nasi asilakai = daw), coloured eggs (biter beren), and etc., stands before the bridegroom. The eggs, which have been cooked in the previous evening, and represent, and are given to the guests as wedding favours. On the third day of the instructions which follow the wedding, the bride and bridegroom were invited to a bathing-hosue in the evening. Later, at night, a houree was formerly lit outside the house and the groom 'stolen', i.e. carried off to his parent's house; and in the morning he returned to his own house next day, as parts of the bridal water-fight with syringes (called 'water-hows') took place (covered with a specified pavilion) between the tribes of the two parties. After this the bride and bridegroom each pulled one of the ends of a slip-knot made of a young coconut leaf, and the bridegroom broke through threads wound seven times round himself and the bride; in some cases (Patani) the threads were squared by burning. Seven days after the concluding feast-day the rites of the 'disco$tting of the ex-rings'—the emblems of the bride's maidenhood—take 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' (nadi ker-asilakai), in the 'bridal thread' (bêlom, nasi asilakai), and in the bathing pavilion (bath gunok, belom) we have not only Indian influences, but Indian names. 3

In addition to this regular form of marriage with the consent of the girls' parents, the Malays recognize another form of marriage when the parents were notoriously unwilling, the essential feature being that the would-be bridegroom, fully armed, entered the house of the girl and secured the person of the bride, or prevent her from escaping. If the parents should then give their consent, the customary payments were doubled. This procedure was known as the poncat angkora. In a second and more peaceful form, the person adat (once frequently employed by Malayan Rajas), the groom did not break into the house himself, but sent his kris, accompanied by a messenger, to the girl's apartment, and in accordance with custom. If the kris was returned (e.g., on an unfavourable answer), the parents must send back with it a double dower. W. E. Maxwell gives an account of this form of marriage being recognized by Malayan custom. 4 Wilkinson, however, assenting to the second, regards the first as a mere custom. 5

The marriage ceremony is called in most parts of the peninsula by terms which are obviously of Arabic or Persian origin; on the east coast, however, where Muslim influence is less strong, it is often termed, significantly, by a Malay word denoting purification. Like their Polynesian colleagues (the Negris Semblis), the Melanese (e.g., the Negritos of Sarawak) forbid the marriage of two brothers' or sisters' son and daughter, but not that of a brother's son and a sister's daughter. 6

Pagans married.—Among the pagan tribes the essential feature in the marriage ceremony is a ritual purchase and a repast shared between bride and bridegroom. Among the Semang the price consisted of the blades of a chopper (parang), presented by the bridegroom to the girl's parents, and a coiled girdle of great length, said to be manufactured from the rootlets of the sugar-palm, given to the bride. This act of purchase, so long as it was performed before witnesses, was in itself binding. The Semang, as a rule, were monogamists, and conjugal infidelity was strongly disapproved, the immemorial penalty being death, which would now be commuted for a heavy fine. Among the Perak Sakai the nuptial present was conveyed by the bridegroom in a small box or yam-tube. According to one account, the bride and bridegroom attended at the house of the chief, who, after an inquiry as to their prospects, declared the matches and parades of rice, etc., and selected the couple, and stated that the relatives of both parties assembled at the bride's house, and that the two betrothed persons ate rice out of the same dish together. This being the case, the bride was placed into the house of the chief's sister, and was joined to the left finger of the left hand of the woman, and they were promised to name and clothe the children of the settlement.

The Sakai occasionally, but rarely, took more than one wife. Death or a fine was the penalty for infidelity.

The Jakun ceremony embodied several features of peculiar interest and importance. In addition to the nuptial presents for the bride and her parents—beds, white cloth, etc.—there was provided to give a hut, cooking-pots and pans, and other household requirements. Either party or both were questioned as to their ability to carry out the duties of their respective ages and the requirements in the case of the man being proficiency in the use of the bow-and-arrow, and in the case of the woman art in climbing fruit in the jungle, and even ability to smoke a native cigarette. The 'head-man' of the tribe, as a rule, was present and pronounced the parties husband and wife at the end of the ceremonies.

Among the Besi of Selangor the head-man then gave the bride and bridegroom a new name. And after this the marriage was the use made of a small in, or rather, bell-shaped mound of earth (sometimes an actual anti-heap decorated with natural and artificial flowers) which was placed in the path of the solar disk with rays, etc., and other ornaments; around this mound the bride was pursued by the bridegroom and the partners. In some cases three others, seven times; if he succeeded in catching her, they were declared to be married. Among the Besi of Klang (Selangor) the bridegroom would then tie the present writer seven times round this mound at a walking pace, and the bridegroom would then tie the reed on the case of the Besi of Pahang, a fire was substituted. Among the Besi of Klang (Selangor) the bridegroom would then tie the present writer seven times round this mound at a walking pace, and the bridegroom would then tie the reed on the case of the Besi of Pahang, a fire was substituted. Among the Besi of Klang (Selangor) the bridegroom would then tie the present writer seven times round this mound at a walking pace, and the bridegroom would then tie the reed on the case of the Besi of Pahang, a fire was substituted.

The counterpart of this ceremony among the Land-Tribes (Orang Dara) was, it is important to note, that both these, among the Orang Deras (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 (maun joo'ol), which took place at the end of the rainy season, all persons were allowed to exchange their wives promiscuously.


The Malay are not among those races which fear, but rather among those who pay respect to, the ghost of the departed.

After death the body is shrouded in sarongs and laid on the back, with hands crossed on the breast, on a mattress which, in turn, rests on a new mat of rushes or a pair of sarongs. In the preparation of betaef-leaf placed on the chest, the explanation being that, should a cut by any accident come in contact with, or brush against, the body, the touch of iron will prevent the corpse from returning to life, as once happened. Cuts are always expelled from the house while it contains a dead body, and the corpse is watched day and night in case evil should come near it. The preparation of the body includes ceremonial washings, which should be performed while it rests on the outstretched legs of four people (members of the family) sitting on the floor. Falling into the hands of the body, bananas-stems are used as rollers. A final washing of 'nine waters' is performed by the father-in-law, on the head, on the neck, on the body, on the arms and legs, and in the case of both sexes on the two feet. The body is then laid on a pile of straw, and the corpse is wrapped in a white cotton shroud, the selvage of which is torn off and used to bind the body. The feet are tied, and the sheet the kind of coffin used. If it is a single-plank bier (puluw u'lepa), the body is placed in a recess at the left side of the grave, and the bier is fixed in a sloping position with planks to form a kind of seat, at the top, so that the slab itself may not be covered by the earth to fall upon it. Another kind of receptacle

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1 Wherever the old Palembang (Sumatra) tradition exists—in Pahang, Johor, Blau, Malacca, Selangor, and Perak—the ceremony of marriage is the same. But if we leave the Palembang area and cross into Patani, the ceremony is different, the regalia are different. We shall mention the ceremonies of the old and high civilizations which have been cleared out of existence by the civilized conditions of northern Courts and of the old and high civilizations, p. 70).

2 Wilkinson, p. 61.

burial customs exhibit considerable variation, but they are especially significant as revealing the attitude of the various groups towards death, and particularly towards the spirits of the departed.

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 Sakai, on the other hand, appear to have great terror of the spirits of the dead, and it is usual for them not merely to dress up in white when one has died, but to abandon the whole clearing, even if the crops are standing. The Jakun are 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 Redah Semang the grave is usually surrounded by a low fence of palm-leaves, and the two bamboos upon which the body is carried to the grave are laid upon it. The corpse is placed on its side, with the head and knees to the right, on a mat or rough platform of twigs, and a screen of sticks, driven diagonally into the side of the grave and roofed with palm-leaves, prevents any earth from touching the corpse. When the grave is made up, and a frame of planks is placed round it to keep the earth of the grave-mound banked up properly. In the case of a chieftain, a small temple-like structure is then erected over the grave, and this has sometimes been seen furnished actually with a mosquito-netting.

No special sign of mourning is worn, but the sarongs in which the corpse is wrapped and the pall must be as costly as possible, consistently with the rank and wealth of the deceased person.

In the formerly Malayan district of Singora, several curious forms of exposure of the dead frequently took place until recently, when the Siamese Government prohibited the custom with great strictness. One of these consisted in suspending the corpse in a sign-shape receptacle or wrapped in a couple of trees in the jungle, at a height of about 8 ft. from the ground. Another consisted in depositing the body of the deceased person (placed at an angle) in a large receptacle in the form of a box, and the same means being employed on lofty posts — a method which is of exceptional interest, since it may be linked up with the custom of burial in a chest on high posts, still practised in Borneo.

The remarkable point about these forms of tree-burial, and post-burial exposure, is that they were both cases explained by the people who employed them as being reserved for any one who had died a 'bad' death, the idea being apparently that exposure would not suffice in such an instance to bring peace to the spirit. The Patani Malays also had once a similar custom — casting out to be eaten by dogs and vultures the bodies of those who had died a bad death. Yet from the statements of medieval Chinese writers (e.g., Ying Yai Sheng Lan, A.D. 1416), though quoted by Wilkinson, it is clear that such exposure, from the analogy of ancient Java, was in no way limited to bad deaths, but was an honorable and pleasing form of burial offered to the children of a family to their parents, so that it falls into line, in this regard, with the funeral customs of modern Tibet, where dead relatives are dismembered and given to the dogs and vultures. It would, on the other hand, perhaps readily come about that such methods should be barbarous and even 'wicked', when the country was settled by a people to whom such forms of burial were well known.

A third remarkable method was practised by the so-called 'white Práms' of the Malay-Siamese region, who had a small cemetery in Patalung, where their dead were deposited in a sitting position.

(b) Pagan races. — Among the pagan tribes the

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proviso that so-called 'direct' dreams come only on the eve of a Friday, whereas on other days the dream works backwards.

It may be added that the doctrine of luck play a most important part in what may be called Malay 'natural religion.' By certain signs and indications not only human beings but also birds and animals are either credited with the possession of luck or believed to be invested with the power of bringing it to those who kill or passage the Malay deer-wizard chants as follows:

'The seven hills and the seven valleys Come to me, O Hounds.
My Hounds are Hounds of Luck.
Not Luck that is adventitious, But Luck lives in their bodies.'

Even inert objects, such askrissors and other weapons, may be brinful of luck, or otherwise.

Omens.—Omens and divinations play a part of paramount importance in every department of life's activities in Malay. Equal significance is attached to signs deduced from the acts of men and those taken from the events of nature.

Among the acts of man in particular, the moon portends as approaching wedding. The entrance of an animal which does not usually frequent the house denotes fortune; to be hurled at by a wild jungle dog is a fatal portent; a wild bird entering the house should be caught carefully and smeared with oil, and then released in the open air, in a formula being recited which bids it fly away with all the ill-luck or misfortune of the household. Omens are taken from the flight, cries of certain birds, such as the night-owl, night-jar, or caprimulgus, the crow, and certain kinds of wild dove, as well as from a bird called the 'rook's 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 rise of divination properly so-called (tallek=Skr. tikaka, 'mark').

One form of divination is effected by means of a lemon which, after offerings have been made to the gods, is cut open and the seeds formed, is suspended with incantations over a braziier by seven strands of coloured silk thread, the fruit itself being thrust through by a needle. The motions of the fruit are supposed to answer questions in the negative or affirmative, and will disclose a thief by indicating the number of fingers that close the lemon on paper that is of the guilty man. The mirrored surface of 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 made of a rod - rod of a divining-rod composed of one, three, or more rattle-stems, inscribed with magical figures, and connected at the base or the top which vibrate when the thresher approaches; these rods may also be used for treasure or water finding, as by our own 'dowsers,' and even for establishing a necromancy.

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 poisons themselves with the medicament 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 conducted only in the presence of the four great (west coast) chieftains.

In the case of a dispute, each of the adversaries in defence of his own case writes a solemn statement. After certain formal preliminaries, this document is handed over to one of the two bamboo receptacles given to each of the two

1 Skool, Malay Magic, p. 182.
adversaries, who are escorted to the river and placed up to their necks in the water. A bamboo pole is then made to rest upon their heads and, as a given signal, they are both pressed downwards. Each remains under the water as long as he can, but the contest is decided when one of them appears above the surface, his tube is matched from him. The winner is led back, his bamboo opened, and the result declared to the bystanders.

(4) Pagun races.—The savage Malayans of Malacca always paid particular attention to omens when a new clearing was to be made, and charms were used to expel the jangle spirits. The Mantri, in choosing a new locality for a clearing, paid strict attention to the attitude of the spirits toward his undertaking, as indicated by the dreams of the party. The dream of being chased by a dog or an enemy, entering water, or being flooded out was an evil omen; to dream of falling or climbing trees, of ascending trees, or of growing plants was of good import.

Divalnation 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 exorcism.

20. Charms, amulets, and talismans.—(a) Malay.—Not only does the Malay attempt to forestall the threat 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. But, in addition, free use is made of charms of a more material character. Examples of this class include a length of the steinambu (Malacca cane) with a joint equal to the height of the owner, which protects him from snakes and animals; so too, the "coco-nut pearl" (apparently a form of "tabasheer"), the "eyeless coco-nut" (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, other works only by influencing the volition of another mind, as in the case of contra-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. One important use for this is to enable the devotee of the magic to abduct the senggot of a person from his (or her) body, for the purpose either of benefiting the operator or of harming the intended victim.

There is a variety of methods of attaining 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 senggot. 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 senggot. As such it is switched with seven strokes three times a day for three days and 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 there has been dancing, parings of his nails, and clippings of his hair are utilized in various ways; sometimes they are kneaded into a wax figure, which is either transfixed with a thorn in the form of the senggot. The senggot desires to injure or burn to the victim's complete destruction.

Of the various methods of abducting the senggot 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 thereon. At the end of each recital blow through the hollowed fist, using it as a given signal, they are both pressed downwards. Each remains under the water as long as he can, but the contest is decided when one of them appears above the surface, his tube is matched from him. The winner is led back, his bamboo opened, and the result declared to the bystanders.

With their customary logical thoroughness, the Malayas attribute the use of charms in some cases to wild animals, and even to reptiles. The wild boar, e.g., is believed to possess a talisman of extraordinary power called rantei babi, 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 labum babi, the boar's stinking stone; the two together made a wild boar invulnerable. A similar "stinking stone" was sometimes worn by serpents.

Any magically potent object is called ber-tuah.

(b) Pagun races.—Amulets and talismans are common among the wild tribes. Coins are strung on necklaces to serve as "medicine," and rings 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 Mantri, quite as much for magical purposes as for ornament. The Mantri strung pieces of turmeric on strings of artocarpus bark, and these were worn round the neck, wrists, or waist as prophylactics against serpents, bad winds, and, generally, all manner of evils. They also placed great reliance on the efficacy of spells to render them invulnerable. Semang women wear amulets of poluos (Licania peteata) leaf, and men wear similar ornaments of the rock-vein (curvat bates) fungus. It appears that among these tribes, as elsewhere, much of their personal decoration was intended to protect them against evil from the spirits by which they were on all sides surrounded. The elaborate patterns of the combs of the cattle-breeding Sakai-Semang women were similarly designed to ward off accidents and disease, and the copper bracelets, rings, and other objects worn by the Sakai were in effect talismans intended to ward off the wearer from ill-health and misfortune. The Semang, when wearing the Malay sarong, frequently still retain underneath it the primitive 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 a rule, 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 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 slabs of deer on a bamboo quilt, e.g., represent the whole animals, which, it is hoped, will be induced, by being represented as approaching towards certain wild jungle-fruits beloved of the deer, to visit a particular feeding-ground; they can be the more easily marked down and captured. The articles decorated in this manner...
MALIK IBN ANAS.—Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the Malikite school, was born in the month of Rabi’ al-Awwal in 85 (A.D. Nov. 793). He was of pure Arabic stock, being descended from Don Asbah al-Harith, who belonged to one of the tribes of Yaman. When still a youth, he had a deep knowledge of the Quran, the hadith (tradition), and other Muslim sciences, and soon he was held in reverence as a great authority in these matters.

During his long career Malik ibn Anas resided in Medina as a mufti 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 Munazaahat (lit. ‘The Beaten Path’), the basis of the whole Malikite school 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 faqih 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 Munazaahat prove the contrary. According to his later biographers, Malik repudiated the idea of his old age. It is told that, when he sat down in 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 Munazaahat is handed on by Malik’s disciples in different versions. The best printed was that of Yabhaal al-Masabdi, which was printed with the commentary of Muhammad al-Zarqani in 4 vols. at Cairo (1883). Another version is that of Muhammad al-Shahbazi, the famous disciple of Abu Hanifa, who studied three years in Medina (printed at Lucknow, 1879).

It seems that the opinions of Malik ibn Anas were not always in agreement with the views of the Prophet and the Sahaba. As this point of view differed with that of some persons who accused him of declaring that he did not consider the oath of allegiance to the ‘Abbasid khiliffs as 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 Raib al-Awwal, A.H. 179 (A.D. 3rd June 795).

Malik ibn Anas enjoys the reputation throughout the whole Muslim world of being one of the greatest faqih 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 (Morocco, Algiers, Tunisia, Tripoli), and in many other parts of Africa.


TH. W. JUENBOLL.

MALTHUSIANISM.—Some economic and social investigations seem to be 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, An Essay on the Principle of 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 his books. He was accused in his own day of being an enemy of the poor, and of being guilty not merely of heterodoxy but also of atheism. It was said that ‘the inutility of the theory of Malthus levels at God, and the injuries it meditates inflicting on man, will be endured by every one’ (M. T. Sudder, Law of Population, i. 15). Further, the principles of population enunciated by Malthus have been expanded and developed in several directions by subsequent writers, and all and these views have been 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 merchantists had explicitly advocated ‘population’ as an instrument of national wealth, and their views had influenced social legislation and poor-law administration in England during the 18th century. In 1776 Adam Smith had mentioned that ‘every species of animals naturally multiplies in proportion to the number of its subsistence, and no species can ever multiply beyond it’ (Wealth of Nations, bk. i. ch. viii. [ed. J. E. T. Rogers, Oxford, 1869, i. 84]), but it was not till almost the end of the century that Malthus selected the subject of population for separate treatment. It is true that more than a century earlier William Petty had published several essays relating to the numbers of the people, but his point of view was entirely statistical, whereas that of Malthus was directly related to the conditions of progress. In a sense the work of Malthus was begun to oppose the theories of William Godwin, who had published his book on Political Justice in 1793 and his Enquiry in 1797. Godwin had been influenced by Condorcet and other writers of the era of the French Revolution, and he advocated human perfectibility by means of a gradual equalization of wealth, under which condition there would be no incentive for the reasonable wants of all. In time the peaceful influence of truth would render force and even government unnecessary, so that a state of human perfection was possible. Godwin’s views formed a common topic of discussion among those who were interested in political science. Such
conversation was destined to have important results. It took place between Malthus and his father. The latter, Daniel Malthus—a friend of Voltaire and the literary executor of Rousseau—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 same view was to be found in the relation 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 marriage and death; it was certain and direct, whereas the latter was probable. In fact, Malthus pointed to the grim spectre 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 these evils. The first edition of the Essay can be understood only by remembering the controversial purpose out of which it arose. In opposition to the optimism of Godwin and his sympathizers, Malthus emphasized the darkness of our 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 critique of a 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 propositions, that the exposition of the checks to increase of numbers was worded differently, misery and vice become subordinate to what Malthus termed moral restraint. This new characteristic anticipates, and over-rides, our present means of subsistence. Hence moral restraint operates in the direction of postponing early marriages as well as irregular connexions. It means, in fact, as J. Bentham puts it, simply continence (Malthus and his Work, p. 33).

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 as vital refreshment. The application of this formula to the world’s misery and misfortune, especially as the geometrical and arithmetical ratios seem to provide the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. But the formula suffers from a false simplicity; the first important objection against Malthus is that his argument is based upon two alleged necessities which he claims as co-ordinate, but it is clear that a supply of food is much the more urgent need. The celibate must be fed if he is to live. It follows that the tendency towards increase of population is a conditional one, and hence any ratio which is essential 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 since his day there have been cases in which increased resources have been followed, not by an increase in population, but by an improvement in the general standard of living. The arithmetical ratio, as the maximum possible increase in the production of food, was later proved, and fully proved by Malthus; indeed, his sections on the state of population in America (Essay, 1798, p. 30) partially contradict his view of the ratio. Moreover, not only the production of food but its consumption must also be taken into account. Economies 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 embarrassingly by his ignorance of the Principle of Diminishing Returns; some of his expressions almost suggest it, but he makes no real use of this law. This theory, which was stated clearly by West (1815), was used in a totally different manner in which the population question was formulated. Torrens, James Mill, and McCulloch understood Diminishing Returns not so much as a theoretical tendency, but as a condition of the working of the extensive 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 white population was required for providing the necessities of life. J. S. Mill stated this point of view concisely when he wrote: ‘It is in vain to say, that all mouths which the increase of mankind calls into existence, bring with them hands. There are as many hands as much food as the old ones, and the hands do not produce as much’ (Principles, bk. i. 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 which is subject to frequent counteraction. The difference lies in the pressure 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 undoubtedly have been indignantly repudiated by him.

MALUK DĀSIS.—The Maluk Dāsis form a small Vedic sect of northern India. It is an offshoot of the Rāmānandis (see F.R.E. ii. 546), and is named after its founder, Maluk Dās, a trader by occupation, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb (latter half of the 17th cent.). A. D. Wilson adds that there is a shrine in his honour and a monastery of his followers. The surrounding village of Sirithū is said to have been granted to him by the emperor.

The main point that differentiates Maluk Dāsis from other Rāmānandis is the fact that their teachers, like their founders, are laymen. Wilson adds that there is also a shorter streak of red in the facial hair of the priests. Like other Rāmānandis, they worship the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu. Wilson mentions six other monasteries of the sect in the Ganges valley, and also one of great repute at Jagannāth, in Orissa, where Maluk Dās is said to have died.

So far as the present writer is aware, none of Maluk Dās’s works have been published. He is said to have written a poem called the Dada Rāna, or parakṣā, in which he discovered a work of his ancestors, the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, dealing with the Kṛṣṇa legend of the devotees and the Kṛṣṇa incarnation of Viṣṇu, a dissertation on the soul and God, and he is also the reputed author of many well-known detached verses and commentaries. One of his verses is probably the stanza that is best known and most often quoted in the north of India, and offers a striking resemblance to the leading thought of Mt 6th. According to Hindu belief, the aṣṭādhyayana, or python, is unable to hunt for its food. It can only lie in its mouth open to wait for what will walk into it. The verse runs as follows:

Aṣṭaḍhyāyana na ṛṣiṃ | Patrīka nā ṛṣiṃ, šabda ni ṛṣiṃ. | The python doth no service, nor hath the fowl of the air a duty to perform in its living.

Quoth Maluk Dās, for all ṛṣiṃ ṛṣiṃ provide their daily bread.


MAMMON.—The word occurs three times in Lk 16 among the somewhat disconnected Logia that follow the parable of the Unjust Steward (19th in. 2), the last of which, ‘Ye cannot serve God and mammon,’ is found also in Mt 6th. It is a transliteration of the Gr. μαμών, a form which, with μαμωνάς, appears in TE, with Latin Vulgate, Septuagint, and a few Greek minuscules. The correct Greek, however, is μαμωνᾶς, which is found in RV, with all Greek mss., and modern mss., as well as in the Complutensian and the first two editions of Erasmus; but the influence of the Vulgate led to the appearance of μαμών in the later editions of Erasmus, and a further details as to spelling see E. NESTLE, in EB. The word is not Greek, nor is it found in the Hebrew Bible. It is a helenized form of the Aram. מָמוֹן, which means ‘money,’ ‘riches,’ ‘worldly goods.’ Wyclif and Purvey translated the word by ‘riches’ (‘richness’), but Tindal followed the Vulgate in transliterating the word, and so did all later English versions, except Geneva.

1. Derivation.—The Aramaic form: יָוֶּם (Yowem) follows a well recognized form of nominal inf. יָוֶּם, but scholars are divided as to what is the verbal root.

(1) J. Drusius (quoted in J. Buxtorf, Lexicon Chaldaicum, Basle, 1640, s.v.) and Dalman (in PREI xii. 163) derive the word from יָוֶּם, i.e. יָוֶּם, יָוֶּם, which would mean ‘that on which man trusts,’ or, as Dalman prefers, ‘that which brings man into safety.’ (2) Jastrow (Toluid Lexicon, p. 784) derives it from יָוֶּם, and says that which one accumulates. (3) Levy (Neuebrehisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch, iii. 138) considers יָוֶּם יָוֶּם, ‘to distribute,’ to be the root, and thus our word means ‘that which is dispersed.’ (4) W. Gesenius (Thesaurus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaicae, Leipzig, 1829, ii. 532), as if יָוֶּם יָוֶּם were the true form, derives it from יָוֶּם, ‘hide,’ whence יָוֶּם יָוֶּם, ‘that which one hides or treasures’ (Gen 40, Job 38, Is 40, Jer 4). It was therefore used in a sense intermediate between the two last, and fraction, but this use does not differ as to the derivation, it seems certain to the present writer that the Syriac versions all derived the word from יָוֶּם, and that they assumed a paronomasia to exist between our word יָוֶּם and יָוֶּם (pass. part. of יָוֶּם), 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 (ֵיָוֶּם) in the unrighteous mammon, whom will entrust (ֵיָוֶּם) to you the true?’ But, since the verb יָוֶּם is as common in Galilean Aramaic as 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 monēmon was the word for ‘money.’ As to the former, it occurs on Phoenician inscriptions on tombstones; and Augustine, in two passages (de Ser. in Monte. iv. xiv. 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. exxi. 6) affirms:

Non Hebreorum sed Syrurum lingua, mammona dividit mancipulum.

Irenaeus (III. viii. 1) attests its use

'secondum Judaeum loquebant, quia ad Samaritanus utuntur.' The Aramaic Targums often contain the word: e.g., Pr 5, 'Honour the Lord with thy mammon;' Is 5, 'Ye that wish to learn, learn without price and without mammon'; Je 5, 'They accepted no mammon of silver;' in Ex 18 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 (Mekhor. 1, Prokhet. 2), of 300 poor Nazirites who came for purification. R. Simeon asked King Jannes to give half the cost, but it turned out that the king paid all
the money (mamôn) and the Rabbi's half was his knowledge of Torah. Brabb. 619 says:

'Money (mamôn) is dearer to them than their own body.'

There is also a classification in lawsuits between those which concern money (דמויות 77) and those which concern a person (בתרות 77). This is found often in the Talmud and also in Jerus. Targ. to Deut. 11. The pre-Christian usage of our word even in Hebrew is shown from Sir 31:6, 'Blessed is he . . . that has not yet gone after mamôn.' The translators of the Sept. and the Vulgate, acquainted with the word, find in Ps 36:7 (Ev 37) they miread ἵππος as ἵππος, 'Thou shalt dwell in the land and be fed on its wealth'; and in Parg. Abodah (ii. 16) we have a 'saying' of R. Jose: 'Let the property (τους) 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 Book of Enoch the wicked say:

'Our soul is satiated with unrighteous mammon, but this does not prevent our descending into the flame of the pains of Sheol' (g106).

The phrase ἰτιόσαρισ ἵππος is a well recognized phrase in the octaves of money earned through deceit and fraud. The crime of Samuel's sons was that 'they turned after mammon of fraud' (1 Sam 8:18; cf. also Ps 125:1. Ezek 22:31. Hos 5:18).

3. Exegesis. (1) In Lk 16:1, 'Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness,' the difficulty is: to whom was Christ speaking? Lightfoot (Horae Hebraicae, iii. 159 ff.), A. B. Bruce (Expositor's Greek Testament, i. (1897) 586 ff.), and Merx (Die Evangelien Marcus und Lucas, p. 328 f.) hold that He was speaking to the Pharisees and publicans to whom ch. 15 was spoken (159), and who were still in the crowd (160). It was certainly more suitable for them than for the Twelve, who had not much 'mammon' of any kind; and, if so, the phrase has the same meaning here as 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. Christ's advice is, says Merx (p. 328), 'Ye who have acquired money unrighteously and cannot refund it, use this wealth in making friends for yourselves, as Zacchæus, when converted, volunteered to give half his goods to the poor.'

'The counsel is to use wealth in doing kindness to the poor, . . . only care must be taken not to continue to get money by unrighteous means to have wherewith to do charitable deeds (Bruce, loc. cit.).

The alternative view, that the words are said to the Twelve, and that παρευρέσθαι is the evil stamp placed on all wealth, 'because great wealth is seldom gained or employed without injustice,' is forcefully presented by Moffatt, in DCG ii. 106 f.

(2) In Lk 16:11 we have a contrast between παρευρέσθαι and ἔλεγχος παρευρέσθαι, which seems to turn on a second meaning of ἰτιόσαρισ. In the original Aramaic, ἰτιόσαρισ means (a) 'deceit,' 'fraud,' and (b) 'nothingness,' 'illusion,' 'vanity.' We believe that ἰτιόσαρισ, 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 ἰτιόσαρισ would, in the original Aramaic, appear in both v. 11 and v. 12, but in v. 11 ἰτιόσαρισ means 'deceit,' 'fraud,' while in v. 12, 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 ἰτιόσαρισ.

(3) In Lk 16:2, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon,' the emphasis is on 'serve' (δομέων). No man can and mammon are not compatible. The ordinance 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 undivided attention and service, and as in Ro 16:12 Paul speaks of those who 'serve' their own sensual nature (παρασκευάζοντες . . . τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καθὼς), and as in Col 3:5 he utters a warning against 'covetousness, inasmuch as it is idolatry,' i.e., wealth so easily erects itself into an idol, which woos men's affections from God. The central thought is 'living cheerfully what they acquire. Here and in Lk 16:12 there is, no doubt, a personification of wealth, as also in Tertullian (adv. Marc. iv. 35).

When Milton, therefore, speaks of Mammon as one of the fallen angels in hell, 'the least exalted Spirit that fell from heaven,' who even in heaven was admiring more the riches of Hea'n's pavement, truly gold,

To anger, divinely holy, else enjoyed

In vision beatific

(Pars. Lett. l. 675 f.; cf. also ii. 229).

We have, perhaps, not so much the flight of the poet's imagination as an indication of his familiarity with apocryphal lore. The phrase 'mammon-worship' has been made familiar by Carlyle (Frederick and Frosst, bk. ii. 2. bk. iv. 4. 8, etc.) and, is, no doubt, useful in emphasizing strenuously the warning of Jesus, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'


MAN.—See ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, EVOLUTION, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, etc.

MAN, ISLE OF.—See CELTS.

MANA. MANA 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 the more generalized 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 n.), 'is common I believe to the whole Pacific, and people have tried very hard to describe what it is in different regions. I think I know what 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 not 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 mainly be followed here, though one must bear in mind that it deals primarily with the Melanesian, whereas there reason is to suppose that the actual word is an importation from Polynesia. It will be convenient to consider the mana of the Pacific region under two aspects: (1) the local, comprising the native view of what it is, how it is

1 W. Taylor Smith calls the attention of the present writer to a passage in the 'Pasco Sancti Bartholomaei Apostoli,' in Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. J. Bonnet, Leipzig, 1891-1903, p. ii. vol. i. p. 167: 'Vidiq (Satana) se exsudavit, et alterum sibi angelo apostolici, qui milam victoriam sacrificavit, secavit, es princeps immortalis, et socius argetum gennarum et omnium gloriam que esse in hoc mundo et in tuto hominum: et: Hac omnia tibi dabo si adoraveris me.'
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.

(c) Theoretical aspect. — Mana is defined by Codrington thus:

"It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shews itself in physical force, or in any kind of personal excellence which a man 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 it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone. (p. 119 n.)" Or, again, he describes mana as "a force of a different kind from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is not easy to define or control." (p. 119 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 so far as it is 'what works to effect everything which is wrought by the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature' (p. 118); (2) that, even if it be in itself impersonal, resembling a contagion, or 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, or, in other words, may be used to benefit or to afflict friends and enemies' (p. 200), and is thus indiscriminately at the service of life and the black arts. So much for the nature attributed to mana—which, be it noted, is not moral, intellectual, or intellectual, or verbal, since it is equally a property, quality, or state. It may next be shown how such an attribution is a result of experience and something of consequence.

"If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource; for he has certainly got the mana, or spirit of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a loom hung upon a finger of his bow hand, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply, and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stores full of mana for pigs and yams that he possesses. Of course a man naturally grows when planted, that is well known, but it will not be very large unless mana is in it: it will not be swift unless mana be brought to bear upon it, a net will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound." (p. 139)

Moreover, in this matter the native mind proceeds logically enough by the method of hypothesis and verification.

'If a man comes by chance upon a stone which takes his fancy; its shape is singular, it is like something, it is certainly not a common thing, there must be mana in it. So he argues with himself and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree to the fruit of which it has a certain resemblance, or he buries it in the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shows that he is right, the stone is mana, has that power in it.' (p. 139)

Hypothesis and verification even lurk behind the forms of prayer.

Thus at Florida, one of the Solomons Islands, a fisherman addresses Dunia, a fijian's ghost, connected with the frightful bird, in these words: 'If thou art powerful, mana, O Dunia, put a fish or two into this net and let them die there.' If he makes a good catch, he therefore exclaims, 'Powerful mana, is the fijdelo of the net.' (p. 140)

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. 22).

For instance, a man claimed to have received from the ghost of a late chief, a very great man, a stone for producing pigs together with mana chant for working the stone; the people were ready enough to believe, but the stone proved unproductive of pigs, and the departed chief had no spiritual successor (p. 57).

To pass on to the question who or what may act as a host or vehicle of mana, it is plain from the foregoing examples that it may reside (though always conditionally and, as it were, by favour) either in a man or in a thing. For a man to have mana and to be great are convertible terms.

"To rise from step to step (in the steps, i.e. secret society or club) money is wanted, and food and pigs; no one can rise unless he has mana for it; therefore as mana gets a man on in the steps, so every one high in the steps is certainly a man with mana, and a man of authority, a great man, one who may be called a chief." (p. 103; cf. p. 115.) In the after-life, too, '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 ghosts, nobodies alike; but the souls of chiefs before and after death. The supernatural power abiding in the powerful living abides in his ghost after death, with increased vigour and more ease of movement' (p. 115).

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 row among its litter, he was sure that to offer money upon it would bring pigs, and such a stone would be thought to have mana for it (p. 115). 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 mana to the leaves, so that, when the latter are hung up upon a tree, the wind may blow abroad the mana 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 raies, leaves that are mana for this purpose are caused to ferment so that a steam charge rises up to make clouds, and at the same time a stone that is mana for rain is placed among them to assist the process (p. 201). It remains to notice the native theory of the ultimate source of mana. It was, as we have noted, that, according to Codrington, 'it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it' (p. 119 n.)—namely, to a dead man's ghost, a spirit (which was incorporated from the first), or a living man (p. 151). The claim 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 permissible only to say 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), may 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 great spirit, and it is the fighting man's ghost, for instance, being known specifically as a keramo, or ghost of killing, and hence much prized as a spiritual ally who can give mana (p. 133). Similarly, it is because the stone with little stones round it is like a row among her litter that it is credited with mana; and the doctrine that it belongs to spirits (p. 183) is, clearly, but an explanatory after-thought. Thus neither animism (in Taylor'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 naive experience of the wondering-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 as the living indwelling, comes to be intimately associated with the indwelling 'spiritual part.' In this way mana and its derivatives have come in various Polynesian dialects to supply all that is needed in the way of a psychological vocabulary, standing not 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 thus in certain contexts almost automatically means the word 'personality', it must be remembered that, according to the native view, such personality is transmissible (just as we are liable to think of a man's—say, an artist's—personality as attaching to his work), so that the mana of the sacred person or thing, the medicine of the medicine man, the power of the sacred person or thing, or mediately because a ghost or spirit has put it into the person or thing in question. Meanwhile, the simplest way of ascertaining what modifications, if any, need to be imported into the local meaning of mana in order that the term may be employed generically, so as to cover analogous ideas hailing from a variety of other cultural areas, will be to review sundry examples of such kindred notions.

(1) Orenda.—This word is Iroquoian, belonging more especially to the Huron dialect, and apparently has the literal sense of 'chant' or 'song,' whence it comes to stand for the mystic power put forth by means of a magic song or in any other magico-religious way. Thus we are near the original meaning when we find one who exerts his orenda as the regular expression for a soothsayer, or hear of the orenda of the cicada, which is known as the 'sunshine or rain' are wont 'to turn it either way as it is made worth their while to turn it'. (Codrington, p. 290.) Healing medicine and poison are alike mana (ib. pp. 189, 308). As Tregear's citation of phrases shows, actual and supposed supernatural force generally involve the exercise of mana no less than does any and every form of blessing. In short, all trafficings with the unseen and occult, whether licit or illicit, are to a great extent guided and pressed into the service of malice, and of 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 tabu (= tabu, tapu) has a rather different sense, implying human precedent which precludes all approach, and involves 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, 31). Whatever has magico-religious value in any degree is treated with more or less of awe, not to say fear, because in a corresponding degree it has supernatural power which 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 serving to keep the holy person or thing inviolate, or guarding the mana from desecrating influences that will somehow spoil its efficacy.

2. Scientific meaning of mana.—It remains to decide what meaning may appropriately be given 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 moral or religious sanction, despite the fact that in Melanesia another shade of meaning apparently attaches to the term, so mana has of late obtained a wide currency as a general name for the power attributed to sacred persons and things, and is so much in vogue in the scientific literature. Suggestions which may have gathered round the word in 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 incorporated in an animistic 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 conceived as automatic or derived, i.e., as proceeding from the power inherent in the sacred person or thing, or mediately because a ghost or spirit has put it into the person or thing in question. Meanwhile, the simplest way of ascertaining what modifications, if any, need to be imported into the local meaning of mana in order that the term may be employed generically, so as to cover analogous ideas hailing from a variety of other cultural areas, will be to review sundry examples of such kindred notions.

(2) Wakan.—This particular associations is strictly parallel to orenda, and stands for all 'power which makes or brings to pass.' It may come near to the idea of will-power, as in the Omaha act of
sea-chin-dhe-dhe, the 'sending of power' by singing to an absent friend engaged in war, or in the chase, and the current of the menstrual blood is sakan (whence the nuptial charm described by H. R. Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, Philadelphia, 1833-57, v. 70 [see A. C. F. Meigs, 'Herbs and Their Uses,' American Assoc. for Adv. of Science, 1897, p. 326]). In short, the term may be applied indifferently to a shaman, to sun, moon, thunder, to animals and trees, to fetishes and ceremonial objects of all sorts, and, in fact, to anything that exercises overruling power (cf. W. J. McGee, 15 RBEW [1897] 182).

(3) Manus. —Here once more we have an Algonquian word that is generically identical in meaning with onneda or sakan. It is primarily an impersonal substantive; for in the Algonquian dialect a rigid distinction of gender is made between things with life and things without life; and, when manus stands for a virtue or property, the form expressive of inanimate gender is used, though, 'when the property becomes identified with objects in nature, the gender becomes obscure and confused' (W. Jones, AJFL xviii. [1905] 183 f). The following account by an Indian of the Fowl of the effects of the sweat-lodge brings out very clearly the 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.

"One smears oneself over the arms and legs... it is done to open up the pores for the sweating to enter into the body. The manitous comes from its place of abode in the steam. It becomes a sick man. On the head and the feet it proceeds out of the stone when the water is sprinkled upon it, and when the steam enters the body... and imparts some of its nature to the sick one so that he feels so well after having been in the sweat-lodge" (ib. p. 181 f.).

See, further, art. MANITU.

(4) Hasina. —This word is used in Madagascar to express the power or 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, signifying 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 virtues 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 his hasina intact for the public good, 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 'fady (= tabu) de conservation' (Tabou 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 he transmits its hasina to the place of the grave, which is henceforward sacred, in fact, a tithe. Even when the king is dead he transmits its hasina to the place of the grave, which is henceforward sacred (ib. p. 104). 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 preserve the hasina in the family (ib. p. 192).

Hasina is, however, by no means 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 feel his hasina to be greater than mine. In both cases he can receive no harm (ib. p. 18). Meanwhile I shall do well to fortify myself by protecting my property with amulets full of hasina, these often amounting to veritable boundary-stones (ib. p. 180). For the rest, whatever is sacred has hasina and for this reason is likewise fady, or tabu, so that, for instance, the stranger who has hasina, and is therefore fady, must be received with rites of admission the object of which is ditelower, 'to remove the tabu' (ib. pp. 40, 46).

(5) Baraka. —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 ayid (i.e. asyyid), 'saint,' is meanwhile bestowed impartially on person or place, implying a certain 'confusion of categories' (E. Westernmarck, in Anthrop., Essays presented to Tyler, London, 1907, pp. 365).

To secure that the power shall be exercised in his favour, the Arab puts a conditional curse ('ar) upon the saint by throwing a stone on the cairn marking his tomb, or by tying a rag near by. The most efficient conductor of the power is, however, the blood shed in a sacrifice, for the blood contains baraka, supernatural energy, in itself, and hence lends potency on its own account to the curse with which it is loaded (ib. p. 365). Baraka is, however, by no means permanently possessed (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 meal, and is further evidence, of the worshippers by a man clothed in the victim's skin (Westernmarck, MF 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 a gift from her as bringing a blessing, and likewise suppose her blood to give efficacy to the ceremonies practised with a view to producing rain for the good of the crops (Westernmarck, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914, p. 390 ff.).

(6) Manguur. —This word among the Kabi tribe of Queensland is not exactly equivalent with the word hasina, with which the doctor is full and whereby he effects his miracles. He is also known as muru muru, 'the man full of life' (muru barman, 'to live'). The force that pervades him is conceived, kyemorphically, as a number of those magic crystals which are so much in evidence when he engages in his acts of healing. As a native witness put it, 'always pebbles in his inside are. In the hand bones, calves, head, nails' (J. Mathew, Eaglehawk and Croo, London, 1899, p. 191). These pebbles enter the patient, so that he in turn becomes manguur bathin, 'full of vitality.' Or, conversely, the muru muru, the man full of life, sucks out the pebbles which some other ill-disposed person has put into the victim, so that when he recovers, the potency resident in the pebbles being thus equally capable of killing or curing according to the intention of the powerful man who has control of them (ib. p. 191). Or the medicine-man may relieve his patient by drawing out the evil by means of a rope, and such a rope he obtains from Bhakan, theriabow, who himself manguurur (superlative of manguur) superlatively potent (ib. p. 192).

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 provest his or her holiness by means of action supremely oriented toward the good 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 his character, and does so 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. In the first place, mana usually calls attention to the element which magic and religion have in common. At various ways mana religion corresponds roughly to whatever system of rites is resorted to by the community in general for self-preservation in the face of all the dangers, real or imaginary, that beset them. If you are a member of another tribe in your capacity as one of the men and I am not disinterested enough to attribute to you any religion whatever speaking of, even if your rites bear the closest family resemblance to mine; but rather it is the act 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 or community is not part of his private spies 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 indifference to the power of mana is set in motion. Mana, then, as representing what 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 tabu, 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. Whatever else it may be as well, and however it may be as a bundle of ideas, the magico-religious in all its manifestations is always hedged round with respect because of the potency inherent in it. Tabu and mana always imply each other, so that either can stand for the whole two-sided notion. Thus tapu ( =tabu) was a general name for the system of religion in Hawaii (Tregear, s.v. 'Tapa'). Conversely, when a word of the mana type, is translated into English, the notions of power, sacred, ancient, grandeur, animate, immortal all fall alike within the wide circle of its implications (15 REDE, p. 138). Mana, however, taken by itself offers the more adequate characterization of the nature of the magico-religious, since it reveals the positive ground of the negative attitude of fear and shrinking which tabu involves. 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 must go on to the use 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 or sacred in which it appears as a transmissible 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 tokina, contagion (Tabou et totemisme, p. 11). The idea of spirit, on the other hand, does not lend itself so readily to 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 constant feature of primitive belief, corresponding as it does to that play of association to which the unorthics are most naturally given, especially when rendered suggestive by emotional excitement. Thus, in the Melanesian charm for 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 therewith, 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, this help sent to the fire by 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 the 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 subjective, operating on its own account, even though personal beings may have set it in motion, this is largely because a more or less automatic efficacy is imparted to ritual as such, the results of conscious design that 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 loci 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 conceptions. Those who still hold with the belief for the superstitiously those who likewise believe in the possibility of controlling it.

LITERATURE.—For the local use of the word mana the locus classicus is H. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, Oxford, 1891. Cf. also E. Tregear, Macar-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary, Wellington, N.Z., 1893, s.v. 'Mana.' For the kindred words, ena, mana, maka, etc., see these A. Van Gennep, Tabou et totemisme a Madagascar, Paris, 1904, deals with hasina in strict relation to the local context, yet in a broad way that suggests interesting applications to classical theory. On the scientific use of the term see various essays, and the first of these going back to 1899, by H. P. Mear, in The Threshold of Religion, London, 1914. In 1904 Maret, in From Spell to Prayer, 18, and H. Hubert and M. Mauss,
MANDAEANS.—See SHAMANISM.

MANDAEANS.—I. Introduction.—The Mandaeans claim our interest not only as being a separate surviving branch of the Semitic stock, but also on account of their religion, their language, and their sacred literature. Besides the records of their religious teaching and their religious poetry, that literature includes fragmentary records and revisions of ancient Gnostic speculations and mythologies, and heretics of the Mandean 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 strongholds, many of the lower Euphrates, the lower Tigris, and the rivers which water the eastern Iraq al-'arabī and the adjacent Persian province of Khūzistān (Arabistan). It is, indeed, necessary for them to live in the neighbourhood of rivers, since instinct in these flowing waters is an essential, and certainly the most characteristic, feature of their religious practice.

As far back as our records carry us, we find these Mandaeans in very humble conditions, earning their living—carpenters, smiths, locksmiths, goldsmiths—or 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 individual members of the community. At these functions it was their regular task to recite a number of extracts from the sacred books. In the days of the ancients, such recitations took 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 Mandaeans 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, and hence not merely priests, but a considerable number of laymen, possessed copies. Some of these were obtained by Christian missionaries from their converts, and others were bought, with the result that since the middle of the 17th cent., not a few Mandaic MSS have found their way into European libraries. The books are composed in a distinct Semitic idiom, and written in a special script.

2. Mandean writings.—The most valuable, from the historical point of view, and at least in the main—the most ancient portions of Mandaean literature were composed in the voluminous Sīhād rabbed ("Great Book") or Genāz ("The Thesaurus"), which is divided into a right and a left part. This consists largely of theological, mythological, ethical, and historical treatises, which are interspersed with revelations, prayers, and hymns. All these components, so varied in the suet matter, may be called "tracates," though only by way of having a uniform term by which they may be enumerated and cited. From the introductory "blessings," which contain twenty-four times, and from postscripts, we may infer that the sixty-four pieces of which collections of hymns, were gradually incorporated in the "Thesaurus," now singly, now in groups. Originally each 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 Mandaean who expected the end of the world to take place one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Arab 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 tractate, xix, R. speaks of Mahamat 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 mind of the translators evidently thinking that they must fill out 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 great and those of lesser importance, the latter having taken their materials or their themes from the former.

In some we find fragments interpolated from older works not now extant, while in not a few are a mere patchwork of remnants of works—often fragmentary—contained. When all has been said, it cannot be doubted that these documents of the Genāz which speak authoritatively of Mandaean thought and sentiment were, in fact, more or less rewritten, and that later redaction—often far more competent—as they have undergone was the work of Mandaean priests who were concerned to transmit to some form to future generations the greatest possible amount of their ancient traditions in a formal nucleus or focus of the entire collection is a manifesto of the Mandaean priesthood to the community (xxvii. R.; cf. MR. supplem. A).

Like the Genāz, the Sīhād rabbed ("The Book of John"), or Drēdē d'wāhīd ("Recitations of John"), more rarely designated Drēdē d'Yahēd ("Recitations of John"), is also a collection of tracates, 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 experience and teachings of John the Baptist. The book also contains narratives (e.g., one about the "fisher of souls"), instructions in conversational form, etc. The dictio is still good, but the legend of the baptizer of the Jordan, who is mentioned only once in the Genāz, where he is described as a truly wise and devout prophet, is here brought down to the sphere of popular taste, and expounded with entertaining stories. The name, c. Yōhānā, is superseded by the Arabic "Yahēd" (cf. § 40), and from these facts we infer that the contents of this collection are of considerably later origin than those of the great "Thesaurus."

The Qolastā is a volume containing the liturgies for the annual baptismal festival and the service in liturgical form as Thesaurus sive liber magnum, Leipzig, 1887. We shall cite from this ed., using the letters B and L for the right and left parts respectively; the page and line figures will indicate the page and line. The right and left pages are for the living, the left-hand for the dead.
for the dead (massayah). Its poetic sections, which are intended to be recited as hymns or prayers, are worthy to stand beside the songs in the Gezah, though they are possibly not so ancient. 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 Mandaeian language. The same statement holds of later section of the manuscript of the Magee Ritual, which has not yet been printed, though there are MSS of it in Oxford.

The liturgical rubrics of the two works just mentioned corresponds the Dēdān preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. A similar Dēdān is given by the Mandaeans to a work written on one long strip of paper. The Paris example is 136 x 6 cm., and gives the procedure for the expiation of ceremonial offenses (cf. T. Nöldeke, Mandaische Grammatik, p. xxiv). Another Dēdān, now in the Vatican Library, is 76 metres in length, and consists of a series of sketches representing the halting-places through which the soul of the wanderer passes before entering the Abāṭu. Its numerous figures have been drawn mainly with ruler and compass, and might be the work of a child's hand, while some parts of the text between them are of later date. The figures have been rendered illegible by stains and dilapidation 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 a word of the Mandaeian 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. 3

Another Mandaean work, one main division of which bears the title Aqṣar malwādd (Book of the 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 Sibah bowls with Mandaean inscriptions intended to avert a curse or an evil spirit. 2 They furnish melancholy evidence of the complete decay of Mandaean theology.

3. The Mandaeian language. — The idiom in which the Mandaeian writings are 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 cognate is the special dialect of the Tannūṭu Babbī (i.e. the Aramaic of Upper Babylonia). The script (see below, § 20) has the advantage of expressing the vowel-sounds by letters, and does not require diacritical signs. A correct interpretation of the texts—so far as they are written accurately and in good preservation—has been made possible by the grammar which Nöldeke has drawn up from them (Mandaische Grammatik). 4

4. Translations. — Ignatius a Jesu, who, as a missionary in Baqra in the 17th cent., was in close contact with Mandaeans for nearly thirty years, simply says that he had some knowledge of their language, while his successor, Angelus a S. Josepho, thought himself also to know the language. The learned Maronite, Abrahæm Echelensis, from three Mandaeian books, and given to the public in a work printed in 1699 at Rome, that scholar had doubts expressed in reading with the assistance of Mandaeans behind him (cf. MI, p. 51). From the same period come three renderings of the supposed Mandaeian baptismal formula, but these show how utterly bewildered the translators were even with the first line of the Mandaeian writings. The material extracted by the learned Maronite, Abrahæm Echelensis, from three Mandaeian books, and given to the public in a work printed in 1699 at Rome, that scholar had doubts expressed in reading with the assistance of Mandaeans behind him (cf. MI, p. 51). From the same period come three renderings of the supposed Mandaeian baptismal formula, but these show how utterly bewildered the translators were even with the first line of the Mandaeian writings. 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 and still very erroneous studies of G. W. Lorsch, are considered in some detail in MS, 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. The Mandaeian priests (cf. MS, pp. 7-20). The specimens of translation offered by H. Petermann simply repeat the errors of Norberg (ib. pp. 99, 186, 214, 234).

Even with Nöldeke's Grammatik at our disposal, there are still serious obstacles to a correct translation of the Mandaeian writings. These contain a large number of expressions which we can interpret only conjecturally or else not at all; some appear to be Persian in origin, but there are also a number of genuine words whose origin in other dialects does not suit their Mandaeian context, while in other cases the context does not clearly show which modification of meaning has been developed from their etymological root. 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. Pogson (op 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 Gezah. 2

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 myths seems to promise—and it is the prospect of such gains that draws us to the study of the Mandaeian texts—are in the main as follows: (a) enlightenment regarding the meaning of the Mandaeian rites; (b) a tenable view of the origin and early history of the Mandaeian religion; and (c) an advancement of our knowledge regarding the character of Oriental Gnosis and its religious bearings.

6. General contents of the Sidrā rabbā, or Gezah. — In seeking to solve the riddle presented by the Mandaeans and their writings, we must begin with a critical examination of the principal parts of their literature. We shall, therefore, first direct our attention to the matter found in the Gezah. There we find a teeming world fabricated by religious and theological fantasy. Gods and demons, or beings who are, with actions and utterances which, without any exception, relate 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 fragmentary and are lost with one another; sometimes, again, a particular action is described to beings of altogether diverse character, or, as the action of one and the same being, it is described and characterized with much variation in different texts. It is still possible here to see two or three, all this, and we shall seek only to give a concise survey of the most important trains of thought and imagination to which the vast variety of the material here may be reduced.

7. Ancient Gnostic elements in the Genizah. The tractates 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. MS, p. 24 ff.). Here *the Great Finit*, from which uncountable other fruits have sprung, and — as a personal divinity being — "the Great Man of Glory," from whom, in like manner, other *Great Men* have arisen, are spoken of as primal entities. Beside the *Great Man* we frequently find *his counterpart* — the radiant ether (*aygar zevad*), or the *great ether of life* (*aygar robed d’aygar*), who appears sometimes as a primitive being, sometimes as one of the first emanations; and the same holds good of *the First Life*, also called *the Great Life*, and of *the Hidden First Kherqef* (i.e., *drop*), perhaps thought of as a sperm-drop. In all the sections of this type we read also of *the Great Jordan*, which is always represented as a roaring living water, as *the living water*, as *the gleaming and luminous water*. It encircles the realm of *aygar*, the world inhabited by the higher beings, and in its descent it is joined by innumerable other Jordains which water the *aygar*-realm, or, 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 Genizah we find the personified figure of Wisdom making requests for revelations as to the gradation of the higher beings according to their period and dignity (MS, p. 222 f.). Nor do the texts in question present us merely with diverse elaborations of a single underlying view, or with various attempts to construct 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 Mendesean scholars themselves at a period before the transmitted texts were written. Of the authors of the Genizah 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 v.i., which we may call the Mendesean Genesis. In this text *the Life* calls *the Second Life* into existence by a *request* to itself. Thus *the Second Life* creates for itself a second celestial world, and among the spirits of this higher realm of second rank (the *‘utras* of the Second Life) arises the idea of creating a third within it, viz., our earth, with inhabitants who should know but a worship only the Second Life, not the First. Then the Great Man of Glory, in order to frustrate this design, calls into existence the *Mandd d’ayyar*, who was to see that the First Life was worshipped also upon the earth.

In the Mandean dialect mandād is a by-form of mandēd or midēd, a noun from the root ma’d, and *Mandd d’ayyar* is equivalent to vērā ובו וָט (in the ordinary sense, and the term *aygar* (ultimately derived from Gr. ἄγαρ) as denoting the air of the celestial world and the north wind associated with it. The word *mānād* (usually — *= vessel*; *= instrument*) is still found in a group of hymns (L 68-74) in which the soul of the Mandean asserts its heritage in the higher world, declaring, "I am a *mānād* of the Great Life," while occasionally an exalted celestial being is distinguished by the epithet *pure mānād*. 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 — each one that is small and always unannounced. Very, however, *the Life* comes to be spoken of in the singular. In the polytheistic writers a number of other gods appear besides *the Life* — not, indeed, as its subordinates, but inferior to it in power and prestige. These are not called *god* — good of the Mandesians, in fact, that term was long restricted entirely to the false foreign deities (MR, supplement C) — but are referred to each by his proper name. The heavenly beings created for a special purpose are called *‘utras* (lit., *wealth*), as are also the countless angels who play a more ornamental part.

Far below the realm of *aygar* lies a world of darkness — the black water (mawāy ‘ayyar). 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 by the writers of the Psalms (Psalms 2, 72) to God alone (Psalms 104). The character of this demurgle shows a remarkable degree of variation. Psalms 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 preferred help of the evil spirits. Again, he is in fault solely because he has not boldly resisted such evil spirit, or, once more, he himself has committed no transgression, and it is only after he has duly performed his work that evil comes into the world. The creation of man is wrought in part either by Psalms or by the evil spirits, but is left incomplete, the soul and the finer organs, or at least the former, being still lacking. The soul — that which makes man live — is breathed into Adam by Mandd d’ayyar, or else brought down from the presence 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 whose inhabitants should belong to them and worship them alone was foiled.
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, predatory animals and serpents, devouring fire and earthquake, etc., as well as evil passions—and mingle them with the good creation. According to v. 1, the first to be deluded by the wicked ones was the woman of the Adam (Adam:56), dhabay, or his representatives (Hibil, Sittil, Enô). Must once more appear to fortify and maintain mankind in the true faith. These evil spirits are the Rûthi (Jad-Aram, 777) and the evil 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 Rûthi, who also bears the epithet of ‘world-mother’ or ‘mother of the world,’ bore these children to Ur, the Mandean 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, the reason evidently being that the solidification of the land in the black water would otherwise have been impossible. According to v. 1, R. it was Mand, according to v. 2, R. it was his son Hibil šizwa, who cast ‘Ur to the ground, loaded him with chains, and set warders over him—either, on another view, immured him in ‘Ur’s own dunghill. Details as to how these measures were carried out—mainly by magic and trickery—are found in the tractates cited; and viii. R. (one of the later portions of the Geniza) relates further, with reminiscences of Bab. myths, how he was cast out from the earth and from the light (šûmas), which is said in the same passage to have been the first work of the creation. The Gnostic writer here adopts R. the Gnostic story according to which the light was born of the Rûthi (of God), as were also, subsequently, the lights of the heavens. The word γαί, ‘call,’ as used for ‘call into being,’ can be traced to the Biblical Genesis, as well as the names of Ādam and his wife Hāwâ, and, consequently, also that of their son Sittil (cf. רות, lengthened in Mand. to עות) and the names of the other two gôni Hibil and Enô. The exaltation of Abel (727), slain in his innocence, as Hibil šizwa 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 fact that the knowledge of good and evil, of truth and error, was revealed to the first man immediately after he had received 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 worlds and the true religion, the Mandean Genesis refers to the false religions. It 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 Šamšu (‘the sun’), whom all people call ‘Adam.’ The writer does not mention Christianity by name, but in the place of Mercury he inserts the Messiah (Mîshîn), of whose followers he says that they ‘all accuse one another of lying,’ and of himself that he had distorted the teaching of the true religion. This reference to the mutually conflicting teachings of the Christian Church (R. 120, 7ff.) comes doubtless from the hand of the Mandean redactor.

10. Possible traces of a Gnosis entirely independent of Christian Gnosticism. On the connexion of the cosmogony (and theogony) 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 Mandean the word yordam is used as an appellative; but, as it is not a native Mandean formation, this usage is, no doubt, to be explained by the peculiar accorded to the chief river of Palestine by the Gnostics, whose writings had been appropriated or used by the Mandans. There are certain facts which lend support to the opinion that the high honour paid to the river Jordan is of an older standing than the gospel narrative of John the Baptist and Jesus (cf. MS. p. 3, xvi. p. 154; Brandt, Ethiconai, p. 154); and upon this point the documents answer to the question whether the Mandean documents show vestiges of a Gnosis that was not affected by Christianity, and was perhaps pre-Christian.

11. Jesus Christ as Mandâ d’hayyê. Tractates bearing unmistakable signs of dependence upon a tradition of gospel history, and emanating, at the same time, from the polytheistic school, are two fairly well known out of the rest of the Geniza in that they alone speak of the Mandâ d’hayyê as having appeared in Jerusalem and Judah, or in company with Yôhannâ the Baptist at the Jordan, with a view to ‘selecting the believers amongst all peoples and families’ (R. 170, 10), while the proclamation of the true doctrine, which, according to the view otherwise universal among the Mandans, was revealed in the days of Ādam, is forgotten in these tractates under the name of the Geniza sect. They 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 to the new facts. The Mandans spoke of the Mandâ d’hayyê among the Jews, or among a human race long in existence, is never again mentioned—so far, at least, as the Geniza is concerned—by later Mandean writers.

12. The monotheistic school, or doctrine, of the king of light. With the polytheistic Gnosis described in the foregoing paragraphs Mandean writers of, we would surmise, the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. composed a stricto sensu monotheistic Gnosis, which, upon its leading themes, we shall call the doctrine of the king of light. 1. and xcv. R. furnish a complete and almost unvitiated account of it.

‘One is the lofty king of light in his kingdom’—lord of all heavenly beings, source of all good, creator of all forms of infinite greatness and goodness, highly exalted by the ‘kings’ or ‘angels’ who stand before him and inhabit his paradise. Of distinctively Mandean character are the features noted in 11. 17 (‘he sits in the lofty north’) and 6. 17 (‘victims are not sacrificed before him’), and the description given in 6. 8: ‘The Jordans of darkness in the worlds of light are white waters, full, white and intangible. And the dark waters and the white waters are the life of the serpent, and the wings of an eagle; he is hideous and of terrific proportions;’ ‘iron seethes in the ethiconai, and the stone is burned up by his breath; when he lifts his eyes the mountains tremble; the plagues quaker at the whisper of his lips.’ With all his 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 heights. Then the lofty king of light calmed the agitated world by proclaiming that 'All the projects of the Dayâr [demon] come to naught, and his works have no continuance' (ct. NR, p. 43 f.; NS, p. 231 f.).

According to the theology which finds expression here, the earth and the firmament, 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 'ätâ, named Gabriël, the Ambassador.

In the record of the mandate given to Gabriël the Mandean redactor has interpolated a passage referring to the subjugation of the world of darkness (6. 8-15), but nothing is said of this subjugation in the account of the actual creation. The creation of man is briefly recorded as follows (13. 9): 'And the man Adam and his wife Haorâ were fashioned, and the soul fell into the body.' Then (13. 11-13) 'the fire-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.'

make the human race abandon the true religion. These sections, however, retain only the scantiest elements of the original doctrine of the king of light. Such residual elements might have most likelihood be found in the figures of Hîbûl zîwâ, who (like Mandâ d'hayyê in the polytheistic Genesis) instructs the first man in all that is necessary for salvation, and 'Enô'ätâ, who in the course of the world's history comes forth to rehearse that instruction (R 29; cf. MS, p. 48).

15. Enô and the cloud; Masûn kûšâ.—The Mandean Enô (mûn, mû) rests upon an identification or fusion (due, possibly, to the author of the Judeo-Christian doctrine of the king of light) of the OT 'Enôsh (Gn 4:25) with the Son of Man (bar 'âdâsh) of Dn 7:13. Abel, Seth, and Enoch—or, in their Mandean form, Hîbûl, Sîtil, and 'Enô—figure in the Mandean texts as the spiritual forefathers of the human race.
that Râhâ is Yânu, and that Adônai, the god of the Jews, is Sâmés, the sun (on the Mandaean names of the planets cf. MS, p. 45). The observance of the appointed times is a Mandaean practice, though it later became obligatory (R 56. 12; cf. MB, p. 90, and below, § 32).

An account of the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan is given in the Sîdâr d’Yahyâ, which, however, narrates it in the following way: the Baptist is at first unwilling to perform the ceremony, and he only after he has received from heaven (Abâtûr) the written mandate, ‘Yahyâ, baptize the liar in the Jordan.’

The references in the Mandaean religion to Judaism.—Besides the OT characters already mentioned, several others are named in certain sections of the Genaza, but are of no importance in Mandaean theology. Virtually all of them are enumerated below.

It is curious to note that in one passage (L 18 f.) the promise is made to Adam that, ‘on the great Day of Resurrection he and all his race will rise again and be transported to his own hand, while in the last period of the world he will be presented to the King of Kings.’ Adam is said, quite in keeping with the Mandaean view, to have ascended to the ‘house of the Life.’ The idea of a resurrection from the dead is altogether foreign to Judaism; but it is clear that the passage about the promise must have been carelessly transferred from a Jewish or Christian-Gnostic source.

The Jewish materials in the Genaza were drawn, not directly from the OT, but from Aramaic sources, often in the shape of sayings. The Ark of Noah (Nû) ran ashore—as the Targums also tell us—on the mountains of Qârdî (Gordyæa, i.e., Kurdistan); Abraham and Moses were prophets of Râhâ; King Solomon, like King Jamshid in Iran, is said to have been born to a demon as in subject until he ceased to give thanks to his Lord, and let himself be adorned; the world-configuration which had once annihilated the human race before the Deluge was kindled by the angel Daniel, to whom was given power over fire; at the order of El-râhâ and Râhâ (MB, pp. 129 f., 123). 

The assumption that the Mandaean were originally a Jewish or Judeo-Christian sect (Milgrom, Weiss) seems to be in variance with the following facts. Their names and the prominent names associated with the teachings of Judaism was not obtained from oral tradition; on the contrary, they found the names in written documents, translated them, as foreign words, for they read them incorrectly. Thus they render the name of Moses as Môsa, Miriam as Mîryâ, Abraham as Abîrâm, Isaac as Uârîl, Jacob as Ya’qôb; Sâbat appears as Sâbat, mâlkhôh, ‘angels,’ as mâlkhî, ‘kings,’ and Benjâmeh as ben ‘Ammî, ‘the son of Amin.’ The inevitable inference is that the Mandaean had been throughout complete strangers to the religions tradition of Judaism. The same may be said of Jewish religious life. In the entire Mandaean literature there is no evidence to show that the Mandaean ever observed the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, or turned towards Jerusalem in their prayer. Like the Essenes (q.v.), they rejected animal sacrifices, and believed in a resurrection from the body at death; but marriage—in the form of monogamy, though with a succession of wives—and the procreation of children were enjoined upon them as a religious duty; they had nothing like the organized communal life of the Essenes. Their view of the planets is quite inconsistent with such a practice as that of according an adoring salutation to the rising sun. A further point of importance is that in their prayers the Mandaean turned towards the north, where the evil spirits and their chief Sâmârâl (from s’mâl, ‘the left,’ i.e. the northern one) have their abode in that very region of the heavens.

15. Conjectures on the Antiquity of the Mandaean religion.—The relation between the Mandaean teachings and Manichaeism (q.v.) cannot be fully discussed here. The parallels have been collected by the present writer in MS, pp. 223–235 (cf. Elchenau, 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, Incert. mand., p. 190 f., from Theodore bar-Khôn’s Book of Scholos), and one in L 40 f. In the veritable parallels the Mandaean 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 mutual influence of Christian (more especially Greek) and Manichaean groundwork of the doctrine of the king of light on the one hand, and in the theology of Mânî on the other. Doubtless, too, the Mandaean material was derived from the Manichaean tractate a number of fragments from Manichean documents to be found in the L 40 f. (cf. MB, p. 198 f.). The religious teachings of the two faiths, however, were essentially distinct in character; the fundamental dualism of the Manichean system—a doctrine that finds a satisfactory and logical design even in the creation of the world, and involves an ascetic mode of life—is far removed from the Mandaean view. It may also be noted that, according to a passage in the Kitât bi-Fihrist (ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871–75, p. 304), the father of Mânî, shortly before the latter’s birth, joined the Mughâna, a sect akin to the Mandaean; this point, however, need not be further discussed here (for fuller details cf. Brandt, Elchenau, p. 157).

On the other hand, we cannot place the slightest reliance upon bar-Khôn’s statement (in Pognon, pp. 154 f., 224–227) that the sect of the Mandaean was founded in the land of Mâsîân by a beggar named A’dô, of A’dibân, ‘Companions came to him, and there they played upon sys as beggars are accustomed to do.’ Some of the names of A’dô’s relatives, as given in the context, are also borne by well-known figures in the Mandaean religion, while most of them could be quite suitable for such. Nödlke is doubtless right in his conjecture that A’dô is simply a corruption of Adam—ΩΔ from ΑΩΔ. Here, in fact, we recognize a blunder on the part of the heresiologist, due to his habit of regarding alien religions as sects, and tracing each to a distinct founder.

The religious teaching of the Mandaean must, however, in the opinion of the present writer, be explained in other ways than those suggested by the theories discussed, and the view to which our critical examination of the Genaza leads us will be found to do justice to all the data, and has at the same time the merit of simplicity; moreover, it derives some degree of support from what can be ascertained regarding the age of the Mandaean script.

19. Age of the Mandaean script.—Comparing the Mandaean written characters with the various alphabets collected by Julius Cæsarius arsdrasianae (Strassburg, 1890; the work contains also the Pahlavi script), we find that, while they are somewhat like the characters employed in the Nabataean, they are, dating from the 2nd–5th centuries A.D., they
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approximate more closely to those found in the inscriptions of El-Hajr, written in the 1st cent. A.D. (in these comparisons we must, of course, disregard the hair-strokes due to the cursive mode of writing). In particular, the circle by which the Mandaeans represent Ν is closely matched by the corresponding characters in col. 58 of Euting’s Tabula, and the Ν of an inscription at Baṣra, dated 17 B.C., is similar in form to the Greek minuscule ς. Thus, as the Mandaeans written characters are only a stage in the beginning of the Christian era, and as there is no ground for supposing that the Mandaeans had previously used a different alphabet, the rise of the Mandean literature cannot well be dated earlier than the 1st cent., A.D.

20. The baptismal 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 persons who bathe in them—a naturalistic element of belief retained by the Mandaeans amid all the thoughts and fantasies subsequently acquired—was probably inherited from their ancestors. In explanation of that belief, we may 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 far more northern, and nearer the sources—in a district from which they could see, upon their northern horizon, huge mountains towering to the sky (cf. MR, pp. 69-72; MS, 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 isolated from the native region and compelled to endure a miserable existence in their new abode, should seek, in conformity with the practice of their ancestors, i.e., by means of exorcisms, recurrently 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 Urmi is found to agree with the Mandaic dialect in the formation of the infinitive and in not a few features of the pronoun—which holds the same relative position in the Mandaeic language as the Hebrew mlw in Semitic languages—of great importance. If, however, we set aside the theory as hopeless, we must be content to suppose either that the very simple religious conceptions of abolition that prevailed from primitive times among the country people of Lower Babylonia or that by some means or another it had spread to that district from Syria (cf. Brandt, Elchabi, pp. 163, 164).

The Gnostic tracts. — The Mandaeans, then—though not yet bearing that name—practising their religious ablutions, and sharing the general Semitic belief in demons, were living in Southern Babylonia at a time when the intercourse 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 common called Gnosticism, with which, however, we must here combine the Manichean teachings and, in great part, the substance of the Pahlavi books (Bundahish, etc.). The priests of this Gnostic tribe were not, intellectually, sufficiently advanced to interpret the religious symbols which had been passed on to them. They combined the objects of faith and the influences of religion as cosmic entities and occurrences; nor

had they much appreciation for explanations of the world-process by pre-suppositions which purported to guarantee future 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 as much a part of their faith as any other element of the religious observances. The Gnostics, therefore, to be read only with difficulty—documents coming from afar, dealing with things of a remote past, and unveiling the world of the gods—wrought upon them with the force of oracles, revelations from above, records of a superhuman wisdom. Accordingly, the priests adopted the tracts as their own, translating them, of course—at first orally, no doubt—into their own dialect. Conceivably, indeed, it was the desire of having these precious revelations in their own language that prompted them to draw up an alphabet of their own; and it is also possible that it was the translators themselves, and not their descendants in a later generation, who for the first time transcribed these documents were from the first meant for them and their people, that the texts had been revealed to their forefathers, and that the ‘Mandae’ addressed therein were none other than these ancestors and themselves.

22. The rise of Mandean theology. — It seems beyond question that the earlier generations of Mandaeans who had a knowledge of writing (covering, we should estimate, a period of at least two or three hundred years) traveled all the way in the translation—as far as the contents comport as in measure with their own religious sentiment—as records of revealed wisdom; in their backward intellectual condition, they could not fail to be impressed with matter so unfamiliar. In the work of translation, however, as well as later in transcribing and renewing dilapidated texts, they themselves learned the art of literary composition. 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 interpolated in such order as they could devise. From translation they advanced to redaction, and from redaction to independent composition. Such, then, was the genesis of the Mandean literature; it consists essentially of borrowed matter. The circumstance that very diverse cycles of conception had a place in this material stimulated the Mandean scholars to attempt the task of combining one with another, and of mediating between the different views. This, again, explains the development of the Mandean theology, and it also accounts for the confusion that prevails in it.

The Mandaeans never had an orthodox system of theology. Their authors busied themselves with the motley materials that had accumulated in their minds only with a view to reproducing the narrative of the creation of the world and of the human race in a free and improved form, and the one central thought that guides all their efforts is the necessity of explaining the harsh lot of the devout Mandean in his earthly circumstances, and of giving him the strongest possible assurance that his soul will return to a state of pure and joyful eternal bliss which is its true home.

23. The religious beliefs of the Mandean writers. — Amid all the conceptions and the varied views which the Mandean writers became familiar, and notwithstanding all the reverence with which they received the new materials, they never
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.

From the heterogeneous Gnostic 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 Genaza writings. The main features of that belief are as follows. Far above, beyond the heaven of the planets, 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 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; and thus the Mandeans, by bathing in the 'living' water of the rivers, maintain their connexion with the higher realm. The souls of the devout dwell upon this earth as in a foreign land. Here, meanwhile, evil spirits reign, akin to the powers of darkness now immured—the deities of other peoples and other creeds—and it is they and their creatures or servants who make life a torment for the Mandeans. Hence the believer waits with most longing for his salvation, i.e., his deliverance from this existence. And in 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 towards the celestial spheres to the world of light and of the Great Life.

25. Kustā. In the ethical and religious sections of the Mandaean literature much is said about kustā, 'straightness,' 'rectitude,' 'veracity.' In the ritual the ceremony of immersion included a gesture called 'putting forth kustā,' this being identical with what is described as a stretching out of the hand from the bath of immersion, or (after the performance of some other religious duty) 'before Mandā ḏhayā.' The water was made with the right hand, and it corresponded to the clasps of hands with which the soul would be welcomed by the Life and other great celestial beings when it reached the world of light. It was an outward manifestation of the upright mind and of royal devotion. Further particulars regarding the religious ceremony were constantly being increased and rendered more complex by the priests, who will be found in § 33 below, and more fully in MR, pp. 96–129, 221–226.

26. Ceremonial purity. In this period the idea of purity was recognized in the sense of a relation of the world of light so intimate that it carried with it exclusion from every object and condition antipathetic to it ('Hībī ḍawā, pure Mānā'; v. 116, 17, 'the Jordan of Life, from which I have taken purity'). The laws already mentioned regarding food came to the Mandeans through the medium of the ethical code in the doctrine of the 'washing of light,' as did also the injunction that husbands and wives should 'wash with water'; after cohabitation, and women after menstruation. It was only later that the commandment of abstinence was extended to many other occasions of life (Sioufi, cited in MR, p. 195f.).

27. Prayers. Among the Mandaean prayer 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 (MR 800) the prayer in the night-time is actually asked to be invoked upon flesh-food before eating (MR 65: cf. MR, p. 94). The priests drew up short forms of prayer for these ordinances; but for protection against distress and danger they regarded prayer in the proper sense as less effective than a long series of recitations from the ancient books.

28. The massēqā. The ceremony termed mas-
30. The Mandaeans under Sasanian rule. — The Mandaeans 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 contentment. Their ideas, 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, in the period preceding its conquest by the Arabs, belonged to the empire of the Sasanians. We cannot say whether the Mandean hatred of the Jews was kindled by documents embodying an anti-Jewish Gnosis; it may perhaps date from the first half-century of our era, as part of rabbinical Jewish satraps, as related by Josephus (Ant. xix. 1. 14, § 310 ff., ed. Niese), provoked the whole population to an outbreak against themselves and their compatriots.

The Sasanians persecuted the Manichaeans and the Christians who adhered to Rome, but they spared the Nestorian Church, which was subject to the State, and the peaceable Mandaeans. The latter, however, were sometimes brought to give Christian monks who went to them as missionaries. In the Genaæus (xiv. 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 Mandaeans were not always made with 'tender 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 8, 16): 'When [the Saviour Jesus] compels you, say, We are thine'; but in your hearts acknowledge Him not, and deny not the word of your Lord, the brightness of light; for hidden things are not manifest to the ignobly disposed.'

31. In the period of the Arabian invasion; migration. — Then (c. A.D. 650) came the rise of the Muslim Arabs, and the collapse of the Sasanian empire. Certain late portions of the Genaæus make reference to the gate and the demons of the planet Mars, 'Nirig' (Nergal) who is called the Arab 'Abdalah.'

'I 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 are ever an oppression to this tribe of 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 Mandaeans comeforth with themselves that the thought that the wicked 'Abdalah had fallen into one of the infernal princes, where his followers take him to task, asking why they now suffer terrors in the realm of darkness while the servants of the allies (i.e. Mandæi d'hayyā) against whom we drew the sword, mount up to the world of light' (MA, p. 155).

It must have been about this period, around the 7th or 8th cent. A.D., that most of the Mandaeans, 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 what is dissolved at death, the Euphrates and the Tigris, had for a time ostensibly adopted Islam, or that they concealed themselves among the adjoining marshes.

32. Restoration of the cultus. — Tractate xxv. R may be interpreted as a summon to a meeting of the Mandean communities either on the banks of the rivers of Khuzistan or (after peace had been restored) in their old home; it is a manifesto in which 'we, the Tartufis,' turn with prayer and
adjuration 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 a tiled roof), where, in becoming order, they are to stand praying before the Tarnädis, to take part in the communion, etc. This tractate is unmistakably one of the very latest compositions in the Genaza, and is a documentary record of the religious and social organization of the Mandaeans. In earlier texts the term tarmädis (for תמרידה), like the corresponding word yapīra 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 kalubba (כולבים | כולם בעב | כולם בעב; cf. Peshitta of Mt 28), was adopted by the Mandaeans from the Syro-Christian church, though, of course, through the medium of documents of whose origin they were ignorant. The manifesta urges the due observance of the day (MB, pp. 88, 90). The religious ceremonies enjoined are those of old; immersion is performed by the individual himself, usually applied by parents to children, the stretching forth of the right hand, and the partaking of communion-bread. Everything is as yet quite primitive, in harmony with the fact that the tarmädis, ‘priests,’ are still considerably distinguished from the məssātōd, ‘teachers,’ reverence for whom had been enjoined in the moral code (cf. § 13).

33. Introduction of new ceremonies by the priests.—In the period that immediately followed the downfall of the Persian Empire, and which we have to include in the development of the present order, the Mandaeans gradually passed from an organized religious community into a sacerdotal body and gradually assimilated the religious ceremonial rites requiring the co-operation of an official celebrant, or, at least, elaborated them from the traditional usages, and enjoined them with the necessary immersions and other formalities. Even towards the close of the period of the Genaza as attested in the latest sections of that work (cf. MB, p. 104), we find, besides the rites of marking the forehead with water from the river, a sign made with oil; a certain number of approaches 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 sacred bowl (pəntād). The priesthood ventured even to institute, in addition to the ordinary communion-bread, a host of higher order, the ‘superior pəntād,’ which was reserved for themselves and the Salmāns (see below). They also (golād, see p. 89 ff.). Further, the first order, the məssātōd, the dead, one for the living. The latter was an eight days’ ceremony, and conferred upon the person concerned the title of kalumad tâb, ‘blessed perfect one,’ as well as priestly rank; it was thenceforward regarded as dead to the world, and had to abstain from sexual intercourse. The ordinary immersions performed by the individual Mandæan as time and opportunity permitted—every day, morning and evening (Le-Gonz, Voyage et observations, p. 201)—or only on Sundays and feast days, and the days preceding them (Sionni, La Religion des Soudâbes, p. 83)—could still be regularly performed without previous preparation. About this time, however, an annual festival was instituted 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 water; but here the priest, using his right hand, submerged the layman three times; thrice, too, he made the sign upon the recipient’s forehead, and thrice, with his own hand, gave him water to drink. 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. MB, pp. 221-224).

34. Ceremonies wrongly interpreted by Europeans.—The assertion that the Mandaeans worship the cross rests upon references in the Syriac writings of 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 cane rods into the ground, then joins those together and crosses, and that he renders homage to this sacred 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 Bagra to sacrifice a fowl once a year, and Jean Thévenot writes that he himself had witnessed ‘la sacrifice de la pomme’ on the 3rd of November 1665. Since, however, the Mandæan 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 Sionni, the ‘superior pəntād’ was made but once a year, and was in his wife, by whom seven wheaten cakes, each of which was sprinkled on both sides with four drops of sesame oil and four drops of the blood of a newly-killed pigeon. The fowl was afterwards buried in the temple, presumably with a view to ratifying its use as a sacred act. The act was thus in no sense a sacrifice, and it is so little in keeping with the fabric of the Mandæan 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 consecration 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 (pəntāp) was šəndād or šandād (cf. MS, p. 160), and to a priest, tarmād, while a high priest bore the Persian title of gamsābd, ‘treasurer.’ Each priest had his own dishes and table, and partook of food and drink apart from the others; but his wife might sit with him at meals. There are numerous data which seem to indicate that the clericalizing of the Mandæan cult was carried further in the Persian element. Besides the title of the high priest, the names of several articles of priestly attire (razd) are Persian words—tīdād, kvaṇaša, pandāmna. The priest’s seal-ring (Sionni, ‘le chaumiavar’) bears the device, ‘Name of Yawar zīvā’; had the inscription originated in Babylonia, it would have been ‘Name of Mandæan d’hayyé.’ Again, while the Narratio of Ignatius (p. 23) shows distinctly that the Mandæans of Bagra knew nothing of the practice of confessing to a priest, Sionni’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 sins, three times receives absolution for the same sin, i.e., he is absolved of the results of his penance; but after the third confession he is absolved, and then a special consecration may be expected only by certain good works. The passage of the Genaza to which appeal is made in support of this ordinance and with regard to the process shall twice be ‘re-erect’ apostates or transgressors before casting them out of the community.

36. Final redaction of the Genaza writings.—Persian loan-words are found even in the oldest Mandæan texts, but names like Yawar (‘friend, helper’), Sām, and Bahram (Verethraghna) could...
hardly have come into vogue among the Mandaeans except on Persian soil. When, accordingly, in many treatates we find these names taking the place of the undoubtedly more ancient Manda d'Héron and Téhéran, 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 Sáma, Yáwar, etc., it seems highly probable that most of the treatates in the Genizah underwent their final recension in the 12th century, i.e., attained their present form, in the Persian province.

37. Religious decadence: obsolence of the language.—By the time when the 'Abbáshá Khalifs had established peace and order throughout the empire, the Mandean 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 Drévá d'malké and the Sdrá d'Yáby,—to placid dialectics and fable-making. The soul which knew that it had come forth from a better world and was destined to engage in such recitations, the recitations of the Mandaean, in fact, became familiarized with his faith, and was now anxious simply to bring his store of ancient hymns into order, to keep it intact, and to use it properly. It was during this period that the Mandaeans gathered their writings into collections, and composed the liturgical directions or regulations comprised in the Qolláth, the Marriage Necessities, and the Paris Dialogue. Moreover, living, as they now did, in isolated groups among peoples of other faiths, they gradually lost the use of their ancestral dialect, and Arabic, which had made its way into these districts, became their vernacular, though Mandaean 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 mezayá, indeed, the recitations constituted the main element, and, according to Sionifi, this ceremonial, designed to succour the departed, lasted for seven days. Since, however, the teachings of the Genizah required all believers to engage in such recitations, the priest endeavoured, by instructing the young, to confer upon the laity the ability to read and, as far as possible, to understand the texts, although their original meaning was doubtless almost wholly confined to a knowledge of the liturgical and traditional understanding of their own language.

38. The Sábians of the Qurán; Mughatsia and Mandaeans.—In the Qurán we find three passages (ii. 29, v. 72; cf. xxii. 17) in which the Jews, the Naṣzaraans (Christians), and the Sábians are assured of religious toleration. The famous Muslim scholar al-Macádi, writing in the 10th century, speaks of Chaldean or Babylonian Sábians 'whose remnant live to-day in villages among the swamps between Wáṣir and Básra;' states that in their prayers they turn to the pole-star and Capricorn, and describes them as 'those who wear girdles' (Nasara, N.), 'extraits, viii. 1 (1816) 122 ff.). The Mandaeans turned towards the north, and wore the girdle. Moreover, the Kitáb al-Fhiríst (p. 340, l. 36) states that the Sábians of the marshes are the Mughatsia, a word meaning 'those who wash themselves,' and adds the declaration that they wash all their food—a practice which, so far at least as flesh-food is concerned, is also enjoined in the Genizah. To these Mughatsia, however, the same writer ascribes a doctrine of dualism—a doctrine to which the Mandean documents; and he also states that many of them still worship the stars, while, on the other hand, the guarantee of toleration in the Qurán assures that the Sábians believe in One God (and in the Last Judgment). To account for these names to the Mughatsia there seem to be two alternative hypotheses at our disposal: we may suppose either that the Sábians of the Qurán were the descendants of that group of originally heathen baptists of Babylonian which did not share the religious development of the Mandaeans, or that some of the Mandaeans had taken refuge from the Arabs in the swamps (§ 37), and there, in deference to their custom of bathing and washing, had adopted new and alien doctrines. For further particulars regarding the Mughatsia cf. art. Elkesass, vol. v, p. 286.

The passages in the Qurán and the name 'Sábians' would apply most approximately to the Mandaeans. The Mandaeans, in speaking of their practice of immersion, always employ forms of the verbal root kas, as, e.g., in v. 286, l. 1: qasamás mayyám, 'who immerse their sons and their daughters'; by their Arab neighbours they were termed Šubába down even to recent times, and in European accounts dating from the 17th century, they were called 'Kabs,' 'Káb, 'Kab';—the termination being that of the Itál. or Lat. plural. The name may formerly have covered the Mughatsia as well, and the latter possibly also came under the references of the Qurán. As regards the Mandaeans, however, it is sufficient to say that, as an outcome of the doctrine of the king of light, they had become monothestic, and that they believed in a future retribution.

39. Ostensible Christianity of the Mandaeans.—The toleration extended to the Sábians was no means secured for the Mandaeans a condition of life satisfactory in every respect. In course of time—perhaps more than once—circumstances arose in which they thought it advisable to be regarded as Christians. As, however, besides the name of 'Mandaí,' they had also adopted that by which the Christians were known, viz. 'Nákóráyí';—in the Genizah 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 Sábians dwelling in the marshes, or if they thought it expedient to evade a tax imposed specifically on the Sábians, they would only assume the Christian name without misgiving. According to Ignatius a Jesu (Narratio, i., a chapter written by himself), the Mandaeans of Basra believed that Ignatius had granted them a document guaranteeing their security, but 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 communities had at one time joined hands with the Church—though only for a while—it will be quite correct.

The Arabic writer, Hama Isha'hí, (belonging, like the two Arabic writers already cited, to the 10th century), affirms that the true Sábians, i.e., those whom the Qurán has in view, were heretical Christians, 'living between the desert and the swamps.' This opinion may have arisen from the reports about the Mandaeans and the Mughatsia, and it might possibly be taken as indirect evidence that as early as the 10th century, the Mandaeans deserters, and on the other hand, a Muslim might quite well think of all the Sábians, by reason of their baptismal practices, as belonging to the Christian body.

40. The Mandaeans as 'Christians of St. John.'—The Portuguese monks through whose reports the existence of the Mandaeans was first made known in Europe asserted that they had 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 text-books of Church History, they have been referred to and regarded (on the ground of Ac 18:19-22) as Christian. S. Ioannis, Christians of St. John. It was not without some support from their own side that this designation gained currency. A number of Mandeans who had transferred their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church visited Rome in the years 1528 and 1600, and Abraham Echellenis, 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 'Nasara of Yahya'—though 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 krisitiyôn (R 55. 14, 282. 12).

John the Baptist is mentioned in a single tractate only (cf. § 11), which long lay almost unnoticed by the Mandeans, but at length, when the final additions and a number of titles to the writings of the Genâz were to be formulated (R 57. 23. 188. 20. 148. 20. 213. 10. 218. 29. 159) a sect opened in which the Mandeans turned to the figure of the Baptist with intense interest, and it is worthy of note that his eld name Yâhâna (which they pronounce Yâhâna) was now expanded to Yâhâya-Yôhâna, or was suppressed by Yâhâya-Yahya. Yahya-Yahya is the Arabic form of the name—form in which the Baptist is mentioned and highly exalted in the Qurân (iii. 34. vi. 85. xix. 13-15). May we not, therefore, venture to suppose that the reason why the sect 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 authorities, as the Prophet of their religion? Henceforth they could claim, whenever they were, however they thought fit, to rank as 'Nasårá d’Yahâya'—a name which, to all except themselves, could mean nothing else than 'Christians of John.' Finally, they actually introduced the name of Yahya-Yâhâna into their baptismal formula, and to have done so, in fact, by speaking of the rite itself as having been invented by God, by Mânda d’hâyâhây, and by John (cf. MR, p. 220, on the authority). This innovation would seem to be best explained as a result of the lesson constantly impressed upon the Mandeans by Roman Catholic missionaries during the 17th cent., viz., that their baptism was only the baptism of John mentioned in Ac 19:19, and as a counter-stroke to the attempts to bring them within the Roman Catholic fold.

41. In the period of the Portuguese ascendency in the Persian Gulf.—In the 16th cent. the Portuguese dominated the Indian Ocean, establishing themselves securely at Goa on the Indian 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 Basra they reached an agreement by which, in return for annual gifts, he permitted them to have a trading-station in Basra, and promised to protect it. The Portuguese soldiers and traders were everywhere followed by the Jesuits, who founded missions, and secured the government of such settlements as 'Christian territories' according to the regulations of the baptismal profession. Thus Portuguese monks came to Basra, 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 Nestorian (Nestorian and Armenian) Christians living in the district. Their attention, however, would soon be attracted by the Mandeans, for the number of the latter in Basra and its neighbourhoo was at the time of the 17th cent. was still 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 before the monks learned that the 'Sabb' held John the Baptist in honour and baptized their children, and so came to believe that this Baptist people were already semi-Christians, and needed only a little instruction 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 Mandeans priests; but the latter were not to be won over by such simple means. The missionaries, lent upon gaining their end, induced the pasha to order the 'Sabb' to attend the Roman Catholic places of worship and observe Sunday according to the Christian practice of resting from servile work. In this way the work of conversion was set on foot, supported, however, by doles of food and clothing to the children of the poorer Mandeans.

42. In Basra in the time of Ignatius a Jesu.—The place of the Portuguese Jesuits was taken by an Italian mission of Disenclaved 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- eans while they lived in Persia, and he devised the plan of persuading them to emigrate to Christian territories. From the Portuguese vicerey in the Indian Ocean he obtained a guarantee that the Mandeans who so desired would receive grants of land in the colonies under the viceroyal authority, on condition that they would give their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. The offer of settlements in Ceylon was accepted by the Mandeans who were eventually rejected because they insisted upon being allowed to take their priests with them and to remain loyal to their faith; but, notwithstanding this, a number of Mandeans were sent forth, such migrations having taken place, as has been ascertained by Assemani from documents of the Congregatio de propaganda fide, in the years 1629, 1633, 1646, and 1650. The whole affair, however, came to very little, and all that Ignatius himself says of it is that he had once sent to the
research can clear up the problem. Meanwhile the temptation has been sown in the direction of the Berlin system, which, according to Petrie, ‘defines all the history and the collateral facts which support it’ (‘Ancient Egypt, London, 1915, pt. i. p. 37’); and Manetho’s credit remains in suspense.

As a service to chronology, Manetho has contributed, though only at second-hand, two interesting traditions of Egyptian history. These are preserved by Josephus (c. Apion, i. 26 i.), and give a somewhat nebulous account of the Hyksos invasion, and the narrative of the expulsion of a race of lepers and uncanny persons, which may conceivably represent the Egyptian tradition of the Hebrew Exodus.

Manetho’s chronological scheme is too long to be given in detail, but will be found, in part or in whole, in most of the Egyptian Histories—e.g., completely in Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 130–140.


**MANICHÆISM.**—I. Sources.—Manichaeism, the religion of Mani or Manes, is one of those systems which are usually classed together under the name of Gnosticism. The Manichaean religion arose in Babylonia about the middle of the 3rd. cent. A.D., and during many generations exercised great influence both in the East and in the West. Of the literature of the Manichees very little has survived. The fragments of Manichean MSS which have lately been discovered in Central Asia present great difficulties of interpretation, so that, while they confirm much that was previously known, they do not enable us to form a connected idea of the subject. The attempts which have been made to interpret those fragments as well-known attempts in particular certain of the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, are of Manichean origin must be pronounced wholly unsuccessful. Hence our information respecting this religion is derived almost entirely from non-Manichaean sources, of which the principal is the *Koran*, most of whom wrote with an avowedly hostile purpose. As our conclusions must depend largely on the relative importance which we attach to the various sources, it is necessary first to give some account of them. They fall into four main groups: (1) Oriental Christian sources, (2) Zoroastrian sources, (3) Western sources, (4) Muhammadan sources.

1. Oriental Christian sources. These have, in some respects, the greatest claim to consideration. The Aramaic-speaking Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia were in race, language, and in general culture nearly akin to the primitive Manichees, and had every opportunity of becoming well acquainted with their religion. Unfortunately very little of their testimony has come down to us. The earliest Syriac author whose works have been preserved in any considerable quantity, 1 briefly alludes to Manichaeism as an unimportant heresy.

The children of darkness, the doctrine of the wicked Man, who dwell in darkness like serpents, and practise Chaldæism (i.e., astrology), the doctrine of a being called the Spirit of Ahriman. More information may be gathered from the works of a younger contemporary of Ahrataes, the well-known Epiphanius of Nisibis, commonly called Epiphanius Syrus. References to Manichæism are found in several of his writings, especially in a series of five discourses, entitled *Lettres aux Hypaties*. The treatise against Manichæism composed by Gebriel, bishop of Hormizdah, in the 6th cent., seems now to be lost. 2 Later Syriac writers, such as Theodore bar Khûnî 3 and Barhebræus, 4 do not supply much that is of importance.

Among Oriental Christian authorities we must also reckon the Armenian writer Eznik of Kolb, who lived in the 5th cent., and Sa’id ibn al-Bitrî, generally called Eutychius, who was Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 933 to 938. 5

2. Zoroastrian.—The evidence contained in Zoroastrian literatures is far more abundant than that which may be collected from the works of Oriental Christians; moreover, it is much more difficult to interpret, owing partly to the unsatisfactory condition of the text and partly to our imperfect acquaintance with its language. Although the Zoroastrian condemnation 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.—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 difficulty 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 increased by the nature of its Gnostic beliefs, but those who are attracted by mere novelties are usually uncritical, while the attitude of uncompromising. On Ahrataes see W. Wright, *Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, p. 32. The Histories of Ahrataes have been re-edited, with a Lat. tr., by L. Patrois (Paris, 1894).

From this, why the Manichees were accused of astrology will appear later on.

The first of these discourses and part of the second were published by J. J. Overbeck in his *S thiệtum Eypikov Syri anhalmag vaca selecta*, Oxford, 1865, p. 21 ff. This portion of the second discourse was reprinted by K. H. Knies (Nani, p. 595 ff.), with a very inaccurate Germ. tr. The remainder of the work, with the exception of some passages which are effaced in the MS, was first made known by C. W. Mitchell (*Ephraim’s From Refutations, i. London, 1912*). In Ephraim’s *Carmina Niesiana* (ed. O. Bickell, Leipzig, 1900), no. xiv., there is an interesting passage which undoubtedly refers to the Manichæans, though they are not expressly named: ‘Fools in their servants have lopped tails, how that the Darkness ventured to disturb the Light,’ etc.

4. The account of Mani has been published and translated by H. Pougou in his *Inscriptions manichéennes des dépare de Kermadec*, Paris, 1897, in part from Ephraim, and therefore cannot be regarded as independent of that source. Also P. Compte, *La Commenge manichéenne, d’après Theodore bar Ednab (*Bibliotheque sur la Perse, 1905*).

5. The testimony of Barhebræus is to be gathered partly from his *Syri. Ecclesiastical History*, partly from his Arab *Compendium of the Dynasties.*


Perhaps the most important passage on this subject is that which R. W. West has translated in his *Parhian Texts*, ii. 243 ff. (*SBR xxvi.* (1865)). A Germ. tr. is given by Sellmann, *Ein Bruchstück manichäischen Schriftstüms im arab. Museum.*
promising hostility, which was adopted by the great majority of Christian theologians, naturally proved even less favourable to accurate comprehension.

The foreign origin of Manicheism is duly emphasized by being the only Western writer who treats the subject from a purely philosophical point of view; though 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. 570. In a geographical sense, Titus must be reckoned among Oriental Christians, but his Treatise against the Manichaeans is probably the best modern, according to the Pergamum definition, of its authorship. His words, however, seem to imply that the book was not composed by the founder of Manicheism himself, for in quoting it he is stated to be the author who wrote down the doctrines of that heresy.

There are the very words used by him or else by one of his followers. He afterwards mentions a Manichean 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 Manicheans made every effort to conceal from outsiders the writings of their founder, apparently in order that their external orders might not lose their effectiveness. Another fact, of no less significance, 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.’ The inferences supplied by Titus this tendency must be constantly borne in mind.

A more popular but a much less respectable authority is the Acts Archelaus, a work which professes to be a diary of the conversations and travels of Archelaus, bishop of Carchar in Mesopotamia.

Here for the first time we meet with the remarkable theory that Manicheism originated, not with its reputed founder, but with a certain Scythian, from whom the system was passed on to Manes. These Acts are extant in a Latin translation, but they are from a Greek text of which we possess some large fragments. According to Jerome, the book was originally composed by Archelaus himself in Syriac (‘Syro sermones’) and afterwards translated into Greek. But it has been shown that Archelaus is not the author, and that the narrative is to a large extent, if not entirely, fictitious. Nevertheless, some modern writers have endeavoured to show that the book 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 T. Nöldeke to be worthless. The author of the Acts, whoever he was, evidently possessed 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 kingdom of Persia, 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 can scarcely be supposed to have had any definite knowledge of Manicheism. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that his statements were readily believed by Western Christians. With some variations, the story contained in the Acts Archelaus reappears in Epiphanius, Socrates, Theodoret, and several later writers.

By far the most celebrated of the Western authorities on Manicheism is Augustine. At first sight it might seem that his testimony ought to outweigh all those that have been mentioned, for during nine years (from A.D. 373 to 382) he was a professor of Manicheism. Among the works that he composed on the subject, after his conversion to Catholic Christianity, are the following: Contra Epistolam Manichaeorum quam vocavit Fuscantium, Contra Faustum, Contra Fortunatam, Contra Adiamicum, Contra Sacardinum, De Actis cum Felice Manichaeis, De Genesi contra Manichaeos, De Natura Boni, De Duobus Animi, De Utilitate Cordenli, De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae et de Moribus Manichaeorum. Many passages relating to Manicheism are 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 Manichean informants were at all accurately acquainted with the history and writings of their founder. Faustum, whom Augustine represents as one of the ablest and most influential among the Manicheans, 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 Manicheans with whom Augustine came in contact were better informed. One of the latest, but not the least important, of the Western sources is the Greek Formula of Abjuration, which repentant heretics were required to pronounce before being admitted into the community.
mony of the Byzantine Church. It is present shape this document cannot be older than the 9th century. It consists of a series of anasmatas, directed partly against doctrines and partly against practices, on which without any definite plan. Some of the doctrines are undoubtedly Manichaean, but some emanate from other sects, and some appear to be gross misrepresentations. Yet, in spite of this mixture of Manichaeanism in which confusion, the Formula of Apojuration contains a certain number of interesting facts.

(4) Muhammadan.—Evidence from Muhammadan literature does not begin before the 9th cent. of our era. The chief source, the Muhammadan accounts, are, on the whole, the most instructive of all, much fuller than those by Oriental Christians and less misleading than those by Western writers. For this several causes may be assigned. In the first place, the Muhammadan 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 Muhammadan Empire, was also the ecclesiastical centre of the Manichean community, and, accordingly, in that country the text and the traditional interpretation of the Manichean Scriptures were kept up in the form most likely to survive. It is true that after the Muhammadan conquest the Aramaic language gradually ceased to be spoken, but the knowledge of it never wholly died out, as we see in the case of the Christians and the Mandaeans, who have retained their sacred books, in their respective Aramaic dialects, down to the present day.

Almost all Manichean historians who treat of Muhammadan history on Manichaean times take some notice of Manichæism, but the authors from whom we learn most on this subject are the following: (a) Ibn Waddh, also called al-Yaqubi, who in A.D. 891 composed a History of the World; (b) Muhammad ibn Ishaq, who probably lived about the end of the 10th cent. of our era, and is known as the author of the Fihrist, i.e. Catalogue, an agreement storehouse of information respecting literary works of various kinds; (c) al-Biruni, who died A.D. 1048, one of the foremost men that the East ever produced, the author of a book on Chronology and other important treatises; (d) al-Shahristanî, who died A.D. 1153, the author of a work on philosophical and theological themes, these authors wrote in Arabic, although the last two were of Persian nationality.

The story of Main in the Shih-i Manfud of Firuzad, the well-known Persian epic poet, is almost entirely legendary, and the same may be said of nearly all the popular Muhammadan 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 Muhammadan 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 brief and folio.

In the time of the Apostles there lived a man named Sethyssianus, who is described as coming from Syria, and also as a Sabaean race, i.e. ex genere Saramonum.\footnote{1 Ed. M. T. Houtoua, Leyden, 1883.} He settled in Egypt, where he became acquainted with the wisdom of the Ephesians, and invented the religious system which was afterwards known as Manicheism. After emigrating to Palestine, and, when he died, his writings passed into the hands of his sole disciple, a certain woman. After a while he died, in consequence of a fall from the roof of a house, and the books which he had inherited from Sethyssianus became the property of the above-named woman. A young man named Corbicus, who had been her slave, Corbicus changed his name to Manes, studied the writings of Sethyssianus, and began to teach the doctrines which they contained, with many additions of his own. He gained three disciples—Adda, 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 whose order he was strangled, and his corpse hung up at the city gate.

It is needless to say that this narrative, as it stands, has no claim to be considered historical. Some details, in particular the account of the execution of Manes, are confirmed by more trustworthy authorities, but as to the main point—the existence of Byzantine and Terebinthian Manichaism—the confirmation is forthcoming. The assertion that Terebinthius took the name of Buddha seems to be a confused reminiscence of the fact that Manes represented the Indian Buddha as one of a series of prophets who preceded the founder of Manicheism. But this, so far from tending to support the story as a whole, is rather an argument against it.

The accounts of the principal Muhammadan authorities may be briefly summarized thus: on the famine in the east of Asia in the 5th cent., when the population, according to their calculations, was reduced to about 200,000, and the name appears with a false aspirate, Munh (adj. munh, and this aspirate accounts for the form included, Manichæan, Manichæan, man), and the Greek and Latin writers often use, not only as an adj., but also as the equivalent of Manoa, Manes. The origin and meaning of the name Manichæus is uncertain, and to show that it is a real name, not an honorific title like Christ or Buddha.

3. This is the form given in the Fihrist. The forms are uncertain, but the consonants agree with those of Herenn, who is expressly mentioned as the father of Manes in the Gr. Formula of Apojuration. It is well known that the Arabs have no sign for F, and use P or B instead. According to the Fihrist, P is also borne the name of Bishak (Pors, Pákak), while al-Yaqubi calls him Munmuh. The last name, which is purely Arabic, must be due to some mistake.

4. According to al-Biruni, the birth-place of Manes was a village called Saradîn, on the upper part of the Kishn canal, i.e. a little to the south of Bishaf.

5. The statement of al-Biruni that Manes was born in the year 325 in the era of Alexander (i.e. the Seleucid era), and that his life was spent nearly with what we are told in the Fihrist as to the age of Manes when he came forward as a public teacher.

6. For the purpose of his book, the author of the Fihrist clearly implies that Manes did not derive his system from any human teacher. On the other hand, al-Biruni, who is the author of the Fihrist, gives the following account of Manes: "Manes' father 'founded' this sect,—an assertion for which there is no authority.

7. These details are given in the Fihrist, evidently from a Manichean source. What was the precise form of heathenism which Manes's father originally professed? These are the terms used in the Fihrist point to some local cult rather than to Zoroastrianism. The religion of the heart seems to have been a kind of Judaic Christianity mingled with some elements. It was not identical with that of the Mandaeans in later times, though it may have been their prototype.

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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 (Sapir), the son of Arshad, was crowned king, i.e., Mānī himself succeeded in securing the support of the king’s brother Pērōn, and through him obtained access to the king himself. In the course of time he is said to have visited India, Arabia, and China, but it does not appear that he ever penetrated into the Roman Empire. He corresponded with books and gnostics in Aramait, and probably wrote at least one book in Persian, probably the work known as the Šādpūrān, which, according to al-Birrūnī, was written from the year 264-265 to the year 267. It is said that Mānī illustrated his writings with colored pictures; his fans as a pupil of Sīrāj al-Dīn Afnān. But the facts given do not prove that Mānī was master of the universe. Mānī was put to death by King Bahārī (or, according to the other pronunciation, Wārān) himself, who reigned from about 272 to 275. Whether he was slain alive, as al-Yaṣāqī and some other authorities state, is doubtful. His corpse was, according to others, hung up by the order of the king, at the gate of Gundi-Shapir, an important city which by a little to the east of the ancient Susa. In later times that gate was always known as the ‘Mānī-gate.’ The execution of Mānī was evidently not so much the personal caprice of the king as to the enmity the Zoroastrian priesthood. At the same time the Persian government made a strenuous, but wholly fruitless, attempt to exterminate the sect. The Mānīs, however, made a refuge in the principles of philosophy, and the Mānīs, even in their most extreme form, were not finally extinguished.

3. The Manichean System. Manicheism, like other forms of Gnosticism, professes to be at the same time a religion and a philosophy, inasmuch as it not only professes to be an inspired dogma, but also undertakes to explain the constitution of the world. It is not, however, to be regarded as a philosophy in the ordinary European sense of the word. It attempts to arrive at philosophical truth by means of the premises of a religious system, and not by the aids of logic or 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 Mānī himself says, in a passage which al-Birrūnī quotes from the Shādpūrān (see above):

Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So in one age they come from the north, in another from the south, in another from India, in another from Persia, and in another from the Romans of the empire. The message of the messenger comes from the holy place in the House of the Holy Spirit, and the prophecy in this last age, through me, Mānī, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia.

So far, so good, forward by Mānī. We have now to consider the substance of his teaching.

The Manichean system is based upon the idea of the essential and eternal contrast between good and evil, between light and darkness. But it is not correct to say, as Western writers have frequently done, that Mānī identified good with spirit, and evil with matter (ήμ). Whether he ever attained to the conception of matter may be doubted; at all events, it is clear that Mānī conceived evil, or darkness, as something capable of thought and volition, and in other words, the dualism was of the imaginative, or poetical, not of the philosophical kind. The following is an abstract of the account given in the Firbat. Originally the light and darkness were bordered on one another, but were unmingled, the light being limitless above and the darkness limitless below. The light, which is called ‘the King of the Paradises of Light,’ but the realm of light includes also an atmosphere and an earth which are external with the totality of the other beings, the sky, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. Satan, on the other hand, arrayed himself in the smoke, the consuming flame, and the fire, the darkness, the scorching blast, and the smoke. The struggle Satan prevailed over the Primal Man. The heavenly powers then interceded and rescued the Primal Man, but the demons, which formed his panegyry became mingled with the elements of darkness. Out of this confused mass the heavenly powers fashioned the actual world, that is, the material and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we regard as wholly inanimate, such as metals, contain elements of divine light. Hence the distinction between the inanimate and the animate, between the material and vegetal, is a distinction of light and darkness. This view of the universe is, in fact, a vast and complicated machine devised by God for the purpose of enabling the elements of light to effect their escape from darkness. When the light contained in the earth separates itself from the darkness, it ascends in the form of a pillar, called ‘the pillar of light’, first to the moon, then to the sun, and thence to the higher regions. This process continues until at length the final separation is brought about by a pillar of light. At length, about 1658 years. Thereafter the light will be secured for ever against the assaults of the darkness.

The most singular part of the Manichean system is that which relates to the origin and history of mankind. Unfortunately, the statements of the Firbat on this subject are fragmentary and full of obscurities, which the other sources do not enable us to explain in an altogether satisfactory manner. But it is clear, at least, that the first human beings, whom Mānī called Adam and Eve, were represented as the offspring of devils, the object of the devils in producing them being to ensnare them and to keep in their own possession, a portion of the elements of light. The heavenly powers, in order to frustrate the purpose of the devils, sent Jesus (who is here regarded as a celestial being) to instruct Adam on the subject of ‘the Paradises and the gods, the devil and the demons, and the heavenly, the sun and the moon,’ and in particular to warn him against the devils. As to the history of Adam and Eve many details are given, some of which have been borrowed from the Old Testament, and some perhaps from sources unknown to us, while some appear to be wholly fantastic.

1. Alexander of Lycopea (ed. Brinkmann, p. 4) observes that the Manichean system the term ‘eschatological’ is only found in the Platonist or the Aristotelian sense; accordingly Alexander defines the Manichean belief as ‘motion without order.’ (Oscar) 139 ff.

2. According to al-Shahristani, some Manicheans held that the mingling of the darkness with the light had taken place ‘blindly and by accident,’ not as a result of volition. But this theory is obviously a later philosophical speculation.

The nature of these gods is not specified; they are regarded as the offspring of the Supreme God.

It is instructive to compare these statements with the parallel passage in Titus of Rostam, 1:27. For the ‘Primal Devil’ Titus substitutes 3:24.

3. Thus, for instance, the rain is explained as due to the perceptions of devils (Titus of Rostam, 1:27).

The moon, as it waxes and wanes, is supposed to descend into a bucket which alternately fills and empties itself (ib.).

4. It is to be observed that Adam, ‘the first man’ (in Arabic al-‘ālam al-a’lam), is wholly distinct from the ‘Primal Man’ (al-‘ālam al-a’lam).
As we learn from the passage of the *Shāhārānā* quoted above, Mānī held that a series of divine revelations had been promulgated in the world by Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and finally Mānī himself. Mānī adds that Mānī, in another of his books, claimed to be ‘the Paraclete (al-Parāqīţā) announced by Christ,’ and this we learn from other sources also, both Christian and Muhammadan. As the Muhammadan authorities use the Gospels, it may be assumed that it was used by the Manicheans themselves, but we are not to conclude that Mānī knew Greek, still less that he had read the NT in the original. The term Paraclete was in common use among Aramaic-speaking Christians, and Mānī doubtless borrowed it. Precisely what meaning he attached to the term is a question not easy to answer. From the statements in the *Fihrist* as to his parentage and birth we may infer with certainty that, though he laid claim to a divine commission, he was not regarded as more than a human being in the ordinary acceptance of the term. And it is to be observed that in the *Shāhārānā* the earlier prophets, including Jesus, are placed on a level with Mānī. This would seem to imply that they were also regarded as mere men. It is, therefore, not a little surprising to find that Christian authors, such as Titus of Bostra and Augustine, frequently represent Mānī as holding a Docetic theory with regard to Jesus, and that he held a doctrine concerning the earth, which he represented as being nothing except a lie. 

The difficulty of ascertaining what was really the Manichaean doctrine on this point is still further increased by the statement in the *Fihrist* that Mānī pronounced Jesus to be crucified. The *Fihrist* informs us also (p. 336, line 10 ff.) that one of Mānī’s works, *The Book of Secrets*, contained a chapter on the ‘son of the widow, that is to say, according to Mānī, 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 crucified by the Jews, we have no means of determining. But, whatever the Manicheans 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 Mānī, which they solemnly commemorated by an annual ceremony known as the Procession. That the Muhammadan writers say very little on this Christological question may be due to the fact that here their own views happened to resemble those of the Manicheans.

The teaching of Mānī as to the duties and ultimate destiny of individuals was in accordance with his theory of the universe as a whole. Since the visible world has as its aim 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 its fetters in order that it may return to its heavenly source. With regard to this part of the Manichaean 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 Manicheans sometimes used language which admitted of such an interpretation. Yet, if we examine the evidence carefully, it becomes 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 of every individual. Another misconception, due chiefly to Augustine’s treatise *De Dumbis 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 tendencies in man: this is not wholly good, the body is not wholly evil; so according to the *Fihrist* (p. 335, line 16 ff.), the Manicheans held that after the death of the righteous man, who contained in his body, namely, the water, the fire, and the breeze, to have been extracted by the sun, the moon, and the shining gods, and then ‘the rest of his body which is altogether darkness is cast into hell.’

But, although it was the duty of all Manicheans to take part in the liberation of the light from the darkness, their share in the great work naturally varied according to their several capacities. First of all, a broad distinction was made between the ordinary Manicheans, who were known as ‘the Hearsers’ or ‘the Combatants,’ and the inner circle of teachers or ascetics, whom Western writers call ‘the Elect’ (el *Ecktert, Electi*) and Muhammadans *al-Sudajāt*. The Elect again were subdivided

1. Christian, despite a visible quiescence like tempero, quos vos auditecum, quas causae essent, quod Pascha Domini plenorum nullis interdum a pandis tepidissimae celebrantur, nullis vigillis, null proletri osium induti audiicibus, nulli demum festivale apparat; cum vestrum Bema, id est, diem quo Manicheus occisas est, quod ad summum instructo tribunal et preterea libets arbitrato se in promptu posito et directe adorantissimam, magnus honoriosus praeposuit; hoc ergo cum sequare consilium, respondet, ut non dimitto passionem celebrandum esse, qui verum passus esse, Christum autem, qui natus non est, neque verum sed simulaturn carnem hominis occulto intendentem, non pertinetic, sed finissimae paupertate (Augustine, *Epistolae*Fundamenta, viii.)

2. It is well known that, according to the Qurān (iv. 156), Christ was never crucified; but, when the enemies sought to slay Him, He was removed from the earth and a likeness was sent up to them to be observed, does not imply any denial of the reality of Christ’s triumph. On the Muhammadan borrowed the conception from the Manicheans is very improbable, but at all events Immanuel’s term is adapted to his purpose.

3. The souls of those who are finally lost seem to have been regarded as wholly evil. Thus we read in the *Fihrist* (p. 331, line 24 f.) that Eve had two daughters, and that ‘the bodies possessed by all these souls are an abundant measure of divine light and wisdom, whereas the’

4. See the very instructive discussion by Bauer, p. 162 ff. This expression means in Arabic: ‘the veracious,’ but, as Keil has pointed out (Mitt. p. 234, note 4), it is here to be understood in the sense of its etymological equivalent in Syr.
MANICHÆISM

into several grades and formed an elaborate hierarchy, at the head of which stood the representative of Mani himself. But the position of the Elect differed essentially from that of the Christian clergy. In most cases, the Elect exercised ecclesiastical functions properly so called. Whether Mani instituted anything of the nature of a sacrament is doubtful; in any case, if there were Manichean sacraments, they cannot have occupied an important place in 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.1 Hence 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,'2 which Augustine more definitely characterizes as signaculum oris, signaculum manuum, and signaculum sinuis.3 The first 'seal' imposed restrictions with respect to food and drink, the second with respect to outward actions, and the third with respect to thoughts and desires. Thus the Manichean asceticism implied no thought of expiation; the idea that self-inflicted suffering atones for sin—an idea which has exercised so disastrous an influence in some sections of the Christian Church—was quite foreign to the religion of Mani. The prohibitions which he 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 repugnant to the light. 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 Mani was guided much more by his fancy and by various natural 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 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 and to engage in worldly avocations, whereas the Elect might not acquire property, except for one day and clothing for one year.4 It is remarkable that among the things most strictly prohibited were idolatry and magic.5 As in nearly all Oriental religions, fasting played an important part. On Friday was observed as a fast-day by ordinary Manicheans; Monday by the Elect; viz. Zaddi, the 'righteous,' which we may assume to have been the form employed by the Manicheans themselves (see C. W. Mitchell, op. cit. p. 30). A Manichean who is called a Zaddi,6 p. 127 ff. These Idle women of the party of Mani, those whom they call Zaddiliphat7 Neither Kessler nor any previous writer seems to have noticed that from the same Syr. word is derived zadi, or zandiy, of zandias, a term which was applied especially to the disciples of Mani by the Persians of the Sassanian period, and afterwards by Muhammadans. Various other interpretations of this word have been proposed, but none that is at all plausible. The substitution of nd for dd is a phonetic change for which there are many analogies. That a term which was originally used as a title of honour should afterwards have acquired an opprobrious sense is likewise quite natural; cf. the Germ. Köter, from köd. The Egyptian terms for man and woman are gnedu and wnedu. According to Augustine (c. Fortunatianus, i.), 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 true subject, we cannot attach much importance to his testimony. 2 Fikrist, p. 333, line 8; Fligiel, Mânî, note 317. 3 Fligiel, Mânî, note 317. 4 Al-Birûnî, Chronology, p. 202. 5 Matt. 5, line 15 ff.; John 15, line 15 ff. The 'three seals' are the first of the ten commandments which, according to the Fikrist (p. 333, line 10 ff.), all Manicheans were required to observe. 6 The prayers, which were recited several times in the day, the following specimens are given by the author of the Fikrist (p. 333, lines 9 ff.): (1) Blessed is our Guide, the Paraclete, the Ambassador of Light, blessed are his guardian angels and adored are his shining hosts. (2) Adored art thou, O shining one, Manî our Guide, source of brightness, branch of life, thou great tree which art wholly luminous. (3) I prostrate myself and adore, with a pure heart and a truth-speaking tongue, the great God the Father of Lights, the Essence of Lights, adored and blessed art Thou, all Thy majesty and Thy blessed worlds which Thou hast called;2 he adores Thee who adorist Thy hosts, Thy kingdom, and Thy majesty, and that which seemeth good to Thee, because Thou art the God who is all truth, life, and holiness. (4) I adore and prostrate myself before all the gods, all the shining angels, all the lights, and all the hosts, who proceed from the great God. (5) I prostrate myself and adore the great hosts and the shining gods who by their wisdom have pierced, expiated, and overcome the darkness. (6) I prostrate myself and adore the Father of majesty, the Great, the Luminous . . . 12 It will be noticed that these utterances contain not a single petition, no confession of sin, and no reference to the need of pardon. But we should not be justifiably in arguing that such conceptions were alien to the Manichean system, for great stress seems to have been laid upon the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin.4 Since, however, the Manicheans did not admit the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice, their theory as to the forgiveness of sin necessarily differed from that which was accepted by the great majority of Christians. Precisely what Mani himself taught on this subject we cannot hope to determine; but the view which appears to have been current among the Manicheans, at least as early as the 4th cent., was that repentance naturally leads to forgiveness, and that man is punished for sinning, but for failing to grieve over sin.5 With respect to Mani's doctrine of the future life we have somewhat fuller information. The division of mankind into three classes, the Elect, the Hearers, and the Wicked, is here specially emphasized. The Elect, immediately after death, ascended by means of 'the pillar of glory' to the moon, and thence were conveyed to paradise; the Hearers must pass through a long process of purification and of wandering to and fro, before they joined the Elect; while the souls of the wicked roam about the world, in a condition of hopeless misery, until the final conflagration, and are then consigned for ever to the realm of darkness.6 4. The relation of Manicheism to other religions.—When we consider the complex nature of Mani'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 Manicheism, 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 Manicheism naturally gave rise to the theory that Manicheism is a combination of Gnosticism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and the like. For kestra, 'beatitude,' we should no doubt read kestr, 'life,' as Nöldeke has suggested. That this is, apparently, 'called into existence'—the Arab. verb dâha seems here to play a similar part to the use of which see H. Pognon, Inscriptions manédiennes, p. 185, note 1. Here follows a short clause which, according to the Fikrist (p. 333, line 15 ff.), all Manicheans were required to observe. 1 For kestr, 'beatitude,' we should no doubt read kestr, 'life,' as Nöldeke has suggested. That this is, apparently, 'called into existence'—the Arab. verb dâha seems here to play a similar part to the use of which see H. Pognon, Inscriptions manédiennes, p. 185, note 1. 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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 simply modifications of the old Babylonian religion.

But to those who impartially examine the sources of these hypotheses will appear satisfactory. Whatever elements Mani 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 Manicheism stood to Christianity was undoubtedly closer, but to call Manicheism 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 sources. 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 well 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 mutual agreement whereby the worshipper secured for himself prosperity, victory over his enemies, generally, tended away, or sometimes violently shattered, and in its place there arose a new kind of belief, which held out the hope, not of earthly enjoyment and dominion, but rather of rest, peace, and redemption (Buddhism, Berlin, 1887, p. 3).

In the time of Mani the old heathenism was no more in Babylonia, though Zoroastrianism had become the religion of the State. Moreover, large Jewish colonies had long been established in the country. 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 under the Parthians 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-daisan (Bardeesan), who died in A.D. 222, seems to have had a great influence. Ephram Syrus goes so far as to call Bar-daisan the teacher of Mani; this is not meant to imply that Mani was ever a Bardeesan, but merely that he adopted Bardeesan doctrines. In any case it is essential to realize that Manicheism 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 Magi, a sect of Gnosticism to which Mani's father attached himself. The hostility of Mani to popular paganism is sufficiently shown by his strict prohibition of idolatry. He that clearly distinguished between ordinary 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 as radically false; but how much he actually borrowed from it is a very difficult question. To suppose that Mani's dualism was due mainly to Zoroastrian influence would be an unwarranted 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 Manicheism has more in common with Buddhism than with Zoroastrianism; but from the fact that Mani represented Buddha as the communicator of a divine revelation we must infer that Mani'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 only attach importance to his adoption of certain ancient Babylonian doctrines, 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 to Judaism was one of decided opposition. That he refused to recognize Moses as a prophet is abundantly proved, hence in Christian writings directed against Manicheism the defence of the OT generally occupies a prominent place. It is probable that Mani'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 influence 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 Mani was born, we cannot say how far he had access to it. Hence his peculiar teaching as to the person and history of Christ, to which allusion has been made above, may be due in some measure not to a perusal 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 Mani. But he had one great advantage over the Christians; that he provided a much more secure dogmatic basis than any previous teacher. The Christian ascetics, in condemning natural feelings and appetites, were constantly hampered by their theory of God as the Creator 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 teaching, 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, Mani displayed a boldness and originality of conception which entitle him to be regarded as a genius of the first order. To represent his system as a mere patchwork of older beliefs is therefore a total perversion of the facts.

4 History of the Manichean community.—At the time of their founder's death the Manicheans were already a numerous and highly organized

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1 Astrological myths and speculations played a considerable part in some other Gnostic systems, notably in that of Bar-daisan.

2 See, for instance, the beginning of the account of Manicheism in al-Shahrazuri (I, 189). The statement in the Fabulae, (p. 335, line 5 ff.), that Mani rejected the prophets generally, is an exaggeration based mainly on the statement in the Parthian dynasty (about A.D. 224) rests on no trustworthy evidence.

3 A.D. 354, see Eastern Christianity, p. 80. This time was chiefly the Christianity of Edessa and its immediate neighbourhood; much of what he says probably applies also to Babylonia.


5 In this respect, of course, Mani did not differ from some of the early Christians. Thus the Epistle to Diognetus, which is specially regarded as a product of certain Jewish-Christian communities of animal sacrifices in terms of unqualified condemnation, and even in Rabbinical literature a tendency to disparage sacrifice occasionally shows itself.
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 them. Under the Sassanian dynasty, the Manichaean was often the first name of the community, was a certain Sabian (Gr. Σαβιανός). For many centuries Babylonia continued to be the headquarters of the Manichaean organization, in spite of repeated persecutions on the part of the Persian government. Now and then there was a king sufficiently powerful and intelligent to restrain the intolerance of the priests, but as a rule the Manichaens were treated even worse than the Christians. For this reason, it is said, the persecution could be alleged, since the Manichaens were politically non-offensive, whereas the Christians not infrequently brought persecution upon themselves by their ostentatious display of their philo-Byzantine sentiments. The principal reason, however, why the Manichaean empire in Babylonia and Persia was that large numbers of Manichaens took refuge in Central Asia, where they carried on a successful propaganda among the Turkish tribes.

The first state at which Manichaeism began to spread in the Roman Empire was not certain, but it was undoubtedly well known there early in the 4th century. With respect to its prevalence in N. Africa, two or three generations later, Augustin furnishes evidence. The Christian emperors, as we might have expected, showed themselves no less intolerant towards Manichaeism than the kings of Persia. In the persecution of the Manichaens Pope Leo I. played a specially prominent part. As to the earliest history of Manichæism in Europe, very little can be discovered with certainty, on account of the vagueness with which the term Manichæism is used by Catholic writers. Thus the charge of Manichaeism was brought against the Bogomils in the Byzantine Empire and the Albigenses (g.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 Molokanye has been described as a modified form of Manichæism.

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 comparative repose. Strictly speaking, they claim to toleration, for the Qur'an, which explicitly recognizes Jews, Christians, and Sabians as capable of deserving the favour of God (ii. 59, v. 73), does not mention Manichæism. Nevertheless, it would appear that in the early days of the Muhammadan Empire no penalties were inflicted upon the Manichaens. The extreme simplicity of their cult, and in particular their abhorrence of idolatry, may have satisfied the authorities in the matter of molestation under Muhammadan rule. At length it began to be rumoured that some Muhammadans in high positions had secretly adopted Manichaeism.

In many cases these reports were entirely false; thus, for instance, the Khilafah of Walid II. (A.D. 743–744), whom Muhammadan historians depict as a monster of impiety, is accused of having said that Mani was the only prophet whom God ever sent into the world. 1 If al-Walid really uttered these words, they would prove not that he was a Manichaean, but that he knew next to nothing of Manichæism. It is, however, impossible to deny that secret conversi now and then took place among the literary classes. Apostasy 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 9th cent., when under the Abbasid dynasty the spirit of religious intolerance became dominant in the Muhammadan world, a systematic attempt should have been made to extirpate Manichæism. The organizer of this persecution was the Khilafah al-Mahdi (A.D. 772–785), who instituted for the purpose a State Inquisitor, with the title of 'Inspector of the Zanadiqa.' The term zanadiqa (plural of zanidq) 2 was usually primitively to denote the Manichaens, though Muhammadan writers often employ the term 'herecites' or 'atheists.' 3 That al-Mahdi did not make a very clear distinction between Manichæism and some other heresies may be inferred from a passage in which he is represented as elaborately justifying his policy of persecution, when he here brought against the Manichaens include, e.g., the practice of marriage with near relatives (nabihat al-uhbati wa-l-banat), which was characteristic of the Zoroastrians (see art. Marriage [Iranian]), but seems to have been altogether foreign to Manichæism.

The religious policy of al-Mahdi was generally followed by his successors. The number of persons put to death on the charge of Manichæism certainly amounts to thousands. The Christians and Jews, though subject to various disabilities, were usually tolerated. But in spite of all, the religion of Manicha and long survived even in the heart of the Muhammadan Empire. Some two centuries after al-Mahdi, the author of the Fihrist tells us (p. 337, line 26 ff.) that he had been acquainted with about 300 Manichaens in Baghdad alone. But the region in which they were most numerous was Central Asia. In the territory of the Turkish tribe Taghcha, the majority of the population professes Manichæism; a Muhammadan traveller who visited that country describes it as flourishing and civilized. 4 When, in the reign of the Khalif al-Ma'mun, the (786–833), the Muhammadan emperor of Samarqand condemned to death a large number of Manichaens, they were saved, it is said, by the intervention of their co-religionist, the prince of the Taghcha. 5 This is the only known case in which Manichæism became the religion of a political community. We do not know how long this state of things continued, or when Manichæism 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.

That the Manichaen community in the course

1 Kub-ul-Agbani, vi. 135, last line.
2 See the very interesting paper by I. Goldscheider, 'Babul Abd-al-Raschid und das Zanditiinstrument während der Regierungszeit Ibn al-Muhayd,' in Trans. of the Ninth Internat. Congress of Orientalists, London, 1885, ii. 104 ff. Goldscheider is of opinion that the Manichaean propaganda under the early Abbasids was somehow connected with the anti-Arabian movement of the Persian nationalists (the so-called Shu'ubiyya). Whether there is any truth in this view may be doubted, for Manichæism had nothing to do with political activity. At the same time, it is not surprising that Muhammadans should have often been accused of these wholly distinct tendencies. See p. 1054, note 5, in idem, 1869, p. 94. 3 The Sabians (a name which, of course, has no connection with the ancient Sabines), have been a sect or possibly a group of sects, who existed in Arabia at the time of Muhammad. The disciples of Muhammad were at first called Sabians, a word which later ages the title Sabians is falsely assumed by several religious communities, as a means of protection—e.g., by the pagan of Barmu, in Mescopotamia, and by the Manichaens of Samarqand, as we learn from al-Biruni.

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of its long history was not altogether free from internal dissensions which might have been safely assumed. But the positive information which we possess on this subject is scanty. We learn from the Fhirist (p. 334, 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 Manicheans 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 c., and a sect of Manichæans became known as the Miqlaşya, after the name of their leader Miqlaş. The majority of the Manicheans, who remained faithful to the head of the community, a certain Mihr, were thenceforth called the Mihriya. The political and political between these two sects seems to have been matters of discipline rather than of religious belief.

LITERATURE.—In modern times, the first serious attempt to investigate the community of subject was made by Dr. P. de Beausobre in his colossal work, Histories des Manichéens, Amsterdam, 1734-37. He travelled with a wealth of knowledge on a scismatic, but his book is ill-arranged and contains many irrelevancies. An admirable summary and examination of the evidence, as far as it was then available, will be found in the treatise of F. C. Baur, Das manichäischen Religions- system. Cornelsen, Berlin, 1861, 1862, 1863, a work of much value, but should be used with extreme caution; the author’s speculations are often fantastic and his linguistic knowledge is very superficial. A. Harnack, Art. Manichäism, in EB 9 (rev'd by F. C. Conybeare in EB 11), is largely based upon Baur’s work, and supplies much valuable information, but should be used with extreme caution, as the author’s speculations are often fantastic and his linguistic knowledge is very superficial. The most recent and important work on the subject is that of H. R. Rocker, Enain Mani et sa doctrine, Geneva, 1897. Very important contributions to the study of the subject are contained in a series of articles by P. Cumont and A. Kugener, entitled Recherches sur le Manichéisme, Brussels, 1903-1912.

A. A. BRYAN.

MANIPURIS.—Officially the Manipuris are Vaishnavite Hindus. They cremate the dead, and receive the mantra from a recognized Hindu guru in many but not in all cases, they recognize Hindu festivals (but observe them a day late), they revere the cow, they are scrupulous in the matter of food, but, on the other hand, they do not practice 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 none of the ordinary definitions of caste is applicable to them. Knowledge of the Vaiśnavite 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 secondary importance, its 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 Mani. It exists side by side with the earlier faith to which in the hour of trial and trouble, be they Raja or ryot, they turn unhesitatingly. The continued existence of this earlier faith in such vigour is a notable fact which enables the student of religion to trace the 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 historical records of Manipur, Nāthhaunrol, 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 Ningthouja, or Royal, clan. The name Meithei now borne by all the clans is thought to have been the name of the Ningthouja 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 these Loi villages as much as the Lois 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 amang lois. There were originally, as recent research has shown, nine amang lois, or forms associated seven lairemas, or goddesses. There are now 364 such deities. The gods married with mortals, and their issue were promulgated to divine rank. The deities have different names in different places, and there are cases where, in an amang, a deity has been identified 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 the sources of rain, the god of whose function is to guard certain areas and who are therefore known either as manikyingāpa, watchers over or guardians of direction, or lamli, gods of definite areas. Here there is obviously a combination of ideas dating back to the time when definite areas were occupied by local groups each possessing a group deity. Then among the amang lois is the rain-god, and last is the god of the household (Sema-meit), who is occasionally said to be the son of one of the seven goddesses of the manikyingāpa deities, was to keep sickness from entering the State. Each family has a special deity, male or female, who is obviously in origin a deified ancestor, but the worship of some at least of these group deities is not now confined to members of the group. The seven goddesses bear titles describing their functions. From each of them is sprung one of the clans composing the Meithei confederacy. The earth, iron, fish, gold and silver, salt, cotton, fire, and the winds are sprung from these goddesses, either directly or from their daughters. Each of these deities has a laipkham, or god’s place, specially sacred to him or her. Some of these, but for the convenience of their worshippers have abodes in more accessible spots. Such a laipkham is kept, notably on the ridges and passes, and are marked by heaps of stones and leaves. In the sacred groves near the villages of these special worshippers are houses for the deities, and these groves are sanctuaries for bird and beast. The gods play the national game of polo, and a stick and ball are kept for their use. In some cases they are represented by images or marten symbols. They also reside in the chief official of the group, village, or family which forms their special clientele. The principal ceremony in the worship of the amang lois is called the laikaham, literally ‘pleasing the god.’ In every case the god has to be enticed from running water. The ceremony rouses him from a state of quiescence into activity, as is shown by his entering into some selected worshipping. The god benefits directly the area, which gives him strength so that he becomes thereby more potent to aid his worshippers. The process of enticing the deity varies somewhat according to the deity, and is accompanied by numerous subsidiary rites, mainly in order to avert all evil influence. Special precautions have to be taken—e.g., clean fire, a special type manufactured by means of a bamboo and a cane in cross friction. Dancing is a necessary accompaniment of the rite, which often includes the use of fire—abuse—a feature which gives the god great
pleasure. While the ceremony is in progress, social and sexual tabus, immediately paralleled by the customs of the hill-tribes, are strictly enforced, thus indicating that the rite is in some cases 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 interesting occasions. The deities and divinities of the rites are in some cases such as render the active participation of professing Hindus a matter of some difficulty, but the difficulty is surmounted by substituting a Loh, a member, i.e., of the non-Hindu section of the community in place of the rite, who 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 Pir Alis of Bengal, who fell from orthodoxy by mischance in that manner. In general, the tendency would seem to be to substitute offerings of fruit and flowers for animal flesh. Human sacrifice was unobservedly practised, probably at no very distant date.

The priests of the ancient order are designated maibas and maibs, and are recruited by the admission of those who become possessed by the deity at one of the high religious festivals. Inasmuch as sickness and disease are attributed to spiritual beings, the maiba is also the doctor of the community, but here there are specialists, and the practical knowledge of the maiba is far from despicable. The widespread 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 bhakas and jogis, are regarded as jivanmukta (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 weather, 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 cards by which is given its name for 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 his personality.

Spirits, who accompany animals and fish, and are ever hurtful to mankind, in beautiful sinews who lure young men and make them insane, in vampires, in witchcraft, in the power of trees and of tree-spirits to cure as cause sickness, and in the malignant 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 god, is properly amat, 'spirits,' with the sign s, meaning 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 hit or kehit prefixed to amat; thus Keht-amit, or Kitanit (Kitanit), to which was added the article expressing a mode of existence; hence Kitanitowit, 'the existence (known as) the Great Amito,' the paraphrase of God as taught by the missionaries. That the Indians themselves had evolved no such conception is abundantly testified by the absence in any American language of a word capable of expressing the idea of God, the words used in John Eliot's Bible (Cambridge, Mass., 1663) and employed by the Penobsicos Indians, Kiehtan and Keitanitom, being merely variants of this artificial compound. As such the conception was introduced in opposition to a spirit variously called Hobbomoco, the Evil Spirit, or Malsum, 'the Wolf.' Another form of the latter appears to have been evolved in antithesis to a contrasted form of Keitanitom, namely, Tan'tum, as opposed to Squantum, the Devil ('angry god'). Manitu is, then, a general word for any sort of a daemon, 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 idea of a single unity as the embodiment of one unitary conception. The Indians believed that a spirit might be a fair or good-natured power, and that he might be an imimical power, and they also believed that a certain ancestral demon had always nobly 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 are 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, the latter being 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 such opposed to each other. They believed rather that the 'medicine-man' could control all spirits. Similarly, when the 'epic' of Kuliska describes this god of the Passamaquoddi the as son of a divine unknown mother and antithetical to a twin evil spirit, as the principle of good opposite of a sort of Ahri mar, it must be remembered that the Passamaquoddi have long been under higher religious guidance than that of their medicine-men. Even the 'vague 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 revere him as leader and helper. In general it may be said that worship is not paid to an evil spirit as such, but also that worship is not paid to any good spirit as such.

The manitu is often confused with the wolves of western tribes. But the latter is often less a spirit than a power. His name (g.v.) may be translated as 'wolves,' 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 conceptions lies that of the ordinary oke, which at bottom is one with wehe, 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 com-
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, being the collection of objects with fetishistic 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 a mysterious force which may inhabit matter or make itself felt as an expression of spirit. The powers of nature have it, generally winds, storms, productive earth, and animals all have it, though some in larger amount than others. Finally, men have it in certain cases. But there is also another and quite distinct 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-subduing priest. Whether it be called manitu, ohi ki (in Maya form), it is 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, ohi ki is generally impersonal, as we can see in the Powhatans, namely, that the corollary to something ‘above’, and Brinton interprets this as super in the sense of supernatural. But it is more probable that the word means super in the sense of superior. These Iroquois and Dakota forms are etymologically closely allied, and a possible connexion with Sioux ohippee may be admitted; but it would be unprofitable to attempt, with Brinton, to connect these terms with the above-mentioned ku of the Missisippi. The ‘Quaker’ of the Powhatans is another form of the same word, the notion of the sun, not the lesser. This word, like Tantam and Squamont above, is an adaptation from approximately corresponding Indian sounds (Quanlil is a name); and it contains the ohi of the Iroquois and Algonquins, but it is not probable that it is one with the southern huka, ku, etc. The Algonquin ohi means a spirit of any sort—e.g., the spirit of a body of water, or the spirit of a wilderness, and expresses a kind of divinity, the idea of a distinctly demoniac power ruling the winds, but not in a devilish manner; for, especially among the Hurons, the ohi gives good fortune and regulates the winds for the benefit of the good Indian.” It is a spirit and is represented as a host, and in this respect it differs from the conception of anitu (manitu), though in other respects it is difficult to perceive any distinction between the anitu (manitu) and the ohi; perhaps, as appears from the geographical distribution of the two words, the ohi soon spread to the East, while the anitu 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 an inanimate supreme spirit. Like many of the Indian spirits, he was a very superior animal, Mishabo meaning ‘great hare’ (originally manibocho). This manitu was revered from the Northern line of the States to the Mississippi, and far beyond the Mississippi. He was represented as the originator of all the system of conjuring and exorcising which makes the real science of the medicine-man; he ruled the winds and guarded his people, but was as often tricked and deceived as he turned trickster and deceived; he was for the most part a humorous buffoon, whose exploits amused the Indians, as those of Brer Rabbit amuse the Negroes. On the other hand, he is referred to as ‘the hare that made the moon,’ and he is even said to have created 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 before turning in to prepare for the winter. 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, sends (not creates) the sun and moon but of the East, has left to the legend a conjecture that Michabo has come from a confusion of wabos, ‘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 to have given the name to the ‘superior’ manitu of the Algonquins as well as Namibozho and Manibozho, apparently because the name was sometimes rendered michi (‘great’) and sometimes manitu (‘spirit’), with wabo, ‘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’ (wepa means the eastern light), yet nothing is more apt to lead one astray than reliance upon the alternate meanings. Brinton has done for American studies, he wrote under the dawn-myth influence of his day and probably said more stress upon etymology than upon etymology. The truth is that the interpretation best justified in accordance with Indian belief and tradition. Michabo was a demoniac animal of kindly disposition and endowed with a great magician’s knowledge and cunning, which, however, could not keep him out of incessant 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 voyages of Baseler and expresses a kind of divinity, the idea of a distinctly demoniac power ruling the winds, but not in a devilish manner; for, especially among the Hurons, the ohi gives good fortune and regulates the winds for the benefit of the good Indian. It is a spirit and is represented as a host, and in this respect it differs from the conception of anitu (manitu), though in other respects it is difficult to perceive any distinction between the anitu (manitu) and the ohi; perhaps, as appears from the geographical distribution of the two words, the ohi soon spread to the East, while the anitu penetrated from the West to the Eastern tribes.

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the Iroquois. He destroyed the frog, which had made earth a desert by swallowing all the water, and he learned the wisdom of the tortoise which supplied him with the knowledge of how to make fire. Tosekha gave this knowledge to man. Yet here the brother is not represented as an animal; it is a simple conflict of white and dark, or light and darkness, a culture-myth which the Algonquins kept in animal form, while the Iroquois preserved or invented it without basing the myth upon any thing save the natural antithesis of light and darkness (cf. art. DUALISM [American]). It is this myth that caused the belief in American Indian dualism to receive wide acceptance, as it was thus originally interpreted by Brebeuf in 1629.

As the word manitu 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 forces or entities without life, in his life retires into solitude, and after fasting and prayer is rewarded with the vision of a certain animal, which then becomes his totem. This is adopted by his clan, and when the clan becomes a part of a larger tribal body, it becomes the guardian of the clan, though with a marked tendency to become simply a totem-crest. The tutelary guardian-manitu thus becomes a more specific force, and the crests become merely the property of certain families. The myth of the totem-maniu received with it the powers or privileges still retained by the protector of the spirits, who continue to appear to bear his name, and the possession of these secrets forms the basis for the secret societies widely spread among the Indians of the Northwest. This is the 'individual totem' acquired by every youth at puberty, which, when the organizer of the Indian in a decayed state, is no longer identical with that of the ancestor and that inherited. The youth at this period wanders from his father's lodge in a secluded spot fests and cries to the spirits, inviting any one of them to become his personal patron (cf. art. COMMUNICATION WITH DEITY [American]). During his sojourn, he receives a totem, and on his return 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 manitus, though in some cases a later development than the clan-toke, have other cases, notably among the Eastern tribes, of independent origin and as antique as the totem-maniu. Even among the Eastern Algonquins the acquisition of a special manitu by animal form by the youth who has just entered upon manhood.

On this expression see H. Kern, in SBE xxxi. [1884] 4; cf. Saddhabarina-prajnaparamita, ed. H. Kern and B. Nasjio, Petrogond, 1899, p. 69; 'A certain Bodhisattva, when he falls 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 mystic protection 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 manitus, though in some cases a later development than the clan-toke, have other cases, notably among the Eastern tribes, of independent origin and as antique as the totem-maniu. Even among the Eastern Algonquins the acquisition of a special manitu by animal form by the youth who has just entered upon manhood.

LITERATURE.—G. Catlin, The North American Indian, London, 1842; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, New York, 1851; American Races, New York, 1861; A. H. Keane, Man Past and Present, Cambridge, 1866; 'Études de la malorie, France pour l'an 1657 (and subsequent years); H. Webster, Primitive Societies and Nations, New York, 1889; 'Histoire de la langue, Fables pour l'enfant 1657 (and subsequent years); H. Webster, The earl early social and religious life of the Indians, the giving full bibliographies. The Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology should be consulted for modern conditions.

MAHàJàJRí.—Like the majority of Buddhist 'gods,' Mahàjàjrí is represented under various aspects: (1) in the Great Vehicle, or Mahàyàna (q.v.), properly so called, he is a bodhisattva, an entirely Buddhist personage in definition if not in origin (his origin is obscure; cf. AVALOKITÉSVARA); (2) in the 'Tàntre Vehicle,' which is of very early date and is not always distinguished from the Great Vehicle proper, Mahàjàjrí becomes one of the names, and often the principal deity of the 'Tàntre Vehicle'; (3) the cult of Mahàjàjrí, originating in India, took a peculiar development in China: it probably spread from China into Nepal, where Mahàjàjrí is the mythical god of civilization.

1. As bodhisattva, Mahàjàjrí is sometimes described by his numerous names is perhaps Mahàju embodà, 'pleasant voice.' His usual epithet is kumàra, or kumàrabhàta, 'young man,' 'royal prince,' a title, whatever its origin, means technically a bodhisattva at the stage when, having received consecration (abhiséka) as a prince, he is associated with the power of a Buddha and becomes his right arm (see BODHISATTA, vol. ii. p. 749). He is named in the first rank of bodhisattvas, before Avalokiteshvara, at the beginning of the Third Layer (translated into Chinese A.D. 147–186), where he is represented (ch. xi.) as a great converter. The 'scholastic' sàtras and devotional works give him as a type of bodhisattva, relate his vow, attribute to him moral and supernatural powers, and present him as a guide and deliverer of all beings and believers of the Great Vehicle, and celebrate his power. Legend associates him with the revelation of the books of the Prajñàpàramità, the Revealer of the Prajñàpàramità, the god of the Word, is the patron of the Great Vehicle. To some extent, Mahàjàjrí becomes the god of wisdom, a personage of high importance. According to Fa-Hian (see J. Legge, Fa-Hien, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, Oxford, 1886, p. 49), the followers of the Mahàyàna worshiped the Prajñàpàramità, the god of the Word. We have many images of Mahàjàjrí; the most ancient, with two arms, are those which make his characteristic mark the Prajñàpàramità carried upon a lotus.

2. As Tàntre god.—It is in the Tàntre section of the Tibetan scriptures (Khos-kyi, 'Kanjur' as well as Tanjur) that Mahàjàjrí takes an extraordinary development. 1 Half a dozen Tantras (Kanjur) bear his name; among them is The List of the True Names of Mahàjàjrí Jhàna-sattva. 2 The last term, 'Essence-of-knowing, is no longer used. This becomes the god of wisdom, a personage of high importance.
by the Tanjur to Mañjuśrī: ‘spell (sādhu) of the’sus Buddha, the Essence-of-knowledge Mañjuśrī,’ 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.’

Sādhana (spells) are magical operations by means of which the worshipper brings a 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 paradigim and stained. These operations include ‘diagrams’ (manadalas), geometrical figures formed of squares and circles, more or less ornamental and sacred, and within each other, upon which is ranged an endless succession of deities represented by magic syllables. Mañjuśrī often occupies the centre of these manadalas.

Tāntā, gods have two aspects, a ‘right hand’ aspect and a ‘left hand’ (or erotic) aspect. Under the former Mañjuśrī is called ‘Lord of speech of the ontological Universe’ (Dharmadhātu-vyāgara); under the latter he is ‘Diamond-Love’, ‘Thunderbolt-Love’ (Vajrāngāra). His right-hand aspect is seen from the following:

· Quon s ‘identifica à Dharmadhātu-Vyāgara, qui a le corps tout blanc, quatre faces, huit bras: les cinq Bouddhas (qui représentent les cinq essences de Mañjuśrī dans la connaissance) ornent sa corne de joyaux... les deux mains (ou l’arme) sont les signes de l’enseignement: les trois autres, dorment le triangle, le fléau, la hache: les trois autres de gauche, le livre de la Prajñā.’

Then, Foucher goes on to say, the book, the four arms (the eight is simply a multiple), and especially the four faces, suggest representations of Brahmā. Grünwedel remarks that Mañjuśrī and Brahmā share the favours of a common loka (divine energy, feminine aspect, of a god), Sarasvatī. It is noteworthy also that the Narasasvatī (viii. 19) gives Brahmā among the names of Mañjuśrī. As soon as the Buddhah and bodhisattvas became gods, they inevitably became gods after Hindu fashion; Avalokīteshvara has more likeness to Śiva, and Mañjuśrī to Brahmā. Mañjuśrī 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 the canon of one of the Buddhist schools of the Little Vehicle, or Hinayāna (g.e.), contained traditions foreign to India — e.g., the legend of a town of Kathan — and he wondered, therefore, whether this canon had not been considered augmented and modified in Turkey itself. It is now certain that ‘Serindia’ and, later, China itself collaborated in the development of Buddhism. The story of Mañjuśrī, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim, now dwells in China, who is represented in the miniatures of the Nepāles MSS as a god worshipped in China, and who, according to the Nepalese tradition, came from China to Nepāl, is interesting from this point of view.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited in the footnotes.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSEIN.

1 Jātanāstivān[Mañjuśrī. Āśīvadhāna-ādhana (Ryūgū-gyō, vol. 71) according to a transcription by P. Cordier.


3 ‘La lune, the word nāva, ‘diamond’, adhamān, ‘thunderbolt’, etc., are used in.

4 Foucher, Étude sur l’Icographie bouddhique, ii. (Paris, 1903) 47.


7 From the Pamir mountains to the Great Wall.


9 Foucher, Étude sur l’Icographie bouddhique, ii. 43, ill.


MAN OF SIN.—See Antichrist, Eschatology.

MANTRAS.—See Charms and Amulets (Indian), Magic (Iranian).

MANU.—See Law (Hindu).

MAORIS.—See Polynesia.

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 are essential to devotion and worship. Brahmad-brahma is the most eminent among them. Kāla, ‘Time’, creator and destroyer, Kāma, ‘Desire’, a cosmic entity, and many others may be embodied in the figures of the popular pantheon. Our Buddhist connection 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 Atharvaveda, that aristocratic compendium of demonology; he is an important figure in Buddhism, and the Upanisads show the elaboration of the ideas which constitute his frame in Buddhism.

The Atharvaveda joins together Yama, the old Áryan king of the dead, Mrtyu, Death, Agha Māра, the evil slayer or hateful murder, Nirnāta, the destroyer, and Sarva, the prototype of Śiva (xi. xxiii. 1). Elsewhere (xi. viii. 19) it mentions the ‘deities called Misfortunes, or Evil (pāpamita, pāpamita dāna-vatā), and has derived (vi. xxvi. 1-2, xxiii. 27-28, i. 29) to Misfortune (pāpamita). Māra, or Mrtyu, is Death personified, the god who kills, and he has already acquired his Buddhist qualification, pāpamita, of ‘pāpānīman.’ This dark figure may be identified Yama or Sarva, 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 Brahmans and of the Upanisads, 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 subsolar 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 Kathakā Upanisad is of importance for the history of Death: a young Brahman descends to Hades, and, unmoved by all promises of transient pleasures, wrings from Yama, the god of death, the secret of that which lies beyond death and the means of liberation from death, this only means losing 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 supernumerous bhūmis; but, whereas Yama is benevolent and himself reveals the liberating truth to Nachiketas with only the habitual jealousy of a god, Māra is the evil one, the tempter.

1 Oldenberg, Buddha, tr. Hosi, p. 54.
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 disciples.

The position of Mara is clear in all our texts: Mara embodies desire, the universal fetterer, the sensual life both here and in the other world.

In scholasticism three Maras—panurputra māra, the devil Mara, māraṇāsāvara, Mara as death, and klesāsāvara, Mara as vices and passions—are distinguished. In ancient times these Maras were confused. Mara is not an allegory in the Pali stories of temptations; he is a demon; he is spoken of in the Pali-stories show a gradual development.

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 the multiplicity of Mara's daughters and Desire, Unrest, Pleasure (Tahāra, Arati, and Rati). It has been said that these stories—the intervention of Mara in order to make the future Buddha abandon his ambitions (a common topic in the Mahābhārata: gods grow jealous of the power acquired by their chosen, and dispatch fair damsels to trouble their meditation), or in order to make Buddha reach nirvāṇa prematurely—are only permutations of the doctrine of desire. Sākyamuni. 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. Mythical and folk-lore accretions, as well as scholastic concoctions, naturally follow from such a belief. Monks and nuns, especially when they refer to the 'heritages,' know that Mara could appear to them under any form, and ensure them into philosophical discussions.

The Sanskrit sources, late when compared with the Pali ones, but not insignificant even for the solution of the passages which have in common with Pali, indulge in much more dramatic and would-be poetical descriptions of Mara's attacks upon Sākyamuni. Some episodes are entirely unknown in the Tipitaka, viz. the battle for the bohlī, the possession of which, for all the compilers of the Lalitavistara, seems to be almost identified with the possession of the bohlī, the Enlightenment, itself.

It has been pointed out that even in the Pali canon, and perhaps even in the authorized literature, the inventions to be found in the more modern biographies of Sākyamuni, the Lalitavistara and the Buddhacarita, mark a further point in this development. There is truth in this statement: the multiplication of Mara's daughters and their counter-attacks, a large part of the mise en scène of the Lalitavistara, are not archaic—but the course of the development is not necessarily a chronological one. Less or more mythological versions may be productions of the same age in different circles.

It appears that the Mara folklore has been more luxurious than can be judged from the Pali canon. Some bits of popular folklore which have found their way into the authorized literature may be regarded as fragments of a larger cycle. It is only by a mere chance that we know that Mara roams everywhere, in the visible shape of murky smokiness, to catch the souls of the dying.


abode, no heaven of his own, in the official cosmology of the Sarvāstivādins (see art. COSMOGONY and COSMOLOGY (Buddhist)).

3 See art. Temptation (Buddhist) for the comparison between the Buddhist stories of temptation and the Gospel.


Original sources, Vedā, Pali, and Sanskrit, have been studied by Senart and Windisch.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MARCIONISM.—1. The Founder.—According to the earliest and most reliable accounts, Marcion was a shipmaster (navicular or naevrus) of Pontus, and may have been a native of Sinope. The story, which makes him 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 his 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 is based entirely on the Jewish and 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, according to Hippolytus (see Ep. 34, ep. 13, ep. 36, ep. 15, ep. 19, ep. 19), a recent convert, he at first became a zealous member of the Roman Church, to which, according to Tertullian (de Praes. 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 Son is known, but the latter unknown; while the one also was righteous, but the other benevolently' (Tren. Hier. l. x. vii. 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 144, and it is stated that Marcionite propaganda must have been active, since Justin Martyr tells us in his First Apology (c. 150) that Marcion, 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' (xvi).

Tertullian, who was writing his adversus Marcionem in 207 or 208, places the activity of Marcion in the reign of Antoninus Pius ('sub Flo impius'). Eusebius (loc. cit.) says that Cerdo came to Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus (c. 137-141), and that his successor Marcion flourished under Anicetus (154-166). 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) the teaching, or the doctrine of God; (b) Christology; (c) criticism

1 This account, which was unknown to Tertullian, may be traced through Epiphanius to Hippolytus. The Armenian version is thus given by Eusebius (Historia Ecclesiastica). It states that Marcion is 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 a heretical church in order to seek absolution (lit. penitence) and not obtaining it, he was irritated against the Church' (Against the Sects, bk. iv.).
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 the Gnostics through Cerdo, and this fact may be connected with the (otherwise doubtful) statement by Clement of Alexandria (Strom., vii, xxv, 107) that Marcion’s god, contemporaneous with Basilides and Valentinus, ‘‘companied them as an elder with younger men.’’ At all events, Marcion’s theology differed from the Gnostic in excluding any doctrine of mons, and, indeed, any element which could not be derived from his interpretation of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.1 His teaching was not in any sense pagan. His lost work named the Antithesae 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 abating of every attempt to construct a completed 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 ἄγεια were and remained completely separate, in spite of the moral superiority 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 or plurality was inconsistent with the essence of true godhead; and, on the other, the interposition of the good God contemporary with 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 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 our Lord’s 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 the Messiah of the Gnostics. He certainly did not attribute to the degree of activity which some of his followers did. In his view the Creator (i.e. the just God of the law) was the ruler of the whole material universe.

(c) Criticism and exegesis of the Scriptures.—In his criticism of 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 theologies of the OT and of that which he regarded as the genuine kernel of the NT, he naturally laid stress on every narrative, discourse, or verse in the NT 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 explanation, 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 to him to contradict the tenor of his theology, he adopted it, though in a mutilated and much altered state, as the only reliable portion of the historical writings contained in the NT. To him Paul was the only true apostle of the Master, and he believed that the Third Gospel was not written under Paul’s supervision and expressed Paul’s view of the life of Christ. The other Evangelists 1 he regarded as handing on a false Judaic tradition which had grown up among the Jews 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. Marcion. 

(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 of form is not speculative, 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 through Christ was for 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 rite he was to appear later as the messenger of the just God of the OT. But his exposition of the work of this Messiah does not seem to have proceeded beyond applying to him the language of OT prophecy.

1 Marcion appears to have held the independent, though perhaps unconscious, view that He was not God of the OT. He certainly did not attribute to the degree of activity which some of his followers did. In his view the Creator (i.e. the just God of the law) was the ruler of the whole material universe.

1 There is no definite evidence as to whether Marcion knew the Fourth Gospel.
of the peculiarities of usage in the Eastern branch of the Marcionite church may be gathered from the statements of Eznik (bk. iv.): 'He allows not one baptism only, but three after (successive) transgressions, and in places where no one has died he urges others to be baptised. And he has the boldness to direct women to administer baptism—which no one from the other sects would be bold to do. The second or a third baptism, nor (does he venture) to admit women to be priests,' etc.

Marcion's 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 Politius and Basilius, 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 Creator and the NT God, he seems to have regarded the former as 'a foolish god' and the latter as 'a wise god.' The material world, in the view of Apelles as of Marcion, was created by this 'opposing spirit,' and so Apelles also taught an ascetic view of life. On the other hand, he rejected Marcion's doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and held that Christ really felt and suffered in His earthly experience, although 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.

Then and there was the popular saying, 'Let us die for him, for he has died for us.' This was widely spread both in the West—Rome and Italy—and in the East—Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Cyprus, Egypt, and perhaps even Persia. After sharing in the persecutions inflicted on the Church, particularly under the procurator Seianus, 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. On a field south of Damascus, which records the existence of a village community of such worshipers was soon proscribed by Constantine. In the West they seem early to have succumbed to the more powerful propaganda of Manichaeism (q.v.), but in the East they may be judged to have exerted a stronger and more lasting influence. In 6th cent. the W. was given to them in the controversy works of Ehrmann, and from the careful account of their doctrines left us by Eznik, an Armenian writer of the 6th cent., that counted for much in Eastern Christendom. So late as the 11th cent. they are mentioned in Arabic by the Fihrist.

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 (lit. strange- ness) in opposition to the God of the Law, putting with him also Hyle, by way of essence, and their worship was soon proscribed by Constantine. In the East they may be judged to have exerted a stronger and more lasting influence. In the 6th cent. the W. was given to them in the controversy works of Ehrmann, and from the careful account of their doctrines left us by Eznik, an Armenian writer of the 6th cent., that counted for much in Eastern Christendom. So late as the 11th cent. they are mentioned in Arabic by the Fihrist.

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round of absorbing and ceremonious etiquettes which, under the régime of Hadrian, made up the official life of the capital. Through uncle Antonius, from whom Hadrian appointed Quattuor vir for the administration of Italy, he was brought from childhood into personal touch with the Emperor himself, and the playful ‘Verissimus’ accorded to him by Hadrian re-appears even in the formal address of the Christian apologist. Another influence, which he himself attributes to his mother’s fostering care, sank deep into the fibre of his being. In the antique life of Rome, religio, dependence upon God, pervaded every turn and corner of the simpler life of the home and farm the ancient pieties and rituals had never died away. Under Augustus the historic festivals and shrines, the ancient brotherhoods and colleges and guilds of Saalian priests, of Arval Brothers, of Vestal Virgins, and others were revived, and a profusion of new cults was introduced. Priests became the dress of leadership and rank, and patriotism found articulate expression in the worship of the Emperor and in countless forms of mystery worship. To this religious count Marcus was acclimatized from youth. At eight years old he was enrolled among the Saali, the most primitive of all the priestly colleges at Rome, and ‘got all the forms and liturgies’ by heart. At sixteen, as Profectus feriarum Lictorium, he solemnized the fête upon the Alban Mount; and besides the formal dignities of Pont Max., Xvir Socr. Fac., and VII vir Epul., he wore the cowl of Master among the Arval Brother- hood where the college is still extant. And which besought blessing for him and L. Verus in their conflict with the Marcianii. At the outset of his great campaigns he purified the people with the solemn ritual of the Lictisternium; at Athens he was himself initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries; on the Danube he approved the casting of lions into the stream at the bidding of the Eastern magi. His Stoic monotheism 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 eschewed the mischievous excitements of the circus and the amphitheatre; at Lucania he wandered, and shared the glee of rural industries and festivals. The correspondence with Fronto, his master in rhetoric, shows rare dexterity of type. Boyish experiments in philosophy ended in complete conversion under the peril of Ariston, 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 138; 138-161, apprenticeship to rule, as Caesar and lieutenant to his adoptive father, Antoninus; 161-180, Imperial rule, shared nominally in 161-169 with L. Verus, and from 177 with his son, Commodus.

Till 167, when the Dacian campaigns begin, the years are filled with unremitting administrative activities. The Edictum perpetuum of Salvinus Julianus furnished the basis of the Pandects of Justinian; Gaius and Papinian immortalize the era, as master-builders among those who reared the great fabric of Roman law. Under the direction of sectorial organizations, the rigours of the patria potestas, the slave-owning systems, the slave-held staters were brought within control; protection was accorded to women, children, wards, minors, freedmen, slaves; educational and charitable endowments were multiplied; professorships were established at Universities; and the membership service was organized for communities. Commerce, industries, and communications were liberally fostered by pro-

1. *Il. iv. 15.
in point of fact the penal provisions—deportation for those of higher rank, and death for humble offenders—would mitigate, not enhance, the penalty to which all avowed Christians stood liable. In their social organization the Christians remained as free as others did. 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. Tityus and Hermas retort scorn and hot invective on 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 Rusticus, prefect of the city, on the charge of ‘atheism and sacrilege’; each in succession adhered to death by decimation, 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. Stoic wisdom is the prosecution recorded in that masterpiece of Christian martyrlogies, 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 despondently of barbarian 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, Jazgyes, and other trans-Alpine hordes, sustained and carried to a triumphant conclusion only by the dogged and intrepid leadership of Marcus himself.

3. The ‘Thoughts.’—From these ordeals the Thoughts emerge. They are not the exposition of any system of life; reflections on a life; it is ‘To himself’ 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 communes with itself, examines motives, corrects and affirms, or re-affirms, conclusions, emotes the sigh of weariness or the ejaculation of disgust, but perpetually renews resolve, unalterably clinging to the noblest hypothesis with which it was familiar. Beginning in almost random reminiscence, composition gave way to strain, real hammering upon the company, and a pleasure for its own sake; and for Marcus Stoic principles so interpenetrated 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 Epictetus. The φαντασία are in part sense-impressions proper, derived from things, in part各单位, 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 assent (σεβασμός, v. 10) he drops the Stoic claim to final certitude—τὰ πράγματα ἐκκαθάρτητα. But there remains a tenacity of moral assurance which suffices for conduct of life. Reason and the divine immanence attains a coherence, a consistency, and strength which give the indefeasible assurance of truth.

(2) Theory of Being.—In Stoic monism matter, form, and force are an inseparable life-power, self-determined from within, embodied in the various forms of phenomenal and spiritual being. The variety of being is explained physically by the doctrine of τὸ αἷον, that is, of tension within the life-producing force, preserved in ever-varying grades in all forms of existence, material or spiritual. In the successive grades of inorganic, vegetable, animal, and human life each variation represents a different degree or kind of tension in the informing πηγή, or life-power. Cohesion, life, and reason are resultant phases of the embodied spirit, varying in the same way as inorganic substances are seen to vary under processes of rarefaction or condensation. Εἶναι, ‘to hold,’ or ‘to cohesion,’ is the characteristic of Christian perveracity as of bravado. In Asia too, and in Africa, sporadic acts of persecution took place, and martyrdom was judicially inflicted, though for the most part Christians were screened under the Imperial dispensation from 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 devastated by plague, from which it never recovered; in its track came famine, earthquakes, and inundations of unusual severity; then the yet more terrible invasions 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, Quadri, Jazgyes, and other trans-Alpine hordes, sustained and carried to a triumphant conclusion only by the dogged and intrepid leadership of Marcus himself.

1 Eus. HE v. 1. 2 xi. 3.
from which it originated. As, in the individual, soul actualizes itself in physical energies, such as life, growth, sensation, and all bodily functions and appetites, in moral, such as impulse (ἔνεσις), inclination (ἀθέτησις), aversion (ἀφεξις), will (προσεχεῖται), or in intellectual, such as perception (ἐκπαθεῖα), judgment (ἐπικεφαλία, καταλόγῳ, προφήτης), mind (μνήσθη), or reason (διάνοια), so, too, the world-soul operates in energies no less diverse in operation, now as the natural forces which actuate all inorganic or organic life, e.g., heat, moisture, breath, contraction, 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, again, as those purposive or reasoning 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 it he construes all the accepted formulas of the school, and resolves their ambiguousness.

(4) Cosmic unity.—Cosmic unity stands at the center of his thought, the pole to which his moral compass continually turns. In its contemporary phase of microcosmic self-expression the unity of the cosmos was realized and reflected in that world-Empire of Rome whose political activities centered 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—a universe as unintelligible as intolerable. 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 living' (vii. 9), as is shown by the rambifying bond of ubiquitous design (συναφεία γενεσίων, iv. 45) and that unifying rapport between the constituent parts (συνεποίησις τοῦ μειῶσ, v. 28, ix. 9) which results from perfect interpenetration (συμφύσης καὶ διάφυσης), and makes the whole inseparably one.

Design is everywhere apparent, in small and great—in all the processes of nature, in the adjustment of means to ends, in the social life of animals, in economy of materials, in the entire 'concentration 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 inherent 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 unifying Logos, which the Stoic school derived from Heracleitus, 'the reason and the ordinance of the city and commonwealth most high' (ii. 18), the all pervading, 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' (νοησία, διάνοια), world-soul and moral sense (ψυχή, γνώμη), but also of world-impulse and world-sensation. The world, as a live whole and being (ἐνόσσος, iv. 40, x. 1), throbs to one master pulse as truly as all the energies of man respond to the direction of the unitary sovereign self.

(5) Unity of things.—The unifying power, a common gravitation revealing itself in man as truth, beauty, and love, combines, contrains, and co-ordinates all to a common end (xii. 30). It finds its type or organ in the central sun.

'I am the eyes with which the Universe Beholds itself and knows itself divine' (Shelley, Hymn of Apollo, vi. 12). But the splendid harmony invests common things and processes with an appeal and beauty of its own; they contribute to the advantage of the universe; they are notes, or discords, which swell the great accord. Not only the heavenly bodies in their orbits, sun and moon, fire 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—seem to him who is in union with nature, and touches hidden springs of answering admiration and desire.

'Earth is in love with rain, and holy ether loves—The world-order is in love with fashion, what is to be. To the world-order I profess Thy love is mine' (x. 21).

(6) World-soul.—The unity of the indwelling mind corresponding to personality in the individual man is incommensurate with the scale of the universe, beneficent and rational in aim. Degrees of goodness and of value are part of the great scheme, but everywhere 'things lower are for the sake of things higher' (v. 13, 30, vi. 55, xi. 10, 18, etc.), and all is for the best.

(7) Evil.—The oneness of the cosmos is utilized to explain the mystery of evil. Seeming evil is good misapprehended or disguised. The course of nature is all good. 'It contains no evil, does no evil, and inflicts no hurt on anything.' Analyze the facts, suppress the hasty, ill-formed inference, and the evil ceases to exist, or changes its complexion (vi. 36, 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. 2). 'Nothing is hurtful to the part which helps the whole' (x. 6).

(8) Providence.—The mind of the universe is social, 'civic' (συνοικικός) in all its aims. Fate, destiny, necessity (μοῖος, τὸ περιπουδίον, τὸ εὐπουδίον, θέσεις), overrule all things for the good of the community accorded 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, pursuing their continuous round. Change 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 drama, the self-same scenes reproduced; the court of Hadrian, the court of Antoninus, the court of Philip, Alexander, Cesarus; the same stock roles, only with change of actors (c. 27; cf. vi. 45). This is the depressing side of the Emperor's philosophy, the resignation from which he would not desist to extricate himself by self-deception.

(10) Man a part of cosmos.—Man is by nature an inherent part, welling up from organic member—μοῖος, not μόος 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; self-realization 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 fulfilment of function, active acknowledgment of reciprocal relation to the whole. And this alone is able to minister interior contents, the forms—nothing is the same in the Holy Spirit and the godlike citizens of heaven.' The soul—a particle of Zeus (v. 27), the good genius or the God within (iii. 4, 6, 16), the lord and law-giver (iv. 1, 12), the pilot reason (vii. 64), the fellow-citizen, the priest and minister of God—towards which makes for righteousness. The indwelling presence becomes almost of that 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 sun, a morsel as between two infinites. 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 related; virtue is its own consequence, the mastery of the will, ability to uphold and satisfy the instincts of reason in fellowship with nature and God. If ever that is forbidden or barred, then indeed God sounds the signal for retreat. Unanimously and undisputed, we quit the rank. The exodus is quick and easy—a ‘bare bodkin' is enough. The play is ended (xii. 36); ring the curtain down. Death is the natural end of man's ephemeral endeavours. Whatever be its physical analysis, extinction, dispersion, or transformation, it is without exception or transformation, it is without exception or transformation, unless it is transformed, in which case, alternative which are dispassionately considered—the dissolution of the material elements end the present resultant; they take their place in other compounds, while the 'semital principles,' 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, obligations, and exercises of one's own experiences. But the Imperial position assumed gives breadth and elevation of view, and the fixed sincerity of the writer attones for lack of form, or method, or variety. The commonplaces of the paraenetic Stoicism—the immortality of virtue, or the indestructibility of the wise—are not discussed at large. The more developed casuistry of later Stoicism, with its scheme of conditional duties (οἰκεία, κατακλυώντα, κατάθετα), its recognition of preferential moral choice (in προορίζει & διηγομένη), its admission of relative moral values (καί ἀξία), its belief in 'proficiency' (προσοχή), or progressive growth in philosophic grace, is everywhere assumed, though seldom in scholastic phraseology. The philosopher is on the threshold of the world, the statesman of the Emperor; theicken in window, sills and doors. The soul of the flesh, all vulgar vices of the tyrant or the profligate, even the licence and the luxuries of city life, are not in view. The whole attitude is one of straining, 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 solicits mention; truth is not protest or resolve, but that singleness of word and act, that quiet undeviating 'pursuit of the straight course,' which power and place make doubly difficult; just those virtues urging now the rights of the oppressed, but the obligations of the strong; as regards wisdom or self-control, it may be said that the whole book is an enlargement upon that theme. The moral perturbations which he dreads are those which beset power and place and privilege, such as impatience, discourtesy, distrust, officiousness, or such more delicate delinquencies as self-will in duties, the want of moral nerve or fixity of aim, or the indolence which, rushing hasty conclusions, admits unwarranted impressions or desires. And beside the solid virtues and charities incumbent on the ruler-power within which makes for righteousness.

'Blame none, 'Do not find fault,' 'To expect no one to do wrong is madness' (xii. 18), are maxims for the ruler rather than prescriptions for the teacher. 'God reward the honest and the less people. Certainly not. Then do not ask for the impossible' (ix. 42). The supremacy of the ἀγαθός—ln Marcus the favourite and characteristic term for man's highest governing self—secures to man self-assertion, not to an unstable world; within his own circle he becomes a 'sphere self-orbed, proof against all assaults of circumstance, all enticements and deceptions of sense, and all domination of impulse, appetite, or feeling. To that extent the social grasp which his will, with the sweep of the great cosmic current, and, at one with nature, reason, God, be wrapped in calm. To such an one all other things become 'indifferent,' for 'no man can rob us of our will' (xii. 30). Man is a citadel, a promontory against which the billows dash continually; but it stands fast, till at its base the boiling breakers are lulled to rest' (iv. 49). This attitude of sect endurance gradually moulds his moral as well as his physical lineaments, until he becomes a man which is engraven upon the stones of the Imperial arch, and abstinence rather than action, isolation rather than corporate fellowship, becomes the keynote of morality. Towards this the influences all compound—the master-spirit, the tone of sombre, almost wilful, resignation; the solitude and desolation of the close. Before his eyes Latin literature breathed its last. The great equestrian statue, the memorial column, the relics of his triumphal arch, the apotheosis of Scipio, are the last triumphs of aspiring art. Human fecundity was stricken with strange paralysis of reproductive power; the very Campagna was changing to a depopulated waste. Religions, politics, literatures, and Rome herself were dying. In unmistakable letters the handwriting was blazed upon the wall, and he himself was ἔφητος ὅποι ον. With his death decline and fall set in, not on the Danube only, but throughout the whole Empire of the West. His end was a slow and tedious struggle with the inevitable. No longer able to eat or drink, he lay upon his couch, still exercises the habits of duty and authority; spoke passionately of the vanity of life; and with the words, 'Hace incruentus bellum opera sunt,' turned to his rest.

2. Geographical distribution of the market.

The institution of the market is not unknown in many parts of the world. It is either altogether unknown or known only in its most rudimentary forms. It has been pointed out that certain geographical conditions are such that 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, of little importance, 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 tone—where, e.g., a tribe of fishermen have a tribe of agriculturists for neighbours.

According to J. G. F. Riesel, there are no market-places in Ceylon; and while we hear of the market in 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 has existed, it is to be regarded as imported rather than as indigenous. In New Guinea, markets are to be found in the German as well as in the British portion of the island; and we have a few notices of Polynesian and Melanesian markets in the First Two Centuries, Dublin, 1890; M. Königseck, De societatis religiosa... Acta et Commentarioria, vii, 1886; C. Martin, Les religions dans l'empire romain philosophes et poëtes, Paris, 1886; J. G. Rendell, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself, London, 1888; R. G. C. Oake, Die Philosophie der mittleren Schule in Berlin, 1885; L. Stein, Geschichte der Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, En- 

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 a periodical congregation of people 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.

Provided that this element is present, any circumstances which bring men together can produce a market or a fair. The occasion may be a religious festival, a popular assembly, the formation of a camp, the temporary sojourn of a court at a royal residence, the use of a caravan at one of its customary halting-places, the concourse at a saint's tomb, the celebration of funeral games at the burial-places of a hero, or the temporary cessation of hostilities between Bactrians and Scythians.

3 See note 1 above.

See authorities in P. J. Hamilton-Grieve, The Silent Trade, Edinburgh, 1888, p. 117. See also § 4 below.
market spread from Masilia, from the north of the Italian Peninsula, and from the cities on the shores of the Adriatic to the countries of the neighboring barbarians. In Latium the fairs were of great importance, for they were associated with religious festivals; and the most important of the Italian fairs was that of Rome, which separated the Etruscan from the Sabine land at Soracte, near the city of Feronia. In Tuscany the religious festivals and popular gatherings of Romans, and the great importance of the trade fairs, and the tribal assemblies seem to have supplied occasions for the holding of markets.

So, too, in the past, the great markets of France, Germany, and England showed their close connection with the observances of the Church.

3. Origin of the market.—We have seen that, of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the forms of commerce is that which has been called the ‘silent trade.’ Those who engage in it are strangers to one another and are consequently enemies. But, so long as it lasts, they observe a truce, which is safeguarded by a supernatural sanction. This sanction derives its force primarily from the sacredness of the relation between the traders, which the trade creates, and—in very many cases—in a degree hardly less considerable, from the sanctity of the place where the trade is carried on. This spot lies often within a borderland—a locality which is very generally regarded by primitive peoples as holy ground—and such a situation is frequently chosen not only because it possesses this characteristic, but because it is regarded as the meeting place of the gods. Goods set out on the seashore, on a river bank, or at a meeting of ways are likely to catch the eye of the passing trader; and, if he is satisfied with his exchange, he will return again and again, to the known place at the known time. In this strange custom is to be seen, in our opinion at least, the germ of the market. Richard Lash, however, in his admirable essay on the ‘Primitive Market,’ urges two objections to this view. He contends that, in its beginnings, the market is, to a large extent, a provision market, mainly in the hands of women. He admits that, in certain cases, an exchange of articles of food may be transacted by the methods of the silent trade. A tribe of bushmen, e.g., which has a tribe of agriculturists for neighbours may employ these methods in bartering game for bananas. In such a case the traders are men, not women. But to infer from such evidence that the market is derived directly


9. The view indicated above as to the antiquity of the market is held by H. Schurz, Das afrikanische Black Erzgebirge, Leipzig, 1890, p. 129; and S. F. P. A. von Winterfeldt, Die Entstehung des Markthandels in Polen und dem Niederrhein, 1895, ii. 547; M. Kühnich, Der Handel der Vasallen und der Slaven, in Germania, 1895, i. 232. See G. Grimm, Die Sprache und die Sprachwissenschaft, x. (1878) 297; S. B. C. M. de la Roque, Reptile, 1025; O. Schwarz, Litterarische Geschichte der einfachen Völker, 1911, ii. 103; H. Reath, etc., ‘Handel,’ ‘Markt,’ 1033.

from the silent trade seems to Lasch to be wholly unwarranted. His second objection rests on the nature of the goods brought to market, which are, he says, for the most part perishable. They are produced constantly and they are in constant demand. Accordingly, market must follow market at the instances being fixed to suit the convenience of the traders. But the existence of such arrangements presupposes an exchange of views between these interested; and such an exchange involves a complete breach with the principles 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 historical phases. We shall find that it is attended by men only and that, in some instances, it exhibits features which recall to us those of the provision trade.

S. Passarge, e.g. describes a market on the Benue to which a man in each canoe holds it to readiness in case of a quarrel. Only those that were on hand, and who were able to present an armament of fish, hogs, and tobacco, could participate in the trade. From bank to bank the traders shouted at each other, and the value of their bargains. From thence the articles were taken down to the open space where a second round was played in the middle of the stream. Here they were examined by the parties met with in the presence of the king's collector, who stood on each side of the rock, and was a member of the event of any dispute arising during the bargaining; and they, of course, received a suitable remuneration from the particular parties.

Thus Lasch conducted without noise or confusion. If any disagreement takes place, the chief is there to settle it; he is so much a part of his own society that he is not likely to quarrel. If it is reported of the Eskimo of Point Barrow that in their intercourse with the Eskimos of Point Point they seem to be very wary, as if they constantly keep in mind that they are the weaker party in the company of strangers, they describe themselves as taking up a position of a man to a woman, or a man to a child. They say that great distance was formerly maintained by the women of the country, where women were swatched and concealed when a bargain was made, but that they have no such practice now; but in the past they have danced and amusements, and they never refrain from dancing enough to sleep.

A very curious instance, in which women were the traders, and a remarkable example of the silent trade mentioned by B. and L. Lander, is recorded by Tompkins in his account of the Mexican markets. He tells us that the Indian women made exchanges without any bargaining being spoken. One held out the article of which she wished to dispose, and the other took what was offered in her hand, and indicated, by a sign 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 addition was made, the bargain was complete; if not, each retained her own property.

In these instances we have the mutual distrust, and, in the absence 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, of necessity, confined to the exchange of provisions, entirely in the hands of men. So, however, when women can visit it in safety, they assume the entire conduct of its traffic as guardians of its peace, or confine themselves to dealing in the objects of their special concerns, such as cattle and slaves.

Two further observations may be made in reference to Lasch's arguments. In the first place, there are many instances in which the articles, such as fresh fruit and fresh meat, are exchanged by the methods of the silent trade. In the second place, many cases can be cited in which the places where the silent trade is to be found and 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 Wouri, the articles to be bartered being laid upon a flat rock in mid-stream. In many instances the market is held within a borderland, as in the Batoua, the market of the Roman world, is a vast area of markets. In Indonesia the market is held on the borders of different districts; in the Congo the forest and those of Angola are generally equidistant from the nearest village. Among the Akaikuyu the site chosen for the market is an open space where two different districts can conveniently attend; while in the Congo country the market-places are of such distant countries, that there are two or three in open fields, and sometimes on the loo.

5. Another method employed by traders for this purpose was that of exchanging goods at a distance; in Peru and autres amis de Fournier, ed. C. M. J. Lange, Paris, 1816, p. 140; ed. C. Bru, et al. Discover the Sources of the Nile in the Years 1768-72, Edinburgh, 1831, p. 327; Ellis, Polyn. Res., ii, 231.
6. As to the connection of the market, the border-band, and the supernatural, see below.
8. F. P. Marinescu, Ethnographie Nord-afrique, etc., revue et corrigée par le professeur de la faculté de sciences de l'Université de Tunis, Tunis, 1905, p. 190.
10. See above, p. 106
21. See also Regnard, 'A journey through Finfarern, in the Traveler's of the Year,' do. 1879, p. 173; this church is called Laschand, and it is the place where the fair of the Lappishmen during winter is held.
of the markets. 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 Yunnan, and is found in Java and Aboekuta, at Igboeje and Onitsha, at Kong, and at Bobo, in the Meke district of British New Guinea, in ancient Mexico, and in many other places. At Khoradu, in the lower Ogum, the market between the townsfolk and the bushfolk takes place every eight days, and in the Banyeng country markets are generally held with an eight days' interval. In regard to the markets on the caravan routes between Malabo and Leopoldville, a distinction must be kept in view between those held daily by the neighboring villages for the caravans' supply and the weekly markets. The Foi market 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 onaduo, 'little,' 'insignificant.' On the Lower Congo each market bears the name of one of the days of the Foi week, followed by the name of the village where it is held. The Khisias of Assam, the Battak of Sumatra, the tribes of the Lower Niger, and the Alkayna hold a market every fourth day. On the Luulubela the

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across a march, which nearly intersects the city. The markets at Hang-Chau and in the city of Mexico were held in great squares within the town. Tumimba may be cited as an instance of a town which had a great central market. In Java the markets are held under large trees on spots dedicated to the purposes of commerce. At the Bolong market-place are generally at the foot of the hills, and are marked by old fig-trees. In the Sherbro and its hinterland the markets are always held under large trees; and those on the upper Lualaba frequently take place on grassy mounds under the shade of large trees. In the chief town of Uganda, at Lango, at Fawea and Seba in the Meke country, among the Kabyes, and in the Meke district of British New Guinea, market-places are held under the shade of large trees; and a somewhat similar account is given of markets on the Congo.

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 Yunnan, and is found in Java and Aboekuta, at Igboeje and Onitsha, at Kong, and at Bobo, in the Meke district of British New Guinea, in ancient Mexico, and in many other places. At Khoradu, in the lower Ogum, the market between the townsfolk and the bushfolk takes place every eight days, and in the Banyeng country markets are generally held with an eight days' interval. In regard to the markets on the caravan routes between Malabo and Leopoldville, a distinction must be kept in view between those held daily by the neighboring villages for the caravans' supply and the weekly markets. The Foi market 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 onaduo, 'little,' 'insignificant.' On the Lower Congo each market bears the name of one of the days of the Foi week, followed by the name of the village where it is held. The Khisias of Assam, the Battak of Sumatra, the tribes of the Lower Niger, and the Alkayna hold a market every fourth day. On the Luulubela the
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market is held every fourth day, other markets being frequented in the intervals. At Amba Bay the market takes place every third day. There are markets at Kanabur, and at Mogol. The Bini have 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 Kpabia; and two a week at Mrazek, at Koloa, and at Banjiribam. Weekly markets are held in Morocco, at Ppopah in the Sherbro, and in Lega-land, among the Ogonis, and among the Kabyles, and at Passuam in the southern part of Sumatra. In the Kuanzat district of Central Sumatra each market has its own special day of the week allotted to it. In Silodong there is a daily market, but the place at which it is held varies from day to day. In this last instance, 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 Kukwa, Maselila, Kanab, Sokoto, and Timbuctoo, the market is held in the hottest hours of the day. According to Clapperton, the market at Kanab is crowded from sunrise to sunset. The Yo (Borno) market begins about 10 a.m. and ends about 3 p.m. In Borno and the Congo markets commence towards 10 or 11 a.m. and cease at 3 or 4 p.m. In some places in the neighbourhood of Hamar the markets begin about noon: at Gite in Angola they are in full activity by that hour. At Saris the busiest time of the market is from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m., and at Kuku in Borno about 3 p.m. In Thambaka the market is held in the late afternoon, and at Cossoo in Yoruba in the evening. It takes place at Aden two hours after sunset, and at Bida and Ibor in and some parts of Malacca in the night. On the upper Ubangi it is held from 8 to 10 in the morning. On the Livingstone it is deserted after noon.

In the Padaag district of Sumatra it is little frequented in the early morning, but by 10 o'clock it is full. 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 than do markets held towards the close of the day, and also because those at a distance cannot attend them.

7. Frequency of the market; market-women.

H. H. Johnston observes that both men and women make long journeys to sell their goods, the men always travelling furthest.

Among the Banded, 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. At Whyndah on the Gold Coast, and among the Basut of Sumatra, the traffic in slaves was confined to the man. Among the Bubas, the men bring goats and palm-wine to market, and in the Mandingos they trade in cloth.

At Woodle the women sell milk and honey, fruits and herbs, while the men sell oxen, sheep, and slaves. At the Bamba the market is held at Kano is generally held on Saturday, and at Kuka in Borno the principal slave is generally sold the traders, while their masters look after the slaves. The Borno market people form a caste by themselves, they attend all the larger markets in person, and send their servants to handle the goods.

8. Religion and the market; the market peace.

The market peace is sacred, and this quality may be due to one cause or to a concurrence of circumstances: at the division of labour according to sex in primitive times, see K. Bühler, Der Geschlechtsaufbau der Volkerwirtschaften, Tübingen, 1890, p. 26; Schulte, p. 129; J. G. Frazer, Gf, p. v. the Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, London, 1913, 1292.

Denham, Clapperton, and Odour (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 53. Paulscheke, p. 314. As to the division of labour according to sex in primitive times, see K. Bühler, Der Geschlechtsaufbau der Volkerwirtschaften, Tübingen, 1890, p. 26; Schulte, p. 129; J. G. Frazer, Gf, p. v. the Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, London, 1913, 1292.

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several causes. It may be due to the nature of the relation between two things 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 occasion of which it is the scene, or to a religious festival.

Large fairs, held at different points on the Niger, are in the course of the year, and wherever there may be a market town or a village, some things of interest occur; and the names of some of the more important markets are known in the far-off countries of England and France. The Shillukas entered the Khartoum traders to their camp by a display of attractive mannerism, and then butchered them for their meat and oil. At a close of a Raka market the chief allowed his bodyguard to plunder the market-women.

and having the bay accepts of some of the great women by Arab traders. "But", he observes, "they have great tact and intelligence. An old established custom has great charm for them; and the market will again be attended, if no fresh outrage is committed.

Sometimes such violence kills the market. "To see how, a. In the 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 held. It is said that, at Stanley Pool, the establishment of a slave market is a sign for the sacrifice of a slave ("Contrary to the Laws of War").

In the Le Boatique de Stanley Pool, the words de la societe d’écoles field of the Gladstone the first edition of the London, 1890, 1, 168: GSP, p. 9, the editor, "of the object of this sacrifice was to convert the soul of the victim into a protecting demon (POW, London, 1890, 1, 168: GSP, p. 9)."

But, he observes, "they have great tact and intelligence. An old established custom has great charm for them; and the market will again be attended, if no fresh outrage is committed."

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stones, he came to be regarded as the god of both. 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. Now we are told that the anacles not only traded at their public meetings, which were consecrated to the god of the public assembly. These poles were, in all probability, erected upon a stone; and it has been suggested that this is the meaning of the word erroneously used in later days for a stone column, the prototype of which is Irmansuln, Rolandspullen, perrons, and many of the market-crosses 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 justice, 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 peace by hoisting and lowering a flag; in British New Guinea, the head of a chief was put on a pole and cut off, thus closing the market; the trade between the people of the Riff and the Hejaz, in Arabia, was terminated when they were besieging ceased on the ringing of a bell.

Many instances might be cited of trading during a truce, followed by a resumption of hostilities as soon as the trading was over.

1 See also Schrader, Urg.-Jus. Forch., pp. 77-100; Hamilton-Gairdner, p. 430.
2 Oebhal-d'Alvillia, La Migration des Symboles, Westminster, 1900. 
3 The name Chun Tholines, the German equivalent of Zeus Aragoral (see note below); see however, Magnin, Ges. Gesch. Opop. Tonkin, vol. vi. p. 504. According to Cassius (De Bell. Gall. vi. 17), the Gauls worshipped a deity whom he identified with Mercury.
4 D'Alvillia, p. 117.
5 "Quoque, eorum dem, quae regio Vossia, et urbs Wallonii, et urbs et Mercatus componuntur," carry the old name of Zeus Aragoral and of the autonomy of those assemblies. It is not improbable, that, for the purpose of ornament, a representation of: the god of the gods was attached to the column or carved upon them; and that, when the meaning of their symbols was forgotten, the popular imagination gave to them the face of the Faustian most popular at the time, and the Irmansuln became Rolandspullen. When the Mercatus was abolished and the barbarous people of the old continent continued in many places to ascribe the reality of the occurrence of things they bore the emblem of Christianity; sometimes they were altered or transformed so as to symbolize something new or additional; and sometimes they were replaced by the crosses planted by the Church in sign of possession.
6 The resemblance which many of the market-crosses of Scotland bear to the cornet has been pointed out by W. G. Black (Glasgow Cross, with a suggestion as to the origin of Scottish Market-Crosses, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1905), and his suggestion as to their origin has been approved by D'Alvillia in the later of his two works cited above. At p. 82 of this work, D'Alville figures certain of the Scottish crosses, and it is curious to observe how close is the similarity of some of them with the sacrifice of Iermasuln figured by him on p. 149 of The Migration of Symbols.

1 See Hamilton-Gairdner, The Boundary Stone and the Market Cross, Scot. hist. Rev., xii. 245. As to the cruces of the boundary in India, see art. DAYAHANS (North India), in J. G. Paton, India, 1867, p. 327.
2 Hadson, p. 509.
7 Torquemada, x. 5. 
8 Hammerschmied, in the first part.
9 O'Connel, R. I. 1. 1910, p. 228.
10 As to Scotland see Law and Customs of the Four Surgeons, quoted by Edin. and Lond. Jnl. of in the Weekly Register, vol. 7, p. 59. As to Ireland see O'Connel, I. 1. 1910, p. 228.
of the common law which attracted not only the merchant but those who traded in the city, as judges of the district.

In the Kabyle markets, eg., an official—the chief of the market, who belongs to the leading family of the tribe which owns the land of the market, or the commercial estate, or estate of the peace, or those who fear attacks on the road, summarily expels the quarrelling, or these who create disturbance. He is concerned only with offences which affect the public, while civil and commercial disputes are referred to a marabout of the tribe. In the Berber market, he is the stranglers in the market that execute its law by stoning the delinquent. Again, in the Berbera market, there is no superior authority to whom the enforcement of the law is entrusted. Its execution is in the hands of the chief. An assembly of those belonging to the district is to judge in disputes; but the disputants need not abide by its decision. If they ignore it, they must leave the market.

But where the market lies within the territory of a king, he or his officer sees to the maintenance of order. Thus, at a fair on the Lulaha, within the country of the Kabyle, is a basket pumpe with a dozen guards, in order to no dispute might disturb it. Its basket is all the guards are without, they carried on their shoulders. Among the Nago, a chief appointed by the king performs similar duties; and these are discredited at the head of the king's collectors. Among the Gallas by the local headman. In the case of Boru—there is a market king who settles disputes between buyers and sellers; and the women choose a market queen for their protection, through which they conduct all their business.

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, they are, in many others, of a much more varied character. Among the Bassambas the superintendent of the market collects the dues and attends to matters of policy. At Wadakor, the king's collectors are the general assessors of disputes and throughout the country of the Gallas, on the western Abyssinian plateau, the market is held under the superintendence of the local king who is appointed by the king, being set apart from the king's collectors. Among the Gallas the duties of direction of the market are exercised by an important official who is entrusted with the conduct of foreign trade and the supervision of the exchequer. In the Congo markets there is, in most cases, a chief of the market; perhaps a native chief, who regulates all disputes, and fines both native and alien, and does litigation so heavily that all are daunted by invoking his assistance. All these duties of the market are all day to try disputes arising in the course of trade; and in the Lougo market an official is charged with seeing that all the decrees are practiced in the trade between natives and Europeans.

The quality of articles brought to the market is, in general, a matter of consideration only when disputes arise.

The milk brought 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. He constantly attends the market and sees that purchasers are not overcharged; and, in view of the plenty or scarcity of the goods exposed, he must fix the prices. In Java, the market fixes the prices; and among the Bangala the price is fixed by the chins with reference to a standard. In Morocco and Jidja a public officer fixes a maximum price to all victualing traders. In some of the markets in Hawaii the chiefs regulated the prices; and in ancient Mexico they were fixed by the superintendents of the market. In China the officer placed over the market was charged not only with the maintenance of order, but with the supervision of weights and measures, and with the administration of justice in more important cases. The Chinese authorities appear to have exercised 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. The Roman authorities 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. To assure the same satisfaction within the markets was his special care, both by exposing frauds and by rejecting articles which were unfit for sale. In the market of Tenoxintal ten or twelve judges sat in a house on the market, and dealt with cases as they arose and to see to the punishment of delinquents. There were said to be two at the house when the judge saw what was bought and sold, and broke any false measures which they found in use. And it was the duty of these officers to fix the prices and to prevent frauds.

II. Market dues and their collection. In some markets—eg., at Silindeng—dues are not exacted. Among the Hausa, whose dues are levied, entrance into the town is free to the market people. At Ectenico men can enter the markets and trade without charge, but every woman must pay ten cowries to the government.

When trade took place in the temple of the sun, the priest-collected dues on behalf of the divinity. At a fair on the Lulaha, in Kishamna's country, each district whose representatives were present must make a gift to the prince. Kishamna, who performed a series of dances in the market, after each dance received their contributions from the market-women, who danced as they passed. In the Berbera markets the king grants his protection and collects the dues; and in the market of Feb.? and at the market of Rabat, an officer levies a small percentage on behalf of the government. At Adamana, in and at the market, the king's collectors are present in the market; and in those of Uganda, the constables (papels) take a double handful of the market-women's products.

2 Foyers, p. 134ff.
3 Between the natives themselves fraud is unknown. A mother sends her six-year-old child, knowing that it will not be cheated, because the collection of the taxes by native agents is the same as in quantity and quality (66, p. 160).
visions for the king, and levies a contribution for himself. I
Among the Hounda a chief appointed by the king collects a tax
upon every sale; and at Quenupi the people pay a tax on every sale, making up a revenue for the king. In the Lomako markets the chief of police sees to the payment of the dues; and at Kanó the chief of the market lets out the stalls at so much a month, forming a revenue of whatever his revenues obtained. In China there are special market-dues, which are collected by a special agent called the shagowu, who lays the special taxes, the collection of these dues, which were applied in the first instance to the needs of the market, and in the markets of Imperial Rome, and especially in the markets of Assyria, a special system of taxation was obtained. In the Mexican markets a fixed tribute was paid to the Emperor, in return for which he granted his protection against thieves.

In India the king was entitled to market-dues, which varied, according to circumstances, from a twentieth to a tenth of the value of the goods. The frequency of the Bakhsha market at Khana must pay three cowries to the chief, though the value of his goods may be; and in the Bongi market every person who brought articles for sale had to hand over one-twelfth of the value of the goods brought to market. At Nyangwe to a tenth or a sixth. Those who exposed goods in the Wwahuh market pay very heavy dues to the king of Dahomey, while in the Hawaiian markets two-thirds of the proceeds of whatever the natives sold was demanded by the chief.

In the markets of ancient Mexico each class of merchandise had its appointed place, the more cumbersome kinds being stored in the neighbouriing streets, or in floats on the canals: in those of the Middle Ages who sold outside of it was regarded as an illicit trader, and the who bought from him buying and selling, and is generally responsible for his conduct.

At Berbers each stranger must choose a protector (obban). He dare not trade without one, and he may act as the agents of their respective tribes in the business of barter; and many cases may be cited in which the man who takes a stranger under his protection not only acquires his friendship, but assists him in buying and selling, and is generally responsible for his conduct.

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12. The arrangements of the market-place.

Among the Lega-Callas the markets are held only if the weather permits; for the climate is variable, and the market-places are wholly without shelter. In the markets of Madagascar there are neither stalls nor booths, but the goods are sold on the ground, or upon mats. The markets on the Lualala are held at uninhabited places, except at Nyangwe, where there are houses for traders and huts for slaves and porters.

When the caravans arrive at Berbers, the goods are unloaded, and are exposed in booths and huts erected for the purpose, and within a week, on what was previously a desert spot several hundred huts are ready for the strangers coming thither over sea. At Sommar they are exposed on the market-place, their business being conducted by temporary erections of boughs and mats, and at Guzulana the wares are exposed in tents and shelters of boughs, where stranger merchants are entertained and housed, while in some of the Sumatra markets huts are provided, where stranger merchants can display their merchandise, and pass the night for a mere trifle.

At Maidugui, the largest market in Bornel, lines of sheds and stalls over in extensive area: similar erections are found in the markets at Togolwa and Assema; and Passages says of the market in Adamawa that they contain numerous flat-roofed huts, which form a long street.

In the markets of Manchuria (Chia) the markets were held in great squares surrounded by shops, where all kinds of crude were carried on and goods sold — a description which recalls to us the famous markets of ancient Mexico.

In many markets the position assigned to the different traders depends on the nature of their wares, the result being that, where those wares are traded in by one only of the sexes, a specific portion of the market is allotted to each sex.

1. Lang, p. 250 ff. Similarly, at the markets of Bato Doloasia, a man carrying a girl-girl staff, accompanied by a drummer and a crowd of bystanders, took down his staff before each merchant ceremoniously, and, unopposed, helped himself, by means of a small calabash, holding a litre, from the merchant's calabash (Binger, L. 371).

12. D. J. A. XXVI, 266.
14. Schurz, p. 120.
18. C. P. Caldey, p. 283.

19. Haggemacher, p. 39 ff. These emotions belong to the ordinary emotions, and in the market, they form a particular of the abon (protector).
27. Preuillet, p. 131.

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The most curiosities of the primitive trader is that of transacting business by means of a third person. Dall tells us that the Alents have evolved trade with the monies, and we have suggested that some light is thrown upon the origin of this method by the instance of the exercise of the silent trade reported by Landor. It is said that, among the natives of Australia, children are made money without any one seeing them, but act as the agents of their respective tribes in the business of barter; and many cases may be cited in which the man who takes a stranger under his protection not only acquires his friendship, but assists him in buying and selling, and is generally responsible for his conduct.

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MARRIAGE (Introductory and Primitive)

MARRIAGE


Basque.—See Semitic.

Buddhist.—See FAMILY (Buddhist).

Burmese.—See BURMA.

Celtic (G. DOTTM), p. 432.


Egyptian (F. L. GRIFFITH), p. 443.

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 means of which the relation of a child to the community is determined. Owing to the preponderant importance which has been attached to the family and the more stringent 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 one 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


2. Isreal, pp. 296, 260; Hagen, Eine Reise nach dem Pokh (See in Zentralasien), p. 173. The gaming booths which are found in the most populous parts of Gouda seem to be the only centres of trade (Havelin, p. 1790).

3. Willenhauzen, pp. 55, 135. According to Burchardt, p. 449, it is the Asyr. Arma, before the Wahhabite conquest, to bring their marriageable daughters to market, and it is the right which was excluded.


5. Joyce, loc. cit.


7. O'Coery, ill. 229, 532.

8. In l. pp. cdv. cclix, ccxxvi, i. 102.

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 consorts and their children; where marriage is polygynous, 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, KINDSHIP). 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.

1. Regulation of marriage.—In all forms of

2. B. A. ABRAHAM, p. 469.

3. Muslim.—See FAMILY (Muslim), LAW (Muhammadan).


7. Teutonic.—See FAMILY (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic).
human society there are definite rules regulating whom the members of the community may or may not marry. These rules are of many different kinds, but they all fall under one or other of two main forms: regulation by kinship or genealogical relationship, and regulation by some form of social mechanism, consisting of clans or similar social groups. The rules may also be distinguished according as they prohibit or enjoin certain unions.

Among all these peoples who have the family as their main form of grouping, marriage is regulated solely by kinship, and the rules regulating marriage consist exclusively of prohibitions, forming the ‘table of prohibited kindred and affines.’ 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 kinship, the two modes of regulation co-existing, and supplementing one another.

Further, this double mode of regulation does not consist of simply alternating prohibitions, but, side by side with rules of prohibition, there are often definite rules which enjoin marriage with certain relatives. The regulation of marriage associated with non-kinship groupings assumes certain definite forms for which there are well-established terms such as exogamy, endogamy, and hypergamy.

2. Exogamy and endogamy.—Much confusion has been produced in the use of these terms through the mistaken idea of the process, which they denote, are opposed to one another, this being chiefly due to an error on the part of McLennan, who was the first to draw attention to the process of exogamy. According to this writer, exogamy is a custom in 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 must marry outside their own group. If they 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 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 Toa or of the Tais 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 peoples who are isolated from their neighbours, either by physical or, still more frequently, by social conditions, such as constant warfare, who habitually marry within their own community, but this custom differs fundamentally from that of the Hind or Tais.

There is no definite prohibition of marriage within the community, and, if the opportunity arises, such marriages meet with no opposition. Even 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 reprobation that we come very near to true endogamy.

It would seem that this tendency to endogamy is especially pronounced where the people of the place follow one occupation, and this association of endogamy with occupation is not only characteristic of the caste system, but may be found in one of the exceptional examples of obligatory endogamy, which occurs in Africa in the case of the smitas, who often form a social group kept separate, by having to marry within their own body, from the rest of the community to which they belong. It is noteworthy also that there is a definite tendency towards the association of endogamy and occupation in the cases of priesthood and royalty, and in some cases marriage within these classes is so strictly enjoined that it amounts to a form of endogamy.

The practice of exogamy occurs in many forms according to the nature of the social system of which it forms part. If the community is totemic, the exogamous social group will be the totemic clan. If the community is organized on a territorial basis, the exogamous unit will be the village, the hamlet, or the quarter of a town. If the grouping rests on a belief in common descent, the exogamous group may take its name from the ancestor, this mode of organization differing from the regulation by kinship in that the clan is remote, and in some cases mythical or fictitious. In one frequent form of exogamy the whole community consists of two moieties, the men of one moiety marrying women of the other. The rule that two people with the same family name may not marry, which is found in China, may be regarded as another variety of exogamy. In Australia this mode of organization is modified so as to produce a complicated system consisting of social groups known as matrimonial classes.

3. Australian matrimonial classes.—These form a special variety of exogamous system in which a person has not only to marry outside his own class, but has to marry into another specified group. In one form, known as the four-class system, each moiety is composed of two sections, the marriages of members of one section of one moiety being limited to one section of the other. This system is associated with a peculiar mode of descent in which a child does not belong to the class of either father or mother, but to the other section of the moiety of one or other of the parents. The system is known as the eight-class system, of each of the four classes is composed of two sections, in which descent follows the same kind of rules as in the four-class system, but, of a more complicated kind. This form of social organization has until recently been supposed to be unique, but A. R. Brown has shown that there is nothing more than a systematization of the regulation of marriage by kinship which is generally associated with exogamous systems. In Melanesia there are probably similar groupings, though of a less definite kind than in Australia.

4. Hypergamy.—This name has been given to a peculiar form of the regulation of marriage, only known to occur in India, in which a woman must marry a man of a caste or sub-caste higher than her own. Where this custom is found, men and women of the same caste are sometimes also allowed to marry, but there is the strictest prohibition of the marriage of a woman with a man of a caste lower than her own.

5. Regulation of marriage is related by kinship. Among peoples whose social system is based specially on the family and the nature of whose system of relationship shows that this mode of social organization has been of long duration, marriage is
MARRIAGE (Introductory and Primitive)

regulated exclusively by genealogical relationship. Marriages with certain classes of relatives are forbidden and those with other classes allowed, while others are permitted. This is the system, though generally not looked upon with more or less disfavour by the community, the chief example of this difference of attitude occurring in the case of first cousins. While in some societies such people among whom marriages with certain relatives are obligatory, or even so habitual as to stamp their presence on the nomenclature of relationship.

The regulation of marriage by relationships is a universal system. It is based on the family, but occurs also among many peoples who follow the classificatory 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 these peoples, however, the results of this form of regulation differ widely from those already considered in that the restrictions apply to the very wide circle of relatives involved in the use of the classificatory system. Among the Mendi, we have not to do with the prohibition of marriage merely between 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 rules forbid 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 relationships, a frequent form of such limitation being the exclusion from the prohibition of those cases in which cousins are descended from persons of different sexes. Thus, among many peoples the marriage of 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, those 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 shows them to have once possessed. 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 allowed inside the same 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 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 classificatory system of relationship, the regulation of marriage by kinship is the rule of this type of prohibitions, but there are often definite regulations which make marriage with certain relatives the orthodox unions, and even in those cases in which such marriages 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 customary, though they may no longer be prohibited, and thus, for example, we may conclude from the fact that 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 found in Egypt and Persia, and occurred also among the Incas of Peru. In recent times the marriage of brother and sister is common in Siam, Burma, Ceylon, Uaganda, and the Hawaiian Islands. In the last case 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 others, 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 to 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 one father by 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, 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 merely of own brother and sister, but of those relatives in the widest classificatory sense.

It has been supposed by Morgan and others that the idea of the marriage of brother and sister existed 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 Kir, Kromer, III. 3) 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.1 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 the rules, 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 married and prohibited cousins who are the marriage of those cousins, usually known as cross-cousins, who are descended from persons of different sex. The marriage of cousins in general is sometimes allowed and sometimes prohibited, this prohibition being a necessary consequence of the

classing of all or some cousins with brothers and sisters in different forms of the classificatory system.

The marriage of cousins is frequent among Melanesians, usually with the daughter of the father's brother, and here, as in other cases in which this form of marriage occurs sporadically, the motive is the desire to keep property within the family.

The most frequent form of marriage of cousins is that which takes place between cross-cousins, namely, cousins who are the children of brother and sister. In many places this marriage is not merely allowed, but is the orthodox union, and it is so habitual that it determines the form of the system of relationship and gives a special character to the whole social system. All the peoples who are known to practise this form of marriage use the classificatory system of relationship; but usually the marriage is not between cross-cousins in the wide classificatory sense, but between the children of brother and sister. In some communities these relatives are regarded as husband and wife, without the need of any ceremony or other social arrangement, and still more frequently they apply to one another the terms used between husband and wife, even when they are not actually married to one another.

In the most frequent form of this union a man marries the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister, but occasionally his choice is limited to one or other of these relatives, the case which occurs the most frequently being that he may marry the daughter of his mother's brother but not of his father's sister. This form of marriage occurs among a few peoples of Australia, in several parts of Melanesia, including Fiji, and in India, especially in the south of the peninsula, though it was probably once more widely distributed. It is also found among the Haida and a few other peoples of N. America, but has not yet been recorded from S. America. In Africa it has recently been found by Mrs. R. F. A. Hoernle among the Rottnestota.

This type of marriage has usually been regarded as a secondary consequence of the dual organization of society, and has probably arisen in most, if not in all, cases out of this form of social organization. In Melanesia it has probably had as its immediate antecedent marriage with the father's sister or with the wife of the mother's brother, but elsewhere it seems to be actuated by the desire to keep property within the family. In some parts of Australia the form is taken over by the matrilineal classes involves the marriage of second cousins, but we do not know how far such marriages occur between true second cousins or between more distant relatives. In some parts of the New Hebrides it is the custom to marry certain relatives whom we should class as first cousins once removed. Thus, a man may marry the daughter of his father's sister's daughter, the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter, or the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. One of these forms of marriage is especially frequent, viz. that with the daughter of the father's sister.

In general, marriage between these relatives is prohibited, but occasionally a man is allowed to marry his brother's daughter, and this marriage would seem to have sometimes been so habitual as to have influenced the system of relationship. This can be seen in northern Australia and in some parts of Melanesia. It has also been recorded elsewhere, and is allowed in some parts of Europe. Several peoples of S.

India permit a man to marry his sister's daughter. In some cases it is only the daughter of an elder sister who may be married.

Another marriage which may be included under this heading is that of the number in Melanesia, in which a man marries the wife of his sister's son, or in which he and his sister's son have their wives in common.

(c) Aunt and nephew. — Marriage with the father's sister occurs sporadically in certain parts of Melanesia, and is a regular practice among some of the Dene peoples of N. America, and marriage with the mother's sister is said to occur among the Osets of the Caucasus. Marriage with the wife or widow of the mother's brother is still practised in many parts of Melanesia, and is shown by the nomenclature of relationship to have once 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) Grandparent and grandchild. — In Pentecost Island in the New Hebrides it is customary to marry the daughter's daughter of the brother; and this marriage with one who, through the classificatory system, has the status of a grand-daughter has, I think, lent itself so deeply on the nomenclature of relationship that it has become the usual practice of this 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 Ambrum, adjacent to Pentecost Island. In this island a man marries 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 was first inferred from the nature 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 some 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 Aus- tralia, but there are features of some African systems of relationship which suggest its occurrence at present or in the past.

7. Polygamy. — The forms of marriage so far described are characterized by the social status of the partners to the union. The varieties now to be considered arise from the marriage of one person who enters 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 is not in most parts of the world, it is very rarely, if ever, practised 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 in vino, 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 Eddyhouse Island in the Solomons, where a second wife could be given to men who have taken ten heads in war.
Polynynous unions differ considerably in the degree of social differentiation accompanying the union. The different wives may live together in one house or in separate houses. Sometimes one wife is superior to the rest, and her children differ from those of other wives in social status—a condition which passes insensibly into the distinction between marriage and concubinage. 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 is not a marriage, but 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 wife of one man who marries a woman of marriageable age having the right to take 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 India and its neighbourhood, and it also occurs in a definite form in the Marquesas Islands and among the Bahama and Batake, Banta peoples of Africa. In ancient times it has been recorded among the Zulus, Bobo, Patu, and Gaanches, but our information about these 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 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 eldest son of a family marries, 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 cibisbei rather than husbands 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 Pust (hell). A similar practice has been recorded elsewhere, as among the Ostiaks and Ossossians. In Melanesia a man and his wife or wives might share a wife or wives in common, but this was almost certainly part of a system of communal marriage, and it is probable that this is also the true nature of some or all of the other cases of the triunity 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 different husbands in order of age, but it is certainly not true of the Todas, who were once credited with this practice. Among these people there is no need for any special ascription of the children to different husbands when these are brothers, owing to their common habitation and their common possession of property. It is only when the husbands are not brothers that the necessity arises, and then fatherhood is determined by a ceremonial act performed on the seventh month of pregnancy, the man who performs 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 possibly elsewhere, 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 has also been 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 lively controversy between different 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 that cases occur which conform to this definition. This form of union is found among the Todas, for instance, but there it seems to have arisen as a combination of polygyny with polyandry. 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 be 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 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 cibisbei.

The recorded case which seems most to deserve the name of group-marriage is that of the Ngara-bana (Urabannna) of Central Australia. It is stated that, among these 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 adjoining people, the Dieri. The Dieri have a definite term for individual marriage, viz. tippa-malku; this exists side by side with the piruwa-unions, which is certainly one in which a group of men and women have the right to sexual relations with one another. The Ngarabana have consorts called pirauagaru, who evidently correspond with the piruwa of the Dieri, and the relations between the Ngarabana men and women who call one another appu-wu-du, therefore, seem to correspond with the tippa-malku union of the Dieri, except that they are group-relations, 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 appu which seems to correspond with tippa among the Ngarabana. In order to reach a positive decision on the matter, however, we should like to be thoroughly informed about the exact social relations which exist between children 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 be of considerable size. This case is, now at any rate, confined 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 individual 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. Seligman1 among the Massim of New Guinea, in which all the members of a brotherhood who were called another eriam have marital rights over the wives of the eriam.

11. Concubinage and Cicisbism.—Reference has already been made to the difficulty of distinguishing these conditions from marriage. The most convenient use of the word ‘concubine’ would be to denote a woman with whom sexual relations are permitted, although the union does not involve fatherhood. Similarly, the term cisisbe would be most conveniently used of the male partner in a similar union. If the terms were used in this sense, the pirauaga of the Dieri and Ngarabana would be concubines or cicisbians. The distinction would be especially applicable in such a case as that of the Todas, whose mokkothewoi would be distinguished as cicisbe from the husbands proper, there being the important difference between the two that the mokkothewoi partnership is not subject to the law of endogamy which regulates the polyandrous marriage. The mokkothewoi never obtains the status of father to his partner’s children except in those cases in which he is the same endogamous group as an expectant mother whose husband is dead or missing. He is called upon to perform the ceremony which sanctions the 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 father, sometimes even with full rights of inheritance and succession (cf. art. CONCUBINAGE [Introductory]).

12. Marriage and sexual 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 social system. People among whom marriage is a social institution of the most definite kind may vary greatly in their attitude towards the sexual relations of married persons. All gradations can be found between peoples who regard any sexual relations other than those between husband and wife as a heretical 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 due to the nature of these 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 been transgressed, will nevertheless allow others access to their consent is asked, or will offer no objection if relations with other men form part of the satiralia or other occasions when relaxation of the ordinary moral rules is allowed.

The chief modes of departure 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 a wife in return 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.—Peoples differ greatly in their attitude towards 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 infanticide (cf. EJ 1911 ii. 689, 689a), and the testing of chastity may form an important part of the marriage ceremony, the failure of this test leading to annulment of the marriage or depriving the relatives of the woman of the bride-price or other benefits which they would otherwise receive if the marriage.

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 preliminary to, and occasion for, marriage. In addition to the forms of marriage dependent upon the social status 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 the union takes place.

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

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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 Sanskrit words devata and beema, but in the above terms, first proposed by N. W. Thomas, are now generally used. It is to be noticed that in the case of the patriarchal and matriloclal forms occur in which the man goes to live at his wife’s home for a time, the case being closely related to that mode of obtaining a wife in which a man has, for a period of a few 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 visit to the wife’s home is of so short a duration that it is probably only a survival in ceremony of a former condition of matriloclal marriage. Still another condition is that which occurs among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in which the wife returns 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 indistinct. Infant marriage is solemnized as husbands or wives when very young or even before they are born, but it is only when ceremonies are performed or transactions carried through which are of a legal 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, the process is often one 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 many who regard the case as one of the conditions which seem 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 or friend. 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 parties 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 relatives and friends take part in the pecuniary transactions which so often accompany marriage; but in intimate cases between the patriarcal and matriloclal forms occur in which the man goes to live at his wife’s home for a time, the case being closely related to that mode of obtaining a wife in which a man has, for a period of a few 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 visit to the wife’s home is of so short a duration that it is probably only a survival in ceremony of a former condition of matriloclal marriage. Still another condition is that which occurs among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in which the wife returns to the home of her parents in order to give birth to her children.

17. Marriage by purchase. — In most parts of the world marriage is accompanied by pecuniary transactions. In some cases payment is 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 relatiess that is Ghurta, while in others it is 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 transference of the bride-price or dowier.

Sometimes the payments made for a wife or husband may be so large as to form a definite impediment to marriage. They may 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 property distributes the payments over 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 on which the marriage is renewed.

Among people 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.

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 bride-price; but there is no reason 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. — This kind of marriage, which has become common in some cases in the Bible, and which is known as marriage by service in the OT, is probably not very common, and, as already mentioned (§14), passes insensibly into the matriloclal 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 become the custom to connive at their infraction by taking a lenient view of elopement. 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. In still other cases it may be a means of escape from the obstacles to marriage due to the bride-price.

21. Marriage by capture. — This form of marriage has aroused great interest in consequence of the idea of McLennan that, at one period of the history 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 conflict for the possession of the bride or features which may be interpreted as survivals of this process. It is very doubtful, however, whether any people can actually obtain wives from without their tribe, 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 custom of marrying relatives, which gave certain parents a vested interest in the women of their own community. The custom 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 this form of marriage in which the cousin had a proscriptive right to the bride.

It is probable that many of the other customs which have been regarded as survivals of the capture of women from hostile tribes are rather the results of a social condition in which it was 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 are especially frequent where marriage is contracted with little or no ceremonial, and these cases are the inescapable result of trials before marriage on the one hand and into trials and frequent change of divorce on the other. A union should be called a trial marriage only if there is a definite ceremony entered upon with the condition that the union shall be annulled if it is not fruitful 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 functions may take on very definite and well-established forms. Prominent among these is the custom of avoidance (see Kin, Kinship, III. 9) between a married person and his or her parents-in-law. The restrictions on contact 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 even to meet 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 relationship of a man to his wife's father. 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. In some places, certainly, and probably everywhere, these social and ceremonial functions are definitely associated with the idea of the likelihood of sexual relations between those who avoid one another, but the occurrence of similar customs of avoidance between persons of the same sex 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 duties on the part of these relatives towards one another — duties which may be summed up as those of mutual helpfulness. This is especially the case with the relationship of brother-in-law. Sometimes the duty of helping one another goes so far that a man may visit another's house, the property of his brother-in-law. Sometimes the men must defend one another in case of danger, while the presence of the relatives on different sides may put an end 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 help may very possibly be explained as having grown out of the relations which arise when marriages habitually take place between hostile peoples, or they may be the result of the marriages which form part of the process of fusion of two peoples.

24. Marriage ceremonial. — The rites accompanying 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 kind, prolonged over weeks or months. In the lower forms of culture the ceremonial of marriage is, in general, scanty, especially where it is the custom to marry relatives. Its greatest complexity, on the other hand, is reached in India, south-eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, the elaboration in these regions certainly the result of Hindu influence. It is possible to distinguish certain main varieties of ceremonial. Putting on one side feasting and adornment as the expression of aesthetic motives natural to any important event in social life, we find a number of ceremonies which are connected with the economic side of marriage. Such is the transmission of objects from the friends of one partner to those of the other which form the bride-price or dowry. In some parts of the world, as in Melanesia, the transactions of this kind are numerous and complicated and form nearly the whole of the ceremonial. Sometimes, however, these transactions have aspects which suggest a religious character, especially in the customs of exchange which are so prominent in the ceremonies of Polynesia, Melanesia, and some N. American 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 joining of hands and the tying together of garments. Allied to these are the acts which seem
to show the superior status of one or other partner to the union. Thus the seniority of the bridegroom may be symbolized by presenting him with a white cloth round his neck or a gold ring round his ears, and possibly the 
\textit{tali} in India and the use of the wedding ring of our own culture may have had a similar meaning. Elsewhere, as in Morocco, the bride may be given gifts, 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, drink, kneel, or march round a fire. Other rites, such as that of pouring rice or 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 the marriage in itself is a part of a general custom of performing ceremonies at any transition from one period of life to another—something like passage de l'\textit{rites de passage} of F. A. van Genep. Another motive may be the idea of danger accompanying marriage, to which reference may be made in the following passage from a work on which so great an effect has been ascribed by Crawley.\footnote{Rites de passage, Paris, 1909.}

Among features dependent on ideas of this kind may be mentioned the prolonged period which often has to elapse before consummation of the marriage is allowed, and the frequent customs according to which husband and wife are not allowed to see one another before a certain stage in the ceremonial. Many rites of purification, the assumption of new garments, and such disguises as dressing in the clothes of 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 sanction 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, nevertheless.

Among most 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 be recognized, the men who make up the body of the other classes (chiefly women) proceed to pass more and more into the hands of a class of persons especially set aside for the performance of this and other religious functions.

25. Marriage in animate 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 form 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 form of marriage is the belief in the unlikeliness of certain numbers. Thus, to counteract the belief that a second marriage is unlucky, a widower may marry an innumerable host of women, each of whom is his second marriage. It is probable also, that marriage to a tree may, in some cases, especially where this forms a part of a larger marriage 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 dead bachelors seems to have been a feature of ancient Aryan culture (ZBE ii. 22). The Aryan practice seems to have been the usual, or it is the custom of killing the wife on the death of her husband, and to have had as its motive the desire to provide the man with a wife in the afterlife. We do not know how 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 their 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, widows are killed as part of the funeral ceremonies of their husbands, and there is reason to suppose that there is a connexion between this practice and the total prohibition of re-marriage, at least to which reference has been made in the last chapter. The latter practice is often found in the neighbourhood of places where the killing of widows on the death of the husband is or has been practised. Two cases where the association occurs are India and the Solomon Islands, and the connexion of the two practices is supported in the latter locality by the fact that widows undergo a period of seclusion after death, with features suggesting that the seclusion is intended to represent a ceremonial period of 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 limited 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 text refers only to cases in which a man marries his deceased 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 right over 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 institution 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, 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.
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 Soudan have a custom according to which a widow without male offspring who is beyond the age of child-birth will purchase a girl and marry her adult. Child-birth by this girl to her dead husband. Again, where there is a need for male offspring, especially to perform religious rites, a man without sons may call on his brother or his relative for a kinship bond by being taken as his wife's husband. 

39. 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 other beliefs concerning marriage and 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 of 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 theory of the group-marriage stands on a different footing. Whether the communist unions of different parts of the world be regarded as marriage or not, there is no question that such unions exist, and it is apparent that they have been more general in the past than they are at the present time. The nature of the classification system of relationship is most naturally explained by our original classification of societies. 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 universal or nearly universal, or even universal, it would remain possible, if not probable, that it is not a primitive condition, but only represents a stage in the evolution of human society. It may be that the reason to believe that mankind originally lived in small groups, perhaps consisting only of parents and children, the original state would have been monogamy, and, if so, the wide prevalence of communist forms of marriage is the result of the exclusion of factors which came into action as the social group increased in size. Even if the classificatory system be found in communist 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 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 passage that we have on the subject (Cesar, de Bell. Gall. vi. 19) the plural usores is certainly due to the plural eviri. At the time of Gaul's last struggle against the Romans every Gaul bound himself by a sacred oath neither to enter his house again after the death of his relatives, or wife (usorem, vii. 66) until he had ridden twice through the enemy's lines. We know that, as in other places, the wife (usor) brought a dowry, but the husband also added 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 Dumnorix; and the latter had his mother wedded to a noble of the Bituriges, and married his sister and other female relations to the other. (i. § 9, 18). The wife's position, then, was very much superior to that of a slave. Plutarch relates that, before the Gauls had crossed the Alps, the women reconciled the opposing parties by a terrible civil war, and ever after the Celts continued to admit their wives to their council when deliberating on peace and war, and to let the disputes with their allies be ruled by their wives' judgment. As agreement was made, later, between Hannibal and the Celts that, if the Celts had any grievances against the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian generals would judge, and, if the Carthaginians had any complaints against the Celts, the case would be judged by the wives of the Celts (de Mut. Virt. 6; cf. Polyeuctus, vii. 50). The numerous stories handed down to us by the ancients about the women of the Celts—Chilmarus (Polyb. xxii. 21), Caunna (Plut. de Phil. Virt. 30), Lenus (Tac. Hist. iv. 67), Gyptis (Athen. xiii. 35; Justin, xili. 3)—seem to prove that the Celtic wife was not the passive being that the wife has remained among most barbarous people to this day, who often gives her the title of mater familias, relates nevertheless that, when a powerhul of birth was about to die, his relations assembled, and, if there was any suspicion in connexion with his death, they cross-examined his wife to see how far the evidence was proved, they put her to death by fire and all kinds of torments. But there is really nothing more in this than the exercise of the power

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of life and death which the paterfamilias had over his wife as well as his children (vi. 19).

2. Ancient Britain and Ireland.— Among the ancient Britons the wife of a man belonged to the man who had married the woman first (Cesar, de Bell. Gall. v. 14). Women were common property also in Caledonia ( Dio Cass. Ixxvi. 12; cf. lxi. 6). In Ireland, it is stated, it was quite a natural thing for men to have intercourse with the wives of other men, with their mothers, or their sisters (Strabo, iv. v. 4; cf. Jerome, in Joann. ii. 7), but we find a much more advanced social state among the Irish and Britons described in the ancient epics and the collections of laws and customs.

3. Medieval Ireland.— In Ireland, although the wife might bring all her own personal belongings (fínol) with her, it was the husband first of all who proportioned her to her position and payable on the dowry, consisted of metals (gold, silver, copper, brass), clothing, or cattle; sometimes it consisted in some condition to be fulfilled by the future husband. In Ireland, marriage was generally a sort of sale, for the laws stipulate that the wife’s father has a right to the whole dowry for the first year, to two-thirds the second year, half the third year, and so on, his share decreasing until the twenty-first year, when the debt is cancelled; during all this time the wife has control of what remains of her dowry each year. As a rule, marriages were celebrated by preference on the first days of August, at the time of the Pair of Tailtinn, or in the month of November. Polygamy seems to have been practised, perhaps as an exception, a little before the Christian era. In any case, if it was very uncommon to have several wives of the free class, a king often had one or more concubines of a servile class in addition to his lawful wife (etmuiniter, ‘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 that was left her or what she brought 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 (agueddy) equal to half of what her brother would have (gwsadd), and articles for her own use (argy-fren); she received from her husband a present proportion to her position and payable on the morning after the consummation of the marriage (conwyll). The conditions of separation depended on how long the union had lasted. If it had continued for periods of seven years all but two days, 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 conwyll. Polygamy was not forbidden. Postmarriage seems to have been less wide-spread 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 consuedd, ‘face-price’. It was often property in land. Cf. also artt. CHIL/REN (Celtic), ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic), POSTMARITAL.


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 (Mt 19, Mk 10) implies that the perfect ideal of marriage is sufficiently declared in the passages in Genesis which precedes to record the original institution of the holy estate of matrimony ( Gn 2:24.) 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 teachings of the NT, and is for the most 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 dealings on the subject of divorce, which probably represent sayings uttered on different occasions, but which are, at any rate, all to the same purport: divorce is in itself sinful and inconsistent with the original divine institution of marriage.

In the Epistles we have a number of practical instructions 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 Greco-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-marital 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 would quote as distinctly forbidding polygamy, 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 laws on the subject, it does in the religion of the gospel have done inestimable service, not only in restoring and preserving preci-
MARRIAGE (Christian)

the natural characteristics of the sexes must involve a certain superiority and controlling power on the man's side in the marital duties and responsibilities. This result is the direct outcome of the teaching of the NT.

(3) The union of the sexes has been purified, and the happiness of the married life has been realized by the absolute prohibition of every kind of extramontial connexion. Such connexions were regarded with absolute indifference by the Greeks, and, in consequence, the temporary connexion with the tropis, was, commonly, considered more highly valued than the legitimate marriage, to the manifest injury of the home life and the status of the lawful wife. By the Romans, it may be said, such connexions, though not so highly 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 horrified at the prevailing tone of thought in the Gentile world and would imibes something of the very lax principles of morality current in their day. All such connexions are emphatically condemned, as also of

(4) The gospel emphatically condemned divorce as essentially sinful. In ancient Rome divorce was regarded as in some sense dishonourable, and therefore undesirable. For five hundred and twenty years it was boasted that divorce was unknown in Rome (Val. Max. i. 1), and the very bitterness with which the satirists denounced the laxity of their time in this matter shows that the old ideas 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 coming to be looked upon with the utmost indifference as a commonplace fact in ordinary social life.

The Jews had no doubt as to the lawfulness of divorce (cf. art. 'Divorce', in JE EV. [1903] 624-628), and it is probable that Mt 19:10 most truly represents the form of their question to our Lord. They desired to have His opinion, not on 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 or analogue of the mystical union of Christ with His Church (Eph 5:22-24) 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 a twain, but one flesh. This idea 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 entire community of life, goods, and rights of ownership. This may be very desirable, and possibly even necessary; but it is not a 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 some such idea was in the
mind of the Apostle. The idea may not seem altogether absurd to a modern metaphysician; but the undertaking was 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 matrimony is, essentially, that sacramental view of marriage which was authoritatively defined in the Church of the Middle Ages; and it is still the accepted doctrine of the Roman and Eastern churches, and which has had important practical consequences for Christian thought and Christian life.

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 those 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 notice 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 all events, accompanied by religious rites and ceremonies. The solemnization of marriage was regarded by the ancients as something peculiar to the Christian Church. In fact, there is not a single feature in the marriage-services of the Christian communities that cannot be traced back to the apostles, to the nuptial ceremonies of the Roman Empire or, in the other hand, the form 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 upon so important a contract as marriage without the advice and approval of the whole congregation. This is implied in the words of Ignatius:

"Sea μαρτυρον ο εκκλησία παγκόσμιον και το το γινόμενον, μετά μηναλό το εκκλησίαν το τον Χριστόν συνεχιζε, η τα γινόμενα τα εκκλησίαν και μου προσφερέσθαι (Ep. ad Polycarpus, v).

It is inexcusable, 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 solemn religious functions. 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 century onwards, shows that what we should now describe as civil marriages were not unknown, perhaps were not uncommon, but at the same time were strongly disconcerted 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 upon their union.

From the 5th cent. onwards, we may observe that 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. 902 Charlemagne prohibited marriage without benediction (Gal. vii. 383) and that so late as A.D. 900 Leo the Philosopher issued a similar edict (Novel. 89), that purely civil marriages were very common up to the end of the 9th c. is still that which is 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. 1563, 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, clearly expresses 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 good only in those countries in which the decrees of the Council have been published.

In the Eastern Church the Confession of Peter Mogias of Kieff (A.D. 1640), 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-celebrations in the Christian world for hundreds of years past contain elements derived from two sources, viz. the eponymia, the ancient ceremony of betrothal, and the uspiere, or marriage-ceremony proper. The solemn troth-plight, the joining of hands, and the giving and receiving of a ring or rings with certain gifts of money—the arrea, pledge of the dowry—were the principal features of the betrothal ceremony. 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 distinctively Christian addition to the ancient ceremonies, yet even this may have been solemnly sanctified by a special benediction. The ancient custom of the ancient church in the celebration of an absolutely indisputable marriage. The reference to the demand for ten witnesses in St. Ambrose 2 would naturally suggest the confarreation. Old customs are often preserved in an imperfect fashion even when they have become obsolete (see MARriage [Roman]).

1 The following passages may be referred to as bearing out the view here presented: Clem. Alex. Ped. III. 11, Strom. iv. 20; Tert. ad Ombr. II. 9; de Pudicitia (this passage is worth quoting in full: "Ideo pecus non, consulis opus est non prudens, ecclesiasticum profanum, in usquechatrinum inducere pecuniam. Nunc consecratus est, nunquam non consecratus matrimonii crimine sündum."); Ambrose, Ep. xiv. 7, condemning mixed marriages with unbelievers, which the Church censured, but could not wholly prevent in the earlier church. If the bishop of Poitiers, Ep. x. v; Basil, Ep. xvii.; cassii 60, etc.

2 Sam 21:14. This passage may, of course, simply refer to the old Roman custom by way of example.
There is no express evidence that the veiling of the bride formed part of the Roman ceremonies of betrothal; it seems rather to have been confined to the Eastern Church. Tertullian's time, however, it was a betrothal ceremony among Christians, the bride continuing to wear the betrothal veil from the time of the betrothal to the wedding-day. Probably, therefore, it was abolished as a ceremony in the Eastern Church. 

A passage in Tertullian would seem to imply that the giving of a ring, though it was a harmless custom, was not practised by Christians in his day (de Idolol. xvi.). This may have been the case, but the whole of the 4th and 5th centuries were said to have been Christian, and the marriage customs of the early Christians, but the universal custom of the Church from the 4th cent. onwards would seem to show that the giving of the ring had always been generally practised.

The crowning of the bride and bridegroom was condemned by Tertullian as implying acknowledgment of heathen deities. Yet it continued to be commonly practised in the Western Church long after his time. In the Eastern Church it prevailed 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. The sacraments and signs of marriage were simply regarded as distinct ceremonies, between which 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. 865 [PL cxix. 960]), in which he treats of the marriage customs of the Western Church. It is, however, most probable that from much earlier times the two ceremonies had been generally combined in practice. Formal speculations were not required by Roman law, and were frequently omitted. In such cases 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 the first part 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 the apostolic Church held marriage below the level of clerical life, or that the apostles were to be preferred, in the sight of God, to the pain and the discipline of the married life. Nor does the NT give any support to the doctrine of the 3rd cent. that the ascetic view should have a firm hold on the Christian Church and should have speedily become the predominant and, in fact, universally accepted view. The rise of the monasticism and the admiration aroused by the devotion of the monks and also, from the middle of the 4th cent., the intensified worldliness of the new fashionable Church would naturally free the spirit of the ascetic ideal. The command, 'Love not the world' (1 John 2:15), had to find some new interpretation when the world was no longer a professedly heathen world, but a community of nominal Christians. The doctrine of the earlier Gnostics, Basilidians, Saturninians, Encratites, and of the Manicheans, of the essential sinfulness of conjugal union was, of course, formally condemned, but in the extravagant landings of virginity in the writings of St. Jerome, and even the more moderate utterances of St. Augustine, the disparagement of the married state sometimes approaches very closely to the views of those heretics. In 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 marriage.

It was not until the Reformation of the 16th cent. that any serious attempt was made to vindicate the claims of healthy home life and happy marriage to a position of equality with the virgin state. In Luther's eyes all monastic vows were essentially sinful (de Votis monasticis, 1521), and, in general, the Reformers maintained a similar position. The question of the superiority of virginity became an essential point of controversy between the Roman Catholics and their opponents, and the Council of Trent (esss. 24, can. x.) condemned with anathema the doctrine of the equality of the married state with, or its superiority over, the state of celibacy. The objection to second marriages, which were discouraged by the Church and absolutely forbidden by the Montanists, 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 enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy. 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 prominent. Hitherto the Church had held that clerics, like other Christian men, might be married or not, according to their discretion. Those who held the essential superiority of the celibate life would naturally consider that the clergy, as especially belonging to the class of holy persons, should be unmarried. At all events, in the 3rd cent. it came to be recognized that, as each man should 'abide in that state wherein he was called' (1 Cor. 7:29), the clergy should not contract marriage after their ordination. Decisions to this effect are found in the canons of some local synods, though the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) made an exception in the case of deacons, who, because of their ordination, should inform the bishop if they intended to marry. From this position it was a natural step to the view that after ordination clerics should cease to maintain consensual relations with wives previously known, relations which could scarcely have been put forth except by a council of celibates. The Council of Elvira (Illibri; A.D. 305) laid down this rule under penalty of deprivation. The ecumenical Council 1

1 In some of his letters, e.g. Letter to Pope Liberius, 360, J. H. M.'s view of the question of love was quite different. J. H. M. thought that it was possible to love another man, and that this was not opposed to the practice of the Church.
of Nicea (A.D. 325) was restrained from passing a similar ordinance only by the emphatic protest of the Martyr Confessor Paphnutius, who pleaded earnestly for the former order in 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. The first letter of Pope Hilary of Poitiers (c. xiii. 1132 ff.), described by H. H. Milman 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 contended for as a right by the secular clergy. Even after the 11th-century crusade of Hildegard (1009-88), the 'scandal,' as it was considered, of 'clerical concubinage' maintained its existence here and there, though it was probably never after Hildegard'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 Council of Constantinople (in Trullo; A.D. 692) 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 was compelled either to become a deaconess 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 congeries of societies claiming a right and duty to exercise moral superintendence and discipline over individual members. Church law and ecclesiastical jurisdiction are, then, no late outgrowth or corruption of primitive Christianity. They are, in the very nature of things, a part of the very essence of the Church. It was inevitable that in the Apostolic Age such questions connected with marriage should arise as would be considered matters 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 to the approval of the bishop has already been quoted.

Now it is 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 in the Church may claim an additional, if not a paramount, place, in the highest interests of religion and morality. Experience shows that there must ever be a possibility of conflict between the two jurisdictions. The Church has its own laws, and the State has its own, and it is sometimes difficult to reconcile both. The Church may claim to regulate the marriage of its members; the State must regulate the marriage of all in its country. Experience shows that there must be a conflict between the two jurisdictions, and that, consequently, difficulties in practice may often result.

The question whether a law or supposed law of the Church must really be received as a divine ordinance. So long as the Church was a small and odious body in the state, its opinion did not much matter whether it regulated the discipline of its members, but as the church grew in power and influence, so the regulations for the discipline of its members came into conflict with the general laws. It was in this way that some of the ecclesiastical authorities, though even then we have reason to believe that Church censures were sometimes delayed or evaded when the Church was in conflict with the state, that the state was in conflict with the Church; but in many cases the Church had to submit 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 laws of the Church were more often than not flouted by the laity; 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 jurisdiction 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 magistracy as against the extravagant claims of the medieval 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 Church censure or other social 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 the teaching of the gospel should be obeyed, and that a man, such as the Apostle Paul, should be obeyed as to the one thing, and, for instance, as to the other thing. 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 things were moral or not, and to consider 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 that it was for the Church to impose any regulations which it pleased, without any control by 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 severance 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 'legal separation,' 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 and reformation to the more complete divortium a vinculo nutritum. It has been universally admitted that adultery and, perhaps, some other grave offences justify the separation of man and wife. Such separation is, indeed, contrary to the Christian ideal of a monogamous marriage; but under the new dispensation, as under the old, it is necessary for the hardness of men's hearts in this imperfect world to make provision for occasions when both partners are professing Christians and those in which one is an unbeliever or a heretic. These and similar questions have from century to century occupied the attention of Christian teachers and legislators.

The teaching of our Lord on this subject, as it has come down to us, is found in four passages in the Synoptic Gospels, viz. Mt 19:1-9, Mr 10:1-12, and Lk 16:18. In Mark and Luke the prohibition of divorce and re-marriage is absolute and unqualified; in Matthew the qualifications "saving for the cause of fornication," except for fornication, are added. Roman Catholic divines and those Anglicans who adopt the stricter view maintain that, as each Gospel must be taken in and by itself as authoritative, the passages in Mark must be accepted as the decisive rule for Christians, while the qualified statement in Matthew must be understood as merely giving sanction to separation: a mena et thorh in case of adultery.

On the other hand, it is contended that the ordinary rules of exegesis require us to interpret the unqualified statements in Mark and Luke by the fuller and more balanced statement in Matthew, so that we must not take each Gospel as an independent entity, but must compare one with another. According to what Christ really taught. Moreover, it is contended that, when He spoke about divorce, our Lord must have had in mind the complete severance of the marriage-bond, since that was the only meaning His hearers could possibly attach to the word. It is pointed out that the sayings in Mark and Luke are simply ordinary examples of the method of the great Prophet, who was accustomed to set forth broad principles in an absolute extreme form, leaving it to His people to apply His teachings with all the necessary qualifications in the manner of legislation to their individual cases and needs. That this principle has always been recognised in the interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount without in the least detracting from the supreme importance of that great utterance cannot well be denied. Our Lord was, in fact, a prophet rather than a legislator. Hence it is maintained that the passage in Matthew may be taken as a fuller expression of the Lord's mind than the briefer passages in the other Gospels, that we have His exhortations, from which He has since accepted without qualification. The purpose of marriage, as of all Christian institutions, is the service of God, and to this end, the Christian may undertake the duties of the marriage relation more closely than any other offence, yet it may fairly be said that there are other things which may make marriage life so intolerable, and the ground upon which it is unnecessary to insist 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 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 spirit of affection has been absolutely destroyed, the real viculum 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.

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 acknowledged that the recent higher criticism of the Synoptic Gospels has thrown a new light upon the matter, and to a certain extent, strengthened the case of those who condemn divorce absolutely. The writings of many competent critics are of opinion that the qualification, except for the cause of fornication, formed part of our Lord's teaching (e.g., A. B. Bruce, H. Weiss, H. H. Wende, P. W. Schmidt, B. W. Bacon, C. G. Monetière), and that He forbade divorce simply and absolutely. The four passages are reduced to two. The passage Lk 16:18, probably derived from the source Q, may be regarded as the original and genuine form which has been altered by the first editor. 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, 2 Edinburgh, 1912, ad loc.).

If the modern critical view is granted, it, will, no doubt, be admitted that the case of those who absolutely condemn divorce will be somewhat strengthened, but it is not likely that the existing state of opinion on the whole will be very much affected. The acceptance of this view will simply bring into greater prominence the fact that questions of this kind have never really 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, саpеко тогон ирον ирoен и мω τι εις ирοειν (19), 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  

Augustine frequently expressed the idea of the wider interpretation of "fornication." Саpеко тогон ирον ирoен и мω τι εις ирοειν, сε ειδους иρον сε εις ирοειν, сε εις иροειν τον εμον 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 See Pope, L. 372 (19); μω τι εις ирοειν (19).

2 W. C. Allen, though holding the critical view, yet protests, in letters to The Guardian (lxv. [1910] 20, 295, 286, 1782), against making use of any directly to the Lord's teaching, and justifies the use of the NT as received by the Church. J. Keene, in his pamphlet, "An Argument for not Proceeding immediately to repeal the law which prohibits adultery," (1837), attempted to support the stricter view on the ground that the NT had no hesitation in making special provisions only for the Jews of Christ's own time, and were not to apply to Christians, for whom the absolute prohibitions were intended. This view does not seem to have met with much approval, and is not now advanced.
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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 is nothing, however, to indicate that, when he speaks of a separation between wife and husband, he had this particular case in mind. Many by nature, in the spirit and mind of his mind. The presumption 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 those cases may be subject to the case of separation for conjugal insolvency, we may feel sure that, if he had done so, the Apostle would have approved of the counsel given in the Shepherd of Hermas.

If a husband who divorced his wife was forbidden by the law to take her back; but it is characteristic of the gospel to give prominence to the possibility of repentance; and so the law says that 'he who has put away his unbelieving wife to remain unmarried (ℓανθανόντως) so that the sinner might have an opportunity for repentance with consequent restoration (Mold. iv. 1).

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, the wife may consent to the marriage, 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 7:3 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., Decretalès Gregorii, iv. 19, de Divortiis,' ch. 7.

The canons of the Roman Catholic Church unqualifiedly forbade marriage, 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., habitual breach, deserts, any 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 most 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 from the time of marriage, and at least temporary cohabitation. Yet, while the civil laws permitted re-marriage, it is evident that all the eloquence of the Fathers could not entirely prevent it. In a general way, it is probable that the average lay opinion did not generally approve of the excessive rigidity of what we may call the ecclesiastical view. The Eastern Church, however, has, from the time of the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, been much more dependent on the civil power, and, as a natural consequence, more subject to the influence of lay opinion, than the Church of the West, where the power of the ecclesiastical authorities was much unfeigned.

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 teaching. St. Jerome, and yet, even up to the 12th cent., when the present canon law of the Roman Church was finally formulated, it is evident, from a careful study of the various decrees of synods and councils, that it was not possible in practical life to carry out the principle of the absolute indissolubility of marriage.

Re-marriage in certain cases is permitted implicitly or explicitly by the following Councils: Elvira (IIIibera, c. 305), Vannes (445), Agde (506), Orleans (533), Compiègne (750), and Bourges (1031); to these we may add the testimony of the Penitential 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 regarding the matter of the marriage of Constantine to Justian bears witness, indeed, to the growth of Christian influence in the attempts made to limit the grounds for divorce and, in general, to make divorce more difficult. Nevertheless, the law permitting divorce by mutual consent was still in force until the time of Justian, while the grounds on which it might be obtained were numerous enough. Under the legislation of Theodosius the Great and Valentinian a wife might divorce her husband for (1) treason, (2) adultery, (3) homicide, (4) poisoning, (5) violating sepulchres, (6) forgery, (7) stealing from a church, (8) robbery, (9) cattle-stealing, (10) attempts on her life, (11) introducing immorality; and (12) common assault. A husband might divorce his wife for any of the above cases, and also for (13) dining with men not relatives without her husband's permission, (14) going from home at night without permission or reasonable cause, and (15) frequenting circus or theatre without permission; to which Justian 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 position upon the conscience of the individual 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. Cosin and H. Hammond, are 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 comprehensible union based on 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 brother 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 the marriage bond may rupture the nuptial 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...
that, since separation 'a mensa et thoro' was permitted, it was more conducive to morality and more in accordance with the teaching of 1 Co 7 th that an innocent partner should be allowed the right of re-marriage than that temptations to a life of sin 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 a\textsuperscript{b} initio, implying the consequent dissolution of perfectly 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 Doctrines and Discipline of Divorce (1658). The 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, well entitled to say that God has joined together mense et thoro, 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 constitute such a joining together. 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 subjected the doctrine that marriage could be dissolved if pushed 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 is permitted to those who are not members of the Roman Catholic Church. France is an exception. The Code Napoléon (1804-10) restricted the unlimited licence which had been permitted in the earlier years of the Revolution, and imposed a period of three years on various grounds, including 'mutual consent.' With the restoration of the monarchy (1816), the older law was again adopted and divorce was forbidden. It was not till 1864 that the Civil Code of the Code Napoléon 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. (Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum) had resulted in legislation, it is probable that the old law of the Common Law, according to which a 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 in the old law died. The Commission appointed to report on the case of the Marquis of Northampton, who, having obtained a separation under the ecclesiastical courts, 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 English practice until the passing of the Divorce Act of 1857. The canons of 1604 (can. 167) confirmed the authority of the ecclesiastical court to grant judicial separation, but only under condition that a definite pledge was given by the parties not to contract a second marriage. Divorce proper with 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 317 cases had been dealt with by Act of Parliament in England and 146 in Scotland.

The Act of 1857 abolished the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in matrimonial cases, and established a civil court for the purpose. In England 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 cruelty or other serious offence on the husband's part must be proved in addition, and where adultery is proved no divorce may be obtained on the ground of adultery alone.

In 1909 a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the whole question of the laws relating to divorce and separation. The Commission, after very careful investigations, extending over two years, published their report in Nov. 1912. No attempt has as yet been made, however—up to the middle of 1915—to give effect to their report by way of legislation. On two points the commissioners were unanimous: if divorce is to be allowed, the method of procedure should be changed by the institution of special courts, so that the divorce should be made, not easy for any class, but 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. The majority of 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, inordinate insolence after five years' confinement, and imprisonment for a term of ten years. No attempt was made to limit death sentence; but a strong 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) Inasmuch as Our Lord's words expressly forbid divorce except in cases of fornication or adultery, the Christian Church cannot recognize divorce in any other than the excepted cases, 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) 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) That, recognizing the fact that there has always been a difference of opinion in the Church on the question whether Our Lord meant to beet his Marry, the case of a divorce for adultery, the Conference recommends that the clergy should not be instructed to refuse the sacraments and other privileges of the Church to those who have been divorced on this ground, and that such persons may be married. These resolutions were reaffirmed by the Conference of 1908, with the addition of a clause that the clergy should not refuse the sacraments to any person who has by means of a court of law divorced a spouse for adultery, and desire to enter into another contract of marriage, it is undesirable that such a contract should receive the blessing of the Church.'

The increase of wealth and luxury, and the growth of a spirit of self-indulgence so characteristic of the present age, together with the widely spread
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intellectual unrest, tend to encourage the demands for a wider extension of the facilities for divorce. Impatience with the formalities and a certaindistaste for 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 Christian societies have come to recognize, and which the frequency of divorce must have a degrading effect upon individual character as well as upon 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 have not been wholly shaken off.

We shall never again be able to regard divorce with the same easy indifference with which it was commonly regarded in the 1st cent. of our era. Christian influence will make us feel on behalf of the Christian view of marriage, not in the modern world in the way of conciliating decrees and authoritative edicts, but by the weight of Christian public opinion guided by the principles of the NT.

(1) 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 it may be.

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 be 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 habeat ex ore ex omnium fidum comum in habet, non concubinatium quod est in eam ex ore ex omnium comum, in habet, communis non repulsit tamen tamquam sibi umbra nullius servit ut non componatur, ut nisi prius commovatur, sine placuit, sine concubinatio consensu.' (1st Consilium of Toledo [c. 400, can. 17].)

'Christianos non dicam plurimas sed duas simul habere libertatem sin, nisi unan tamquam aut oxum aut caro loco utique et consortes obiectus legum.' (Iudicis, ep. Gratian, Dis. 4, quoted by B. G. Alexander, Hist. Eccl., Lyons, 1784, l. 90.)

(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 called to continue such a marriage was holy, i.e. right in the sight of God, if his unbelieving partner decided to dissolve the union. If the unbeliever decided to divorce the reason given, namely, '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 (see, for St. Paul's use of terms 'bondage' and 'liberty,' ch. 7).

In the question of mixed marriages where the marriage was entered into before conversion the Church took a different view. In the case of a couple where both parties were Christians, and both were free-born, the Church regarded such a marriage as valid, for both parties were free, and in the absence of a priest in a Roman Catholic place of worship, the man being further obliged to guarantee that children born of the marriage shall be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. Marriage otherwise 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 tenere' decree (1907) has given rise to much controversy. Roman Catholic divorce defies 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 continue to be entered into 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, admittedly, been guilty of no irregular 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 education in a particular way of children to be born is to override the law of the land and the
natural rights of parents, and that such interference is unjustifiable. 1

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Lord Anson. — It was a common complaint with the Reformation and those who sympathized with them that the multiplication of grounds of prohibition of marriage, the custom of nullification in doubtful cases or cases of illegality, and the facility with which decree of nullity of marriage could be obtained had created much uncertainty in the matter of marriage-relations and had been the source of grave scandals. The same objection was expressed in the statute of Henry VIII. for the regulation of marriages (1533–34):

'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 by reason of other prohibition than God's law permitted. Marriages have been brought into such uncertainty whereby no marriage could be so surely knit or bounden but it should be 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 first, the kindred and alliance between godparents 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 prohibition more numerous than in the Western, while at the same time the custom of dispensation commonly practised in the West since the 5th century is unknown in the Eastern Church. In the East two brothers are not allowed to marry two sisters, and a sister, 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 score of affinity within the second degree according to the Western reckoning. No trace of these second degree prohibitions 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 went 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 those 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 vexed question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Such marriages have long been legal and customary 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 1215 and 1351, and nullified 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 1855 declared all such marriages within the prohibited degrees absolutely illegal. After many futile attempts, and in face of very strong opposition, an Act legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister in the United Kingdom was passed. It is the general clause permits clergymen who have a conscientious objection 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 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 1604 to hold that such marriages are ' incestuous and unlawful and altogether null and void' (can. 96). The logical course might seem to be to revise the table of kindred and affinity, but to retain the same or a similar 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 Lv 18, though attempts more 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 Law of Holiness, that a greater number of cases of affinity 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 brother that the same principle may be held to stand good. Further, it is said that the reference to the sin of the Canaanites (Lv 18') shows that the prohibitions are regarded as matters of universal moral obligation 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 prevail, and anything which may tend to destroy it must be regarded as morally injurious and degrading. The emotional 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 so delicate a subject as the marriage relationship. Such are the main arguments by which marriage with a deceased wife's sister may be opposed. It is now worth while to consider 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 status and specially 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 in the Bible, it is implied that such marriage is perfectly lawful (r.18). 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.) excludes marriage from 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 marriage or to the sanctification of social morality from the permission of such marriages in America and in the British colonies. 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 parentaite. The marriage of a man with his step-sister 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 law, a marriage between a woman and her deceased husband's brother, now become the head of the house. That marriage with a deceased husband's brother was not forbidden until moral repulsion, in itself, is shown by the fact that it was declared null 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 parentaite 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, no reason can be given why they should be forbidden. It is further urged that, even if the sacramental theory of marriage be accepted, since the mystic bond is dissolved by death, it may be fairly held that the connexions formed are no longer binding. That a great distinction is made between marriage with a deceased wife's sister and marriage with those closely connected by blood is evident from the fact that the Roman Church freely and frequently grants dispensations for the former, notwithstanding her high sacramental belief.

Some Anglicans, while not prepared to condemn marriage with a deceased wife's sister as absolutely wrong doctrinally, 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 objections, 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 that the same time unjust to Christian people. The majority of Christians have come to regard the nuptial benediction as almost, if not altogether, an essential of the Church, and, hence, 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 sterner aspect of the matter, dwelling exclusively on restraints and prohibitions, and sweeping with a watchful suspicion every form of marriage that they suspected of remoteness from religious observance. Nevertheless, the Scriptural ideal of marriage has maintained its hold in 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 prevent the unbridled indulgence of character and the use of the talents of the world 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 field of human life, 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 marriage is a gift of the Church, a gift of Christ for man's good, and to be a source of blessing. In 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.
MARRIAGE (Greek).—I. General.—The Greeks, as a rule, seem to have entered upon marriage from religious or practical motives rather than on sentimental grounds. The generation of children was, in fact, the recognized main end of marriage, with which went also the desire to obtain a capable housekeeper. Hesiod in the Works and Days speaks of marriage as being "a bond for the sake of children." Compulsory marriage, then, is a mode of marriage, which, as reckoned by the ancient philosophers, was the most reasonable and the most likely to produce a successful home. In the Greek world, marriage was a social institution, and not merely a matter of personal preference. It was a necessary part of the social order, and was regarded as such by the ancient Greeks.

II. Marriages of the Pharaohs.—The marriage of the Pharaohs was a matter of state, and was celebrated with great ceremony. The marriage of Thutmose III and his wife Ahmose was celebrated with much splendor, and was regarded as an event of national importance. The marriage of Akhenaten and his wife Nefertiti was also celebrated with great ceremony, and was regarded as a turning point in the history of Egypt. The marriage of Ramses II and his wife Tanis was also celebrated with much splendor, and was regarded as an event of national importance. In all these marriages, the bride and groom were given a magnificent wedding present, and were attended by a large number of guests.

III. Monogamy.—The Greeks were, in general, monogamous in their marriages. Polygamy was, however, not unknown, and was allowed in certain cases. The most common form of polygamy among the Greeks was the marriage of two or more sisters, or of two or more brothers, or of two or more cousins. This form of polygamy was allowed by the laws of the state, and was regarded as a matter of convenience.

IV. Divorce.—Divorce was allowed in the Greek world, and was regarded as a matter of necessity. The law of divorce was determined by the state, and was subject to the decision of the courts. The grounds for divorce were generally the failure of the marriage, or the misconduct of one of the parties. The procedure for divorce was generally simple, and was subject to the decision of the courts.

V. The Greek Family.—The Greek family was a matter of importance to the Greeks, and was regarded as a matter of religion. The family was regarded as the foundation of the state, and was the basis of all social and political organization. The family was composed of the parents and their children, and was regarded as a matter of necessity. The state was regarded as a matter of convenience, and was subject to the decision of the courts.

VI. The Greek Woman.—The position of the Greek woman was a matter of importance to the Greeks, and was regarded as a matter of necessity. The Greek woman was generally regarded as a matter of convenience, and was subject to the decision of the courts. The Greek woman was generally regarded as a matter of necessity, and was subject to the decision of the courts.
MARRIAGE (Greek)

That concubinage existed at Athens is to a considerable extent cannot be doubted, owing to the influx of free women and their menfolk from the rest of Greece. 

Lysias mentions a law which a husband is to abide with his wife and his adulterous wife caught γυναικείῳ διότι, whether it be with his wife or with another woman, or if her children be illegitimate (Lys. 1. 21). 

Also in a law of Drakon quoted by Dem. 23. 4, there is a law in the Ecclesaiastic code: τὸν νυνίαν ἀνέκνηθον ἀνήλικον ἀνέκνηθον ἀνήλικον τοῖς γυναικείοις. These passages must cover free foreign women, from which class, as well as from that of slaves and foreigners, the majority of νυνίασας at Athens doubtless came. It is clear, however, from 11. 35, that this law did not extend to δακρυματίωσις νυνιῶν (the naturalization of the female children of Athenian fathers, and from other passages that native Athenian women were not equal in such matters to νυνίασας. 

No special laws touching the case of these and giving them privileges over foreign women living in the polis are known. Hence the hypothesis 4 of the existence at Athens of a status of 'legitimate concubinage,' in which an Athenian citizen, already lawfully married, contracted another union with another Athenian woman, who was, like the wife, formally betrothed (γυναικειόν), her children being therefore legitimate, but who nevertheless was not a wife, fails to the geicon, as being simply the assertion of legalized bigamy.

Here also should be mentioned Muler's theory—that after the fall of the usian expedition, probably in 411 B.C., certain changes went into the Athenian law with a view to increasing the number of citizens. His theory is that an Athenian citizen might marry outside the limits of the regular marriage. Marriage in the proper sense could be contracted only with an Athenian woman, but the new legislation permitted a man to take, in addition to his Athenian wife, a partner who was neither γυναικείον nor νυνίασα—"a secondary wife, who was not a wife in the common sense of the term." This Athenian wife, or "co-wife," or secondary wife, might be either a Greek Athenian or foreign woman; her children were entitled to all rights of citizenship, provided that the father had legally adopted them. If the father had left no children by his real wife, these γυναικεία had all rights of inheritance, but had a claim only to half the real estate of the father. It is, in fact, probable that after this law an Athenian man, should he leave no legitimate male children, might have adopted, after his death, his Athenian wife (if she remained his wife), and so leave a legitimate heir. 

The marriage of consuls was common (cf. Dem. xliii. 74); union of uncle and niece was possible (cf. Lys. xxxii. 4, Is. xxxiii. 74), and even of aunt and nephew (case of Demosthenes facing Apollodorus). The custom of betrothing a man, thus living in his death-bed his prospective widow to his nephew (Dem. xxvii. 5). A man might marry his half-sister by the same father, but seemingly not by the same mother. 

Recht hat die Polychyden gewiß nicht ausdrücklich verbieten, aber wahrscheinlich such nicht geradesam erlassen. Das Gesetz enthält keine Bestimmung, und damit war der Wilkelehe. 

The law of Draccon of Thuri, inflicting loss of political rights on a man who gave his concubine to another, is 16, clearly implies universal monogamy (cf. Hrusa, p. 56). 

1 See Buermann, Der Sohn, etc. ("=Jahrbücher für chl. Phil., 1877-78, Supplementband ix. p. 328, 1881; C. Zimmermann, De necorum Atheniensis conditio, Berlin, 1860. 


3 For ἡν τῆς γυναικείας ἂν ἐν ἐχωμεν ἀνεὼς ἀνεὼς γαμητής, 

4 The form γυναικείον was used by Isocrates only in iii. 83: τὸν αὐτῶν τήν αὐτῶν γυναικείον τήν γυναικείον. 

5 The form γυναικείον was used by Isocrates only in iii. 83: τὴν αὐτῶν τῆς γυναικείας τῆς γυναικείας. 

6 Philodemus, El. 18; cf. Dem. xvi. 18; Is. 77, 14; Hyper. iii. (v. 13). 

7 But modern writers have in general agreed that the form γυναικείον in reference to betrothal must be restricted to the form γυναικείον in signum 'pledge' or 'security,' which is, in fact, its ordinary signification. The form γυναικείον (see also R. de Béauvoir, Politik, p. 91 f. and 157) means 'the daughter of the father, and γυναικείον (pass.) the daughter of the mother of the woman; but the last use is not common, and does not appear to be taken by permission from the noun γυναικείον or the adj. γυναικείον (Wyse, on Isocrates, iii. 4).
MARRIAGE (Greek)

It was essentially a family ceremony (although regulated by law) at which, besides the principals, relatives and other witnesses were present, in numbers corresponding to the social distinction of the parties (cf. 15, 18). The ceremony included a verbal formula of the woman, which certainly was not legally necessary, any more than her consent to the match; in point of law she was simply the object of a purely business arrangement or bargain between her father and the suitor. Of the formalities necessary or usual we know nothing. Herodotus, in his account of the wedding of Agariste of Sicyon, seems to preserve in part verbal formulas of the Athenian marriage-contract in the 8th cent. n. C. It is strange in this case that there is no allusion to any written record of the contract, at any rate at Athens, where, indeed, there was much laxity in this regard; but it is hard to believe that the procedure was purely oral—more especially as it was at the ἐγγύησις, where the dowry agreed upon was actually paid, or agreements entered into as to its future payment.

It is clear from the above that the use of the term ἐγγύησις by the Greeks was quite different from that in later times: it is merely a question of a marriage ceremony, or a betrothal, and not of an actual assurance of commitment, in the sense of a legal pledge, on the part of the woman, to be faithful to her husband, as is denoted by the use of the term in the New Testament, where the marriage ceremonies are considered as the perfect bond between the husband and wife. It was the custom in Greece to have a wedding ceremony, even if the couple did not intend to be married, in order to confirm the engagement and to give the couple a sense of public recognition of their relationship.

The question, therefore, which has been debated, as to whether ἐγγύησις was an act of betrothal or an alluding preceding marriage, or was not rather the beginning of the married state itself—the first and most important of the ceremonies of the wedding-day, and actually constitutive of marriage per se—seems to receive its solution through purely historical considerations. Primarily and originally, the ceremony of ἐγγύησις was a literal putting of the woman by her κύριος into the hands of the suitor for price paid, the interval being the striking of the bargain and exercise of conjugal right (γάμος) being filled by the leading home of the newly-purchased bride. This home-leading, being that part of the entire transaction which was of a striking and necessarily public character, was accompanied by the processions over increasing social significance, while at the same time it was the moment at which religious intervention to invest the ceremonies with their own special solemnities, whether of a prophylactic or of a prognostic sort. The whole mass of historical evidence, of infinite variety, and of very various degrees of consciously realized import, which constitutes the actual procedure of marriage, in its social and non-juristic sense, interesting and important as it is for the student of anthropology, can be given here only in barest outline.

5. Wedding Ceremonies. The Greek γάμος was essentially a religious ceremony (τάγης), covering both the deportation of the bride from her parents' house into that of her husband. The month Νοέμβριος (Jan.–Feb.) was generally selected, and Greek custom seems to have prescribed in general that a winter season was proper for marriage; and the speculations of the philosophers were in accord (cf. Aristotle, Pol. iv. 13, 1555a; τοις δὲ τριτοῖς τὴν γυμνήν νυφίν τούτον οὐκ ἔτη διελέγοντο τούτοις ταῖς ἐν τούτοις τιμιόταται τάξεσι). The bride was dedicated to various deities (θεοὶ νυφῶν) her girl's toys and other gifts, and more especially her personal treasures, now shorn, were given to the bridegroom, as is that before marriage girls offered their hair to Hera, and the Fates; cf. Hesych. σ.ν. γάμους (θ), 2. The most important pre-nuptial ceremony was that of the ἀνακάθαρσις, in which the bride was purified by purification rites. Athens the water must be fetched from the Kallimarmaro (Thuc. ii. 37, 2), tall water-jars of peculiar shape (ἀνακάθαρτα) being used for the purpose—which it 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, there being security of the event, for the guests were really witnesses (Dem. xxx. 21; Is. viii. 18). Associated with this was the unveling of the bride (ἐκάθαρσις), cf. Pollux, ii. 29, 1, τὰς γυναῖκας ἐμπνεύοντος τιμήν καὶ τίμημα ἐπεμενεῖ τὸν τάλαινα καὶ τὸν ἀνακάθαρτος. The bride's garments were laid out (cf. hiphopteleia, ἀνακάθαρσις, ἀναπληρωματική ἐπεμενεῖ τιμήν καὶ τίμημα ἐπεμενεῖ τὸν τάλαινα), and on the day of the wedding called ἐκάθαρσις, and the first night was the νυφήματα. Cf. J. B. Harrison, The Meaning of the Word ἐκάθαρσις, in CIH xxvii. (1914) 256.

1 Cf. Pollux, iii. 39, 1, τὰς γυναῖκας ἐμπνεύοντος τιμήν καὶ τίμημα ἐπεμενεῖ τὸν τάλαινα καὶ τὸν ἀνακάθαρτος. The bride was dedicated to various deities (θεοὶ νυφῶν) her girl's toys and other gifts, and more especially her personal treasures, now shorn, were given to the bridegroom, as is that before marriage girls offered their hair to Hera, and the Fates; cf. Hesych. σ.ν. γάμους (θ), 2. The most important pre-nuptial ceremony was that of the ἀνακάθαρσις, in which the bride was purified by purification rites. Athens the water must be fetched from the Kallimarmaro (Thuc. ii. 37, 2), tall water-jars of peculiar shape (ἀνακάθαρτα) being used for the purpose—which it was also the custom to set up on the tomb of those dying before marriage.

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The procession accompanying the bride ἐπὶ ἀδέσποτην to her new home took place in the evening, by torchlight, the Hymenaios song being meanwhile sung by the bridegroom and his attendants to provide a chorus on the scene of the Shield of Achilles in ll. xviii. 491 f. The bride was introduced to the hearth amid showers of dates, figs, and other sweetmeats (κατασκήνωσις).


6. Bride-price.—In primitive times, remarks Aristotle, men bought their wives (Fol. ii. 8 = 1292 b; cf. Plato, Laws, 804 a). The Epic contains frequent mention of the bride-price (δώρον), 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 great strain of custom of marriage by purchase, that a father must give something to boot with his daughter in order to secure the desired son-in-law. The economic factor, the relation between population and resources, has obviously, and has contributed largely to the establishment of a custom of dowry in place of the bride-price. In historical times, at any rate, the bride-price has been wholly replaced by the dowry given by the wife to the girl by her parents.

The Epic contains evidence of the transition stages. Of Andromache it is said that Hector took her from her father's house and paid the bride-price unstinted (Ili. xxii. 712 f.). Of Aeneas, slain Iphidamas it is said that he fell *far from his bride, of whom he had paid no price, and much had he given for her (II. xi. 524 f.; he saw no return for his expenditure of 100 horses). In order to appease Agamemnon offers to let him have a dowry and then he does as he pleases, now, said, he will give a present with her (τῷ ἐμί δ' ἐμῆς σημεῖος ἔχω τελέον μας, ἄλλο δ' αὐτῷ νῦν), said, he will give a present with her (πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμῖς σημείοις ἔχω τελέον με, ἄλλο δ' αὐτῷ νῦν), etc. (cf. Od. v. 214, xiv. 342).

Ultimately the δώρον becomes to be a dowry given by her parents to the bride—perhaps through a transition stage in which the bride-price received from the suitor was used wholly or in part to equip the bride and to furnish the feast. In the Odyssey the two systems are both found (241, ix. 53, Teiresias, regarding the Chalkida, the money given for the bride-price (cf. Od. xvi. 77, 281 f.; xiv. 269) but in Od. l. 277 f. — Od. XII. 101 f., οὔτ' ἐμι τὸ παντζάριον ἄκοπον ἐμὶ τῇ γυναικί, οὔτ' ἐρευνώντω, a dowry given by the parents is meant, just as at Phaedr. Euthyphro ἐκός occurs used equivalent to—'

7. The dowry.—In historical times, in Athens, the marriage settlement or dowry (παλαιότερον, ἀνάγκη) was in the form of the property of the husband, i.e. the inheritance, or, in general, the property of the woman, distinguished from connubium; for the freedom of divorce allowed by Athenian law to the husband made the position of a portfolio wife very precarious. (Dem. III. 26; X. 470 a: ἡ γυνὴ διαφωνεῖται ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐξέγερε τίς τῇ γυναικί, οὐκ ἐπ' ἑαυτῆς γένος μοι ἀνάκλασθον, ἀπὶ θερμοῦ.)

The marriage was followed by some ceremony or act for which the technical and fixed phrase was γυναῖκα τῇ γυναικί (cf. Is. 17. 35; Herod. 43). This has been variously interpreted by both ancients and moderns as an introduction or constitution of the wife among the members of her husband's family, or as a banquet, sacrifice, or donation (see Wis. Lexis, p. 365).

2 Od. xvi. 114, 190; Od. xvi. 252. It is clear from Od. xvi. 307 that the δῶρα were given to the parents, not to the bride. Hence is explained the term used in ll. xvii. 356, κερδοποιηθέν, 'realising a high price is given' (see G. Murray, Rise of the Greek Epic, Oxford, 1901, p. 192 f.). In ll. xvi. 314 f., there is talk of getting the price of a 'bad bargain' refunded. In ll. xvi. 301-315, the meaning of the marriage settlement is given, where the δῶρα are described in the technical term, with such additional gifts (cf. ll. xix. 51). The example quoted from Od. vi. 159 as an illustration of this intermediate stage ('Yielding these goods, to be paid by the husband, as was set up in the past technical term, with the δῶρα of the bride, with such additional gifts') (ll. xix. 51). The example quoted from Od. vi. 159 as an illustration of this intermediate stage ('Yielding these goods, to be paid by the husband, as was set up in the past technical term, with the δῶρα of the bride, with such additional gifts') as the definition of γυναῖκα τῇ γυναικί, 'the giving away of goods, slow oxen to women'. A mortgage-stone (ἀψηφόα) of such type is set up on the property of the woman, as in the following type: ἡ γυνὴ διαφωνεῖται ἐκὸνας ἀνάκλασθον, 'the giving away of the woman' (cf. l. 493). In ll. 493 f., S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, Intro. to Greek Epigraphy, pl. 11, The Inscrip. of Atticus, Cambridge, 1896, p. 477; Dittenberger, Syll., 817). The widow of the rich banker Pasias is known from an inscription to be a member of her husband's family (Dion. Hal. ii. 25). The dowry was used as security for the whole, in the event that the woman's spouse had not enough money or because her husband could not give adequate security for the whole sum, interest upon which was secured by a mortgage, according to agreement (Dem. xii. 6; Inscr. jurid. graecæ, i. 133 f.). All these arrangements were made before witnesses (cf. Dem. xxx. 9, 21), but were therefore not in the form of an official and publicised, as at Myconos and Tenos; at Athens the permanent stone record of the mortgage was deemed sufficient safeguard of the rights of the parties. Naturally all this implied the necessity of keeping strictly distinct the property of the woman from that of her husband and wife (cf. Dem. xiv. 57, ill. 28); neither Athens nor, so far as we know, goes the rest of Greece know community of property between husband and wife: and, if ever enforced, was certainly obsolete in the 4th cen. k. and was, in fact, virtually abolished by the law fixing the minimum amount to be settled on a poor mortgagee by his next-of-kin—a law which equally passed as Solonian (Dem. xviii. 54). Hippocrates, the richest Athenian of his time, gave his daughter, as is remarked in the recommendations of philosophers, all the property of his wife's family, both in dowry and in husband's family, as his daughter, as is remarked in the recommendations of philosophers. It is clear that the Athenian dowry system, which was probably that of Greece in general, tended to maintain the connexion of the wife with her father's family; the wife did not, as in early Rome, become an assigned member of her husband's family (Dion. Hal. ii. 25).

(a) Amount of dowry.—According to Plutarch, a law of Solon limited the size of dowries at Athens; but, if this, if ever enforced, was certainly obsolete in the 4th cen. C. and was, in fact, virtually abolished by the law fixing the minimum amount to be settled on a poor mortgagee by his next-of-kin—a law which equally passed as Solonian (Dem. xviii. 54). Hippocrates, the richest Athenian of his time, gave his daughter, as is remarked in the recommendations of philosophers, all the property of his wife's family, both in dowry and in husband's family, as his daughter, as is remarked in the recommendations of philosophers. It is clear that the Athenian dowry system, which was probably that of Greece in general, tended to maintain the connexion of the wife with her father's family; the wife did not, as in early Rome, become an assigned member of her husband's family (Dion. Hal. ii. 25).

1 A father might settle a dowry on his daughter by will (Lys. xii. 9), but was not obliged to make this provision; failing which, a daughter had no legal claim on his estate. The Code of Gortyn is more liberal, giving daughters a legal claim in one-half of a brother's share, in lieu of a dowry—an already portioned daughter having no further claim. That is to say, at Gortyn there was legal obligation to dowry. Ephores, so quoted by Strabo, p. 452, ἀνήρ ἡ δώρον ἐκέρδησε, ἐκ διδάκτου δωρίνη, ἐκ διδάκτου δωρίνη, attributes the Gortynian rule to Crete generally, and may be correct in so doing.

2 The nearest male relative of a poor ἀδεσποτὴς or ἀδήσποτος was under legal obligation either to marry herself or to portion her on a scale fixed by law (Is. 138; law in Dem. xiii. 54). Contempt of the law was possibly construed as κακοποιείν, involving κακοποιείν, involving partial σιγά

3 Hence Euphrates makes his complain that women have to buy a husband (Med. 250 f.).

4 For τόπος, see the explanation given by G. Glotz, La Solidarité de la femme dans le droit criminel en Grèce, Paris, 1904, p. 2981. Plato, in Laws, 727 c, lays down the principle that a man may not marry a slave (that is, an ἄρρητος) unless the ἄρρητος is living inŞefek, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρρητοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρρητοῦ ἑαυτῆς (cf. 774 f. D). The ἀρρητὸς τῆς ἀρρητοῦ (Dem. xii. 19) has not been preserved. 
MARRIAGE (Greek)

6. Dissolution of marriage.—Disolution of marriage in Athens was partly based on the principle that the husband's power of repudiation was unfettered by any legal conditions or formalities. He simply sent the woman, with her dowry, back to her father's house. A prudent man would, as usual, summon witnesses, but need not do so (cf. Lys. iv. 28). When the wife sought a separation, she must lodge with the Archon τῆς δίκης ἀναθέσεως (Plut. Alc. 8; Andoc. iv. 14: ἀναθέσεως ἀναθέσεως), 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, condonation of the grounds of the divorce, being visited with ἀνίκη (Dem. lix. 11). On the other hand, it is certain that adultery of the husband gave the woman no legal right of divorce, and it is probable that it was not generally regarded as sufficient ground of separation. It is evident that the possession of a dowry must have been a strong protection to the wife against a husband's caprice, and in many households must have made her virtually mistress of the situation.

Two special features call for remark in this connection. It was competent for husband and wife to agree to a mutual dissolution of marriage in order that another more congenial match might be made. Thus Pericles so parted from his wife; he obtained her consent, to take Aspasia (Plut. Per. 24). Again, the operation of the laws respecting heirless dowries (παρθένια), often, according to Inheritance (Greek), vol. vii. p. 304). The latter occasion of dissolution of marriage differs from the first-mentioned in that the court does not seem to have tried the case more than an application or formal notice to him in camera. It is doubtful whether the δίκη διωσκεφάστας and the δίκαια διωσκεφάστας, which are said to have been available for a newly betrothed husband and wife respectively, as if a sort of suit for restitution of conjugal rights, are not mere figments.

1 For comparison of the Gortyan regulations with the later regulations in the East; cf. Eberhard, Diachronie des Rechts, 240, etc. Meineke, Die asiatische Rechtsordnung, 1928. The Athenian law of the dowry was essentially the same as the Gortyan law, and indeed the Gortyan law was probably based on the Attic law. The differences are mainly formal, and do not affect the substance of the law. In particular, the Gortyan law does not provide for the husband's power of repudiation, which is a feature of the Athenian law. The Gortyan law also provides for the wife's right to a share of the dowry, which is not a feature of the Athenian law.

2 Cf. Dittenberger, Spol. i. 236: Ηγεμόνος τὴν ἐκλείμενην δομημένην προς τὸ γάμῳ (not in Syræus).

3 Wi. I. 37: ἴδε τοίς ἐπάνω τῆς ὁμογένειας τῆς ἱεράς, ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἱερά τῆς ἱεράς, Ἰώνου τῆς ἱεράς. 4 Summary: the dowry could not be curtailed by the husband, but could be curtailed by the wife. The husband was not entitled to repudiate his wife, but could do so. The Gortyan law was based on the Athenian law, and was probably derived from it. It is clear from the Gortyan law that the dowry was not regarded as a gift from the husband to the wife, but as a joint property of the husband and wife. The husband was entitled to a share of the dowry, and could not repudiate his wife without her consent. The wife was entitled to a share of the dowry, and could repudiate her husband without his consent. The Gortyan law also provided for the husband's right of repudiation, which is a feature of the Athenian law. The Gortyan law also provided for the wife's right to a share of the dowry, which is not a feature of the Athenian law.

4 Cf. Lys. iii. 28. 5: ἴδε τοῖς ἐπάνω τῆς ἱεράς, ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἱερά τῆς ἱεράς. 6 Cf. Plut. Alc. 8; Andoc. iv. 14: ἀναθέσεως ἀναθέσεως, ἀναθέσεως ἀναθέσεως, 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, condonation of the grounds of the divorce, being visited with ἀνίκη (Dem. lix. 11). On the other hand, it is certain that adultery of the husband gave the woman no legal right of divorce, and it is probable that it was not generally regarded as sufficient ground of separation. It is evident that the possession of a dowry must have been a strong protection to the wife against a husband's caprice, and in many households must have made her virtually mistress of the situation.

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9. Widows. - The Athenian regulations concerning widows were as follows. If there were no 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 wishes of her dead husband or those of her kópws (Is. vii. 8). If there were children, she might remain in her husband's house, where she passed under the authority of her children's grandfathers, and be brought up as a minor, and under that of her eldest son when he came of age—her dowry becoming the property of her children, subject to her right to support (Dem. xii. 27, xlv. 20). She might, however, return with her dowry to her father's house, and be given again in marriage (Dem. xl. 6 f.). The same option was open to her if, on her husband's death, she declared herself pregnant (Dem. xiii. 75), in which case it was the Archon's duty to protect her interest (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 kópws.

MARRIAGE (Hindu) — 1. General characteristics. — The earlier Vedic texts, which may be said to cover the period down to the end of the 6th cent. B.C., present us with a uniformity of the same account of the condition of marriage among the Hindu tribes whose life they depict. Among these tribes marriage was a union of man and woman, for all practical purposes indissoluble save by death, and naturally therefore involving the highest strata of the population. Marriages were contracted between persons of full age, and often by mutual consent; while there are clear traces of the payment of a bride-price for a wife, there is also proof of the giving of dowries by fathers or brothers in order to secure the marriage of daughters or sisters. Traces of marriage by capture are scanty and confined to the warrior class.

The position of the wife in these conditions of society was one of security and dignity. She was, indeed, under the complete control of her husband, though we do not know how far the actual restraint his power extended. But she was the mistress (pottin) of the household, as her husband was the master (pottin). In the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda (x. 19. 1), she is told to exercise 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 not inconsistent with the respect elsewhere mentioned as due from 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 son and to exercise the rightful authority of the head of the house. The wife was also a participant in the interests secured by the husband; but in this regard a certain deterioration of her position can be traced in the Vedic period, doubtless as the result of the growing importance of the priestly class and the corresponding loss of power of the Brahmans would not be priests. This regulation seems to have been due to the view that women were impure as compared with men, and the same idea may have been at the root of the practice of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, for example, first in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 8. 2), requiring a woman to eat after her husband, just as such, and the husband was liable only for refund of that stated amount—the principle being, as at Athens, that the wife's dowry should neither increase nor diminish (cf. the Code of Gortyn); from which it follows that the maintenance of the husband and of children had been in the hands of the husband, as was the case at Athens.


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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 self, we are told (Bṛhadāraṇyakopānīyāgī, i. iv. 7; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 1. 10), and her good qualities are frequently mentioned. On the other hand, the Maitrāyani Saṃhitā (t. x. 11, iii. v. 3) describes woman as untruth and as connected with misfortune, and classifies her with rice and drink as the chief evils. In several places (Taittirīya Saṃhitā, vi. v. 8. 2) a good woman is ranked below even a bad man, and the Kātaka Saṃhitā (xxxvi. 1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by coquetry.

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 (saṃsrad) was regarded as the greatest of evils. On the other hand, the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune; the Aṣṭārga Brāhmaṇa (vii. 15) contrasts a daughter as misery (śarpa) with a son as a light in the highest heaven. But the view once widely held, that the Vedic Indians practiced satyavatiism in the case of girls, has been disproved by O. von Böhtlingk.1

In political life women took 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 which manifested itself in the 6th cent. B.C. in the Upaniṣads. We learn that a group of several women teachers, who may or may not have been married, but also of the two wives of the great sage Yājñavalkya, who shared her husband's intellectual activities.

In the Ābrahmāṇīyakān and Bhāpatīyastrās, 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 (i.e. the n. a. x. 209), in the Arthasastra, and in the Kāmaśāstra we find in full force the tendencies which reveal themselves in the later classical literature, and can be 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. Marriages between people of full age are still allowed; thus the warrior class is permitted to marry by capture or to form love matches, while the Kāmaśāstra 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 (vii. 8) and Gobhila Gṛhyasūtras (iii. iv. 6), but which by the time of the later Śrīmātī—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 father2 to allow his daughter to attain puberty without being married, and the girl herself fell to the condition of a Śūdra (śūdrā), marriage with whom 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 Śrīmātī of Mārga (ix. 94) fixes the ages of husband and wife at 30 and 12 or 24 and 8 respectively; the later work of the Ābrahmāṇīya (ZZMG xiv. ii. 416) and the didactic portion of the Mahābhārata (XIII. xiv. 132) give the wife's age in these cases as 10 and 7 respectively, while yet later texts give 4 to 6 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 the essential part the taking of the bride to her new home, whence the name marriage (viṣaṇā) was derived, was divided into two parts; the actual ceremony took place shortly after the betrothal (vaidyāna), but the taking of the bride (viṣaṇā) only after puberty. The unmarried daughter (kumārī) living at home was distinguished from the married daughter (suvardini or svaśvāri), whose connexion with her past was 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,3 and was noted by al-Biruni in the 11th cent. A.D.4 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 Muhammadans.

The practice of sending a girl put before us in the Hārīta Śrītī (iii. 3). The wife is to devote her whole thought to his house and her husband, to prepare his food, eat what is left over by her husband and sons, wash the utensils, stow cow-dung on the floor, make the domestic offerings, embrace her husband's feet before going to rest, in the hot season fan him, support his head when he is weary, and so forth. On the other hand, to her falls the whole of honour in the household, and she is an undisputed mistress of her daughters and any other women living under her husband's roof. The description in the Śrītī is confirmed by the literature and practice of 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 heroines 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 practice. There is also much evidence in the proverbial literature of the derisite 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 Śrīmātī, 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 some rite. There is also a trace of marriage by capture in the Rigveda, where we hear (i. cxix. 19, cxvii. 20, X. xxxix. 7, lxv. 12) of the carrying off by Yidama of the daughter of Purumitra, apparently with the good 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, an essential, which is fully described in the Gṛhyasūtras. It may be noted that many forms which have been found in the marriage-rutine of other Indo-European and non-Indo-European peoples. Of these practices the most

1 ZDMG xiii. [1899] 494-496.
2 See also S. B. S. 120, 121. 
of the marriage-ritual given in the Grhyaśutras have been interpreted in this sense, but the interpretation is neither necessary nor probable. The gāndhāraṇa rite, recognition of the bridegroom, and the brāhmaṇa, and much of the ritual is still observed at the present day. 1

In the Śrautī literature eight forms of marriage are recognized and described, but with many differences in detail. In the case of Brāhmanas and Manu (iii. 24) recognizes as approved four forms: the brāhmaṇa, dāiva, āraṇa, and prājāyatya. 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. Of these forms, therefore, practically represent marriages by mutual consent and parental arrangement, 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 (būkṣa), 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 marriage, and the device of offering oxen by reference in the older Grhyaśutras of Pārākara (i. viii. 18) and Sānkhāyana (i. xiv. 10) to the practice of giving the father-in-law a hundred oxen with a waggon, and by the recognition in the Grhyaśutras of the Kāṭha and the Mānsa schools (i. vii. 11) of a usage by which the bride-price was paid in money to the father.

Marriage by purchase was recognized among the warrior class; in the Mahabharata (i. xil. 9 ff.), 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 the people. Manu admits (iii. 24) that some allowed the Vaiśya and the Sūdras the āsura marriage. It was an open, out-and-out sale, though he condemns the practice in toto. But facts have prevailed over the objections of the Brāhmanas to the sale of children, and even at the present day marriage by purchase is common enough in Bombay, Madras, and the Panjāb, 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 bridgrooms prevails instead, the practice of child-marriage having placed a high price on eligible husbands.

In addition to the āsura form, the warrior class was allowed the rākṣas, the gāndhāraṇa, and the padderaka forms, though the last is condemned by Manu along with the āsura. Together improved. The former type of marriage was marriage by capture in its simplest form, and its performance is described in many of the epics of the epic, though the rage of the warrior will sometimes be considered as a capital offence. But, outside the epic, we hear little of this remarkable privilege of the warrior class, and this practice has left no surviving proof of its existence. This accords with the evidence of the Grhyaśutras and Dharmaśutras, which recognize with a good deal of agreement the right of each class to marry among the daughters of men of the same order, Brāhman, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya, and which differ seriously only on the validity of marriages with the Sūdra women. Arrian, probably on the authority of Megasthenes, records (Indica, xii. 8)

1 See W. Wintermets, Das altindische Hochzeitsrecht, Vienna, 1897; A. Weber and E. Haen, Indische Studien, v. 177-411.
that marriages were not allowed between गोत्र—probably a reference to the castes which were certain to be exogamous. 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. Mann still recognizes mixed marriages subject to the rule of inversion, but the later Rigveda tends to make them out as objectionable. The modern rule is strict against mixed marriages, confining the possibility of marriage to the modern castes; but the date when this principle of the Svetasvatara Upanishad expressly refers to (I. viii. 3. 6) to marriage as permitted in the third or fourth generation, the former being the rule, according to the commentators. Two marriages, the latter among the Saṅgrātras, while the Dākiṇātayas, or people of the south, permitted marriage with 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 Gṛhyasūtras and the Dharmaśastras in effect agree in prescribing that marriage should not take place between a man and a woman of the same gotra (gātric) as his father, or a sāpindha of his mother, and these terms extended at least to all relatives within five degrees on the mother's 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 Bandhāyana (I. ii. 3). But the practice of marrying outside the gotra, a term of wide extension and indefinite sense, but covering all those of the same family as defined in the Brāhmaṇas, and in the general rule at the present day throughout India—at any rate, among all the higher castes. The chief exceptions are found in S. India, where some tribes practise the opposite rule of endogamy.

In Rājputana, among the Rājputs who claim to be descendants of the old warrior class, exogamy is closely connected in their history with the practice of marriage by capture. Of much less importance are the restrictions arising from the feeling that 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 renunciation, and not a fatal bar to the validity of the marriage. The rule is, however, very old, being found in the Pāya-deva (Māndya-purāṇa Sāndhikha, IV. i. 9), and recognized also in the later literature. In the southern members of Brāhmaṇa castes the practice of a mock marriage of the elder brother with a branch of a tree in order to avoid the evil result of a breach of this rule by a younger brother.

4. Polygamy.—The practice of polygamy among the Vedic Indians is abundantly attested by references in the Rigveda and other texts, though in the main monogamy is recognized as normal. In the case of the king four wives are expressly mentioned—the mahā-kā, the first wedded, the parivarī and the tātikā (the one who bore no son), the śānī, or favourite, and the pādāvī, who is explained as the daughter of one of the court officials. The mahākā seems to have been the wife proper, though the others were evidently not mere concubines. In the Arthasastra, the Sūrya, 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 excluding or excluding the Śūdra, and in such cases the wife of the same caste was the wife par excellence (dharmaṇapāsī), with whom the husband performed his religious duties. The heroes of the epics are frequently represented as having several wives, but one of them always ranks first, and, similarly, later in inscriptions one wife only is often mentioned with her husband. The rule of precedence among wives according to age or seniority to date of marriage might, however, be overridden by the husband, who could degrade a wife from her position as chief wife; in that case he was required to make her a present of gifts or property to a new wife whom he was marrying. The modern rule permits the husband to contract as many marriages as he wishes without any need for justification or consent on the part of his existing wives.

2 See Maclean and Keith, Vedic India, I, 475, n. 7.
3 See ibid., p. 473, n. 3.
4 See Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p. 63.
In addition to wives proper, the Smṛtis recognize the existence of concubines (dāti, bhujyāyī), which are described as 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 his brothers' wives was explicity permissible. In the present day the keeping of concubines by wealthy Hindu is a recognized usage. The Smṛtis show some preference throughout for concubines (dāti, bhujyāyī), which in the case of a wife dying or being divorced is expressly disapproved of. This appears to be the re-marriage of a man who has a wife living, and other authorities restrict the right to become the heir of a husband to the chief wife, who is the surviving half of her husband. In all religious observances the husband is to act with his chief wife only, and marriage is treated by Manu (ix. 101) as a pledge of mutual fidelity between husband and wife.

5. Polyandry.—While polygamy is recognized in the Vedica period, though chiefly among kings and important Brahmans, there is no clear trace of polyandry, all the passages adduced from the Kāraṇa Smṛti (xvii. 2) (XIV. i. 44, 52, 61, ii. 14, 17) admitting of more probable explanations. On the other hand, the heroes of the epic, the five Pañcavas, are represented as marrying Draupadi and having her as wife in common—a fact which is elaborately explained and defended in the epics. This form of polyandry is recognized by Bṛhaspati (xxvii. 20) as practised in the south, and by Agastambha (ii. xxvii. 29) as an ancestral custom. The present day polyandry is still found among Brahmans, Rājugūpas, and Sūdras alike in Kumaon, where children are shared by the brothers as by the Parivas, 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 Jats of the Panjāb 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 Himalayan tribes. The custom also prevails in the south among the Nairs of the Kamarā council and the Todas of the Nilgiris. The modern evidence comes mainly from Tibetans and Dravidian tribes, and there is no indication that the practice was ever widely spread among tribes of Aryan culture.

The characteristic quality of a Hindu marriage was that it was a union for life; in striking contrast to the Dravidian and Tibeto-Berman usages, marriages among Hindus were seldom broken by divorce. In the Smṛti 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 (śudda), 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 expiated by a severe penance, and which may involve expulsion from caste. Adultery affords a ground for divorce, and might in certain cases be punished with death, but according to other authorities it is only punishable by a light penalty. Any serious offence against a husband by his wife, such as Yajñavalkya (i. 72), is a ground of divorce, and Nārada (xii. 95, 99) gives as offences justifying such treatment attempts to murder, wasting property, or being a procuress 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 disappearance, long-continued absence, impotence, or loss of caste of their husbands. 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 unmistakably suggests, what is not expressly stated, that the latter is to be the case, and the Atharvaveda (xviii. 3. 1) refers to this as an old practice. 1 It was evidently not approved by the Brahman of the Vedic age, for it is not mentioned in the sūtrās, and appears first in the later Vaiṣṇava ORGYANTRA (vii. 2) and in interpolated passages of the VIGHNA SRIPTI (xxv. 14, xx. 39). The later Smṛtis approve it, but not without occasional dissent. In the epic it plays little part; though the natural interpretation insisted on being burned with his husband (Mahābhārata, i. cxvii. 31); but in the later romances and historical works it is often mentioned, and as early as A.D. 500 an inscription is found to celebrate a sūtra. Forbidden in India in 1829, it was observed in 1839 in the Panjāb at the death of Ranji Singh, and in 1877 at that of the Maharāja of Nepal. The primitive character of the rite is shown by the fact that often other attendants perished with the queen or queens when the dead man was a prince. Normally the wife was burned with the dead man; if he died away from the present day the women might be burned alone (asamārana), 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 Smṛtis and modern usage, despite the efforts of reformers, condemn to a life of fasting, devotion to her dead husband, pilgrimage, and asceticism 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 be heir to her husband, but only on condition of never marrying; even then she was not allowed to remarry, a disability which is not altered by Act XV. of 1856. 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 for the wife of the dead man to be taken in marriage by his brother, whether or not the latter had a wife already, but it was not done in the case of marriage by the brother of the dead, or if there was no brother; the father or eldest son became the husband of 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, would be managed by his mother or by his real father, to

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1. Hillebrandt, ZDMG. xl. [1886] 719, explains these passages quite differently; but his view is not as unarz戰.
3. Cf. Bṛhaspati, xxvii. 29; ii. 31; Arāṇavāt, xiv. 59.
whose estate also he might in certain cases succeed. By an ingenious misreading the principle the texts allow an impotent or ill man to appoint another during his life to beget a son for him, and in the epic the right to act in these cases is frequently recognized as specially appropriate for Brahmans. But the general tendency of the later texts is more and more against the practice, which was subjected to increasing restrictions or absolutely forbidden, and in modern times the practice of appointment (niyoga) is more primitive or more primitive form of actual marriage with a brother's widow.¹

8. Marriage and morality.—Though fidelity on the part of both parties to a marriage was double-ided in ideas, there is abundant evidence throughout the literature that infidelity on the part of the husband was neither rare nor considered worthy of moral censure. In the case of the wife there is no doubt that in the Smriti literature and in modern usage adultery is regarded as a serious offence which may in certain cases be punished by death. Some of the Vedic passages (Taittiriya Samhita, v. vi. 8; 3; Majitrivajyani Samhita, iv. 7) cited as showing tolerance of adultery are susceptible of other interpretations, but there remain the facts that a special ritual at the Varanapraphaska is clearly intended to remove the effect of adultery (Majitrivajyani Samhita, v. 11; Satapatha Brahmana, ii. v. 20), that the Brhadaranyak Upanishad (vi. iv. 11) contains a spell to expiate adultery with the wife of a Brahman, and that the Brhadaranyak Yajurveda (ii. 28) advises a husband how to receive the 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 Amukhdharana refers (xxii. 4 ff.) to a time when wives were used in common, a practice terminated by Srekapeta. The lack of chastity of the women of the East is recorded by Brhaspati (ii. 30). Too much stress must not, however, be laid on these notices; the 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 are made for the purpose of proving that the recognition of illegitimate sons then accorded was antiquated at the time of the texts.

9. Marriage and property.—The widow of the dead man, according to the Nirukta (iii. 4) and Bandhaya (iii. ii. 41-46), was denied the power of becoming an heir. Gautama (xxvii. 21 f.) mentions her in the list of heirs, but points out the alternative of the adoption of the practice of niyoga for providing the son in whose absence alone could the mother be heir. In Vijn (xvii. 4) and Yajnavalkya (i. 136) is first found the express mention of the widow as the next heir in the absence of male issue. But it is a fact that the right thus obtained is expressly limited by the texts: the widow could not give away, or mortgage, property to other property thus inherited; she held it for her enjoyment only, and she was not entitled alone to succeed as heir, but on her death the duty of maintaining the other wives—a rule which is not recognized in modern Hindu law where all the wives have an equal right of succession.

Distinct from the property obtained by marriage was the Stridhana of the wife, which is mentioned in the Smriti literature, and this, like the rest of the marriage gifts, the bride-price given by her father to her, and the fine paid by her husband in the bower 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 husband. The later texts make some authorities, shared it with their sisters in any event; and, in the case of failure of all issue, to her husband only if she had been married according to one of the four superior forms of marriage; otherwise it went to her father. In some cases the unmarried daughter was preferred to the married in heanship to her mother. In the later Katkayana Smriti (xx. 30) there are found elaborate 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. She was allowed to receive from her sons any property promised by their father and not paid to her, while gifts to wives were encouraged, if not exceeding 2000 pana or consisting of moveables. She could dispose of her property as she chose, so far as it consisted of gifts from relatives, to relatives; the rest went to any unmarried daughter, or, failing such, to her son's daughter, or, failing such, if she left no children, her property passed to her parents if she were married in one of the lower forms of marriage, and any landed property went to her brothers. The later texts make some commentators develop in much detail the doctrine of Stridhana, and the Mitakshara (a commentary on Yajnavalkya) argues that all property which would receive in any way falls under that head, and must not be governed by the special laws laid down with reference to the Stridhana proper. This is contrary to the earlier evidence, which expressly differentiates between Stridhana in the narrow sense and property inherited from a husband, which may pass to his own exors, or given by strangers, over which she can exercise power of disposal only with her husband's consent.

¹ Mayne, Hindu Law and Usage, 60. ² Katakayana, xxiv. 55 f.; Brhaspati, xxv. 60 ff.
MARRIAGE (Iranian)—1. Zoroastrian.—According to the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, marriage is regarded as an essential part of the " vidhva" (Persian), FAMILY (Persian). The second happiest place in the world is that in which a righteous man sets up his household (Vend. iii. 17: 1). Zoroastrians believe that the pair who are urged to strive to live a life of righteousness and to help one another in good deeds (Ys. iii. 8).

Since marriage is regarded as almost a religious duty, Zoroastrians hold it a meritorious act to help their co-religionists to enter the sacred state, and such assistance may even serve to atone for sin (Vend. iv. 44, xiv. 15). It is by no means usual therefore, for Persians 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 Pañchayat 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 to be practically certain that the strictly religious ceremony, at the very beginning of the Aštrūd, or blessing known as the Pañchavānd-nāmā, which is recited at the wedding ceremony, the officiating priest declares that the contracting pair is "according to the law and custom of the Mazlayasian religion."

According to the Avesta, both manhood and womanhood were attained at the age of 15 (Ys. ix. 5; Ys. viii. 15, xiv. 17; Vend. xiv. 15; Bundahīsh, iii. 19). Since in the Avesta we find maids praying for suitable husbands (Ys. ix. 23; Ys. v. 87), it would appear that child-marriage was not practiced. The ritual recited at the marriage ceremony, bidding the pair to express their consent after 'truthful consideration,' points in the same direction. The present Parsi Marriage Act enjoins 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 (Hornauz) or twentieth (Bāhram) day of the Parsi month. At times, especially in Mofussil (provincial) towns, the services of Hindu astrologers, who may name one or more 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 choice 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-nāmā-i Āruvi-i Mārpanpandān (xii.) and attested in the Sāh-nāmā (tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., i. 177 ff., ii. 125, 86-88) by the marriages of the three sons of Farīdūn with the daughters of the king of Yemen, of Rastam with Tahminā, and of Kāsū with Sudhābhā. Until recently professional match-makers were not unknown, and they still exercise a certain amount of activity.

On the day of betrothal (from Pers. nāmāz thudan), since after the betrothal the bride receives in religious recitals of prayers for her the name of the groom, even though, by some reckoning, the marriage does not take place. An unbetrothed girl was said to be 'unnamed' (nā kardah nāmān). Betrothal is regarded as a solemn part of the marriage ceremony, the mīrā sīr-māzā, or 'pledge of the magnitude of a man' (Vend. iv. 2, 4, 6, 15). The couple are formally asked the parents that the bride and groom respectively be given in marriage to each other. The priests took part in the nāmāz (betrothal) at Surat in the middle of the 18th cent. (Anquetil du Perron, Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1771, ii. 557 f.), 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 Divō, when a lamp (divī) 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 bridegroom and wedding rings are usually presented. The Divō is followed by the Ādāri, when the dowry given by the bride's father is presented to the groom's family. 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 unsuitable.

In some families the astrologer's services are engaged before the marriage also. When matches are being 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 sacred bath—custom which is mentioned in the Sāh-nāmā (ed. T. Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 1579), where Bahram Gur takes his Indian wife to the fire temple for that purpose. The religious portion of the wedding is usually performed shortly after the marriage, perhaps to symbolize that, just as day and night unite and blend, so the wedded pair should be united in weal 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. 97). The groom, wearing a white ceremonial robe and holding a shawl in his hand, sits 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 (hirun). 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, fruitifying sun, whereas the round hirun 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—are in early times it was usual to name that house by the names of the bride given to present gifts. The sum of 2000 silver dirhams and 2 gold dikes, mentioned in the manuscripts to have been the average sum which a groom of moderate means was expected to provide for his bride. On the Āruvi, with the bride's family, and with the groom's family, such gifts as are usual in India are exchanged. On the Divō, with the groom's family, and with the bride's family, and on the Ādāri, with the bride's family, and with the groom's family, presents are exchanged, chiefly from the bride's family, on several other days between betrothal and marriage. A considerable time might elapse between betrothal and marriage (Vend. xv. 9; cf. Geiger, p. 245).
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marked with turmeric (whose yellow colour is held to symbolize the sun, and hence abundance and fertility), the groom is welcomed by his future mother-in-law, a fresh mark of kunkun is made on his forehead, and rice is made to adhere to it, and it also thrown over his head.

During the marriage ceremony the officiating priest again sprinkles rice over the bride and groom, and before the recital of the 7th and 8th verses of the pair three handfuls of rice each other, some mothers making the couple eat a few grains of rice then.

An egg, a coco-nut, and a little tray of water are now 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 for them a silver coin. Formerly it was 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, while the bride’s chair is left unoccupied in the centre of the apartment. On stands beside the chairs are trays of rice to be thrown over the pair, and lighted candles, while beside the bride is a small vessel of ghī and molasses (typifying gentleness and sweetness) which stands before the pair, holding a burning censer in one hand and a little frankincense in the other. Beside each of the contracting parties stands a witness, usually the merchant, and generally married persons.

The following requisites are necessary for a regular marriage: (1) the marriage must be celebrated before an assembly of at least five persons who have been summoned for this special occasion; (2) the contracting parties are asked by the officiating priest whether they consent to be united in wedlock; (3) the hands of bride and groom are joined (khatkhati, "hand-fasting") and a symbolic knot also plays a prominent part in the ceremony; (4) the actual marriage ceremony is followed by a benediction accompanied by waught and rice, etc.

Before being seated side by side, the bride and groom are made to 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 the recital of the Yathk ahi sarvah, a piece of cloth 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 Yathk ahi sarvah the khatkhati is then performed by fastening the right hands with twists of raw yam, 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 perquisites of the family priests, even though 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 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. Following the recital of the benedictions the priests also throw rice over the pair. They are now seated side by side.

The more strictly religious portion of the ceremony is now over. Two priests stand before the pair, the elder of whom blesses them, praying that Ahura Mazda may grant them 'progeny of sons and grandchildren, 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 bridegroom’s family, he consents to the marriage 'in accordance with the rites and rules of the Mazdaansians, promising to pay her the bride price of 2000 dinars of pure white silver and 2 dinars of pure gold of Nishapour, so that the similar question is asked of the witness for the bride’s family, and then of the contracting parties, the questions being repeated three times. Next follows the recital, by both the officiating priests (Yun, or 'thrice') of the Parindasnamah or Asiroid (fr. F. Spiegel, Avata úberzet, Leipzig, 1852-63, i. 232-234, and, in great part, by the present writer, in Dorsbai Franji Karaka, Hist. of the Persis, i. 182 ff.). The adoptions in the Asiroid are 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 yeznotas (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 hosts.

The Asiroid is followed by another group of benedictions in Pzand, this group being called the Tan durn (ed. E. X. Anstz, Pzand Texts, Bombay, 1899, p. 164, t. Spiegel, op. cit. iii.).

The marriage ritual is repeated at midnight. From Anquetil du Perron (i. p. 319, ii. 558, n. 5) this appears to be a reminiscence of the earlier Persian custom when, in Kirmuk 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 solemn ritual, are also observed, especially by women, in the Mofassil towns. The first of these, which, like the others of this class, is now observed more as a joke, is chhekti chedi, in which the nearest friend of the bridegroom is required to tie the skirt of the jand, or flowing dress, of the groom to that of the sari 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 daht baraz, or making the newly-weds’ chair partake of food consisting of dapsi (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 ekhi bokhi or even. Each takes several rupees in the right hand and asks the other whether the number is odd (ekhi) or even (bokhi); 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 toast, 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 JAMBHERJI MODI

2. Next-of-kin marriage.—A problem of peculiar delicacy in connexion with Iranian marriage is the question of the nashündah (Vahavi vešted, kka), usually translated 'next-of-kin marriage' of the modern Parsis maintain that this is a marriage.

1 The etymology of the word is apparently noto, 'belonging to (or the community or clergy)'—compare with Lat nates, and croista, 'marriage' (C. Bartholomew, W. A. Strasbourg, 1904, col. 1890). For a less plausible etymology, based on native tradition (Bhaktat, iii. 22, 161, West, SEP xiii. 401), see Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, t. 125 b.
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between first cousins, and such is certainly its present connotation. The Greek and Latin writers, on the other hand, regarded *vzwštådèthlja* as referring to marriages between children and not of uterine brothers and sisters; and in this view they are followed by the great majority of non-Parsi scholars of the present day.

In this connection, it is worth noting for the solution of the problem, and mentions *vzwštådèthlja* only in five passages—all late.

The Mazdayan religion commands *vzwštådèthlja* (Yt. xxvii. 19). This ceremony, named *vzwštådèthlja* by a young man is to be chosen who has contracted it (Vesp. iii. 3; cf. Gka iv. 3); corpsebearers may be purified, not only with the urine of cattle, but also with the urine of a man and woman who have performed *vzwštådèthlja* (Vend. viii. 18; no other human beings can produce this vehicle of purification); and Vištasp is the protector, among others, of the youth who fulfills the requirement of *vzwštådèthlja* (Yt. xxv. 17). Barthold's claim (vol. 1870) that Vištasp's wife Huisoza was also his sister, on the basis of Yt. xv. 34; was scarcely be deemed cogent (see Huisoza, Early Zoroastrianism, p. 221 f.), in spite of the assertion of the late Pahlavi Vázkat-*Zarúna* (iv. The Pahlavi commentator on Yt. xlv. 4 clearly sees an allusion to *vzwštådèthlja* between father and daughter, but the text does not sustain his conjecture.1

The evidence of the Greek and Latin writers is unanimous as regards the nature of *vzwštådèthlja*. That the royal house should practice the marriage of parents, children, or of brothers and sisters, is not inexplicable. It probably rested, at least at a number of times, upon a desire to keep the royal blood absolutely pure, and finds a conspicuous illustration in the history of Egyptian dynasties.2 Thus Cambyses married his sister, and, though he had eaten the flesh of his father Darius (Herodotus, vii. 16), that before this ruler's time, the Persians were not wont to exclude with their sisters, we are told that the notorious Parysatis urged her son Artaxerxes Longimanus to wed his sister Atossa (Plut. Artax. 23; cf. Euseb. Prep. Ero. vi. 19.) For a less certain instance see Ctesias, Pers. 2), to whom her own sister Darius later offered marriage (Plut. Artax. 26). The Baotrian satrap Syapnithres married his mother (Quintus Curtius, VIII. ii. 19), and Terindelmes his sister (Ctesias, Pers. 54.) The only case alleged in the Sassanian period was the marriage of Kavast with his daughter Sambyle (Agath. ii. 23). This custom is reported, however, not only of the royal family, but also of the Persians generally. Additional marital relations with mother, daughter, or sister are alluded to by Diogenes Laertius (Proem. 7, xi. 83), Strabo (p. 735), Plutarch (de Fort. Alex. i. 88), the Athenaeus, v. 625 f., Jerome (in Jovin. ii. 7), Clemens Alexandrinius (Pans. i. 7), and Minucius Felix (Octo. 31). Philo states (de Spec. Leg. p. 778 B) that children from union of mother and son were deemed particularly well-born, and Catullus says (lixiiii. 31), that 'magus ex mater et gnato signatum optaret.' This last quotation is of considerable significance in determining the real origin of a custom which excited horror among the classical authors. Xenophon Lydus, as cited by Clemens Alexandrinius (Strom. i. 2, ad fin.), had centuries before, recorded such marriages as peculiarly Magian, and Strabo (p. 1068) declared them to be an ancient usage (cf. also Sotion, cited by Diog. Laert. Proem. 7). In the Sassanian period the Christian martyr Mihrangumasp had, before his conversion, married his sister (G. Hoffmann, Anzeige aus gr. Abten pers. Martyrer, xvi, 1889, p. 93; and, as for another possible but uncertain reference to the *vzwštådèthlja* of Akhura Manzeli. Immortal, 1912, p. 139). The text is not unmixed allusion to it in Dinkart in. xlvii. Dornemesh, Zend-Avesta, l. 341, 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi construction of the Zend-Avesta text (Dinkart, xlvi. 1, xlvii. 1). There is no certain reference to the *vzwštådèthlja*; for the correct rendering see Mills, p. 370f.

Two centuries later, the reformer of Manjistân, Bahzár, forbade his followers to marry their mothers, sisters, daughters, or nieces (al-Birânî, Chronology of Anc. Persia, p. 334), and further, especially with uterine brothers and sisters; and in this view they are followed by the great majority of non-Parsi scholars of the present day.

Mills has now been reported by Massad (Pravirice d'or, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, ii. 145), that Farouk (the Thraëtaona of the Avesta) begot a daughter by his grand-grandson, another by his great-grandson, and so to the seventh generation (cf. also Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, Marburg, 1895, p. 192).

In the Pahlavi text allusions to *vzwštådèthlja* are common. Observance of it is one of the surest signs of piety in the coming days of evil, i.e. the Arab conquest (Bahman Yt. ii. 57, 61); it expiates mortal sin and forms the one insuperable barrier to the attacks of Aeshma, the incarnation of Fury (Sa'înast â-jâbâh, xii. 18, xvii. 51); it is especially obnoxious to demons, whose power it impairs (Dinkart, ii. 82); it is the second of the seven good works of religion, and its neglect the fourth of the thirty heinous sins, and is included in the thirty-three ways of gaining heaven (Dinâ-i Mângîn-î-Xrâtå, iv. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvi. 12). It is even said that it has been prescared by Zarathushtra as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind (Dinkart, iii. 195; cf. Selections of Zoroastrian Texts, xii. 13), and to arrange it is a work of merit (Dâštîn-i-Dînk, lxxviii. 19). In a word, from it to arise 'complete progress in the world... even unto the time of the renovation of the universe' (ib. lxxvii. 61).

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 8th favart of the lost Avesta Varâha-nâsâr Naek clearly refers to the *vzwštådèthlja* of brother and sister (Dinkart, ix. xlii. 27), and that of the 24th favart of the lost Bāhâ Naek to the wedlock of father and daughter (ib. lxxvii. 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. 392-410):

'The consummation of the mutual assistance of men is *vzwštådèthlja*. That which is... that with near kinsfolk, and, among near kinsfolk, that with those next of blood and the mutual connection of the three kinds of nearest kinsfolk—father and daughter, son and mother, and 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 Armaiti (cf. on Yt. xlv. 4 above); and on its probable origin as a cosmogonic myth of the *tâpâr* of Heaven and Earth, cf. L. H. Gray, AEW vii. (1904) 267, from which sprang the primeval being Gâymârâ, by the return of some of the souls of the dying Gâymârâ to Spenta Armaiti (cf. also Bundâhîn, xv. 1; Dâštîn-i-Dînk, lxxvi. 6; al-Birânî, p. 107), resulting in the birth of the first human pair, Majêrê and Masîyôrû, and by their procreation (cf. also Dinkart, iv. x. 10, Dâštîn-i-Dînk, xxxvi. 82, lxxvii. 7; lxxvi. 7.)

In the 5th chapter of a Pahlavi Rivayat, probably

1 The statement that Aris-i-Vârš had seven sisters, and all these seven sisters were as wives of Yt. vii. 3 (ii. 1-3, 7-10; scarcely earlier than the 6th cent. a.d.) may be compared, but is not absolutely certain in meaning (West, p. 397).

2 So West, p. 397; and later (SBE xxvii. (1905) 268) he retranslated the passage so that *vzwštådèthlja* is not unmixed allusion to it in Dinkart, in. xlvii. Dornemesh, Zend-Avesta, l. 341, 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi construction of the Zend-Avesta text (Dinkart, xlvi. 1, xlvii. 1). There is no certain reference to the *vzwštådèthlja*; for the correct rendering see Mills, p. 370f.

2 Another stock argument for brother-and-sister marriage was found in the legend of the union of the primeval twins Yima and his sister (Pahlavi Yima and Yima; see Bund. xxi. 1, and West, SBE xxvii. 46). This legend was introduced in the extant Avesta, though it evidently dates from the Indo-Iranian period, since it forms the theme of Rigveda x. 10.
written between the Arab conquest of Persia and the 16th cent., found preceding the Dastītan-Dīnāk in many MSS, there is a lengthy polemic in favour of zvēktākas, there written zvēktādāt (ed. Bamanji Nasarianji Dhabar, Pahlavi Rīvdag y n a c- cōrapmty, Bombay, 1915, pp. 9–21, tr. in extracts West, SBV xviii. 415–495). Defending it by the old examples of Abūrā Mazda and Spenna Armaite and of Masāy and Masāyān, it says, that when a man (unmarried with mother, daughter, or sister, zvēktādās is superior in religious merit even to the ceremonial worship of Abūrā Mazda, the replenishing of the sacred fire, or showing becoming reverence to a priest, and that it saves the most heinous sinners from hell.

When the millennium is about to dawn, 'all mankind will perform zvēktādāt, and every head will perform through the miracle and power of Khvēštādāt'. The first time that a man practises it, 'a thousand demons will die, and two thousand wiles and witches . . . and when he goes near to it four times, it is known that the man and woman become perfect. . .

...When some one year in a marriage of Khvēštādāt becomes the domain of all the world . . . has been given by him . . . unto a righteous man . . . And when he keeps four years in his marriage, and his final (funeral) ritual is performed, it is known that his soul thereby goes to the ordinary heaven (khvēštādāt); and when the ritual is not performed, it goes to the domain of the evil (Khvēštādāt). This is the custom of those who observe zvēktākas is a hundred times more to the good deeds done by other pious men; and the penalty for divulging is from this is hell.

From certain passages in the same chapter it is very evident that zvēktākas are the narrow sense here advocated was by no means pleasing to the Parsi community.

Thus, when Abūrā Mazda and Zarathustra held council, Zarathustra said: 'This duty and good work shall I fulfil first?' Ashurman spoke thus: 'Khvēštādāt.' . . . Zarathustra spoke unto Ashurman thus: 'In my eyes it is an evil (vadāt) which is done.' Ashurman spoke: 'In my eyes, also, it is just as in thine; but I have been told that there is no evil mixed with it.' 'It should not seem so' (West, p. 425).

As early as the date of composition of Dinkart, iii. 82, there are indications that zvēktākas had come to bear its present meaning of marriage of first cousins, and this is the teaching of more modern Parsi Rīvdag (West, pp. 404, 425 f.) and the practice of Zoroastrians at the present day.

The Parsi theory of the origin of zvēktādāta is fairly clear. The Dinkart (iii. 82) that its basis was a desire to preserve purity of race, to increase the compatibility of husband and wife, and to raise the writer does for children, which would be felt in redoubled measure for offspring so wholly of the same family. Another reason—doubtless well founded, especially after the Arab conquest—was that marriage outside the family might tend to religious laxity and even to perversion to another faith (Rīvdag viii., tr. West, p. 416 f.). As a matter of fact, however, these arguments are inadequate to explain the real origin, and the suggestion of Just (Gll. iii. 435) that the source is to be found in Egypt (cf. Egyptian section, above) is equally improbable.

There is no evidence that incestuous zvēktādāta was known in the Avesta, and it is not usual in Pahlavi writings of the 8th–9th centuries that it is unmistakably advocated (West, p. 427 f.). At the same time, the testimony of the Greek and Latin witnesses cannot be ignored; and, while we may grant, for the sake of the argument, that in the later Zoroastrian period there was vital religious reason for incestuous zvēktādāta, as set forth by the Dinkart and the Rīvdag, no such reason can be adduced for the custom standing prior to the 8th century. It is clear, moreover, that incestuous zvēktādāta was then not restricted to noble and royal families.

It is true that the Pahlavi summaries of lost Avesta texts afford the only authentic reading of zvēktādāta (iii. 82, above, p. 457 f.), but the baseless reading of zvēktādāta into Zv. iv. xiv. 27. 741. and the writer's [above, p. 457] hints that we cannot rejoin implicit confidence in the accuracy of these summaries.

but that it was also practised widely among the common people. On the other hand, the present writer knows at present of no cases in the historic (as distinguished from the legendary) period of Zoroastrianism, except the Sasanian royal instance alluded to above, and the marriage of Mihram-gushnasap.

We must also note that incest was abundant to the Indian branch of the Indo-Iranian family (for see J. Joly, Recht und Sitte [614 p. 8], Strassburg, 1896, and especially M. 801 f., 110–114, 117, 152–158). Among the other Indo-European peoples the Greeks permitted marriage between uncles and nieces, nephews and aunts, and half-brothers and half-sisters on the paternal side (see 'Greek' section, above, § 2); the ancient Prussians and Lithuanians have been allowed marriage with any kinsman except one's own mother (O. Schrader, Reallex. der indogerman. Altertumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, p. 809 f.); and equal licence is ascribed to the ancient Irish (cf. 'Celtic' section, above).

There remains, then, two hypotheses on the origin of incestuous zvēktādāta. (a) It may be derived from a non-Indo-European people. This theory is maintained by Moulton (pp. 234–238), who holds that the custom was Magian, and so neither Indo-European nor Semitic (cf. ib. chs. vi.–vii., and art. MA01), nor Iranian at all, although or even criticizing Moulton's very plausible, even probable, theory, it may be suggested that the practice was genuinely Persian. In view of the extremely primitive character of the Indo-Slavonic peoples, who have, not without reason, been claimed as those who have retained most truly the original type of Indo-European civilization (S. Feist, Cultur . . ., Berlin, 1913, p. 478; O. Schrader, Sprachvergleichende Umgang und Umgang, Jena, 1907, ii. 129 f.; and art. Aryan Religion, passim), the occurrence among them—as among the almost equally primitive ancient Irish—of what is practically identical with incestuous zvēktādāta is certainly significant. On this hypothesis, Zarathustra's reformation did away with zvēktādāta, as with so much else of the older Iranian which his litter was rejected; but, when the more ancient folk-religion returned, it restored zvēktādāta, together with many other things that had been discarded. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to decide between these hypotheses; he merely presumes his own for what it may be worth.

Whatever the origin of incestuous zvēktādāta—which is perhaps nothing but endogamy carried to its extreme—so much is clear: pure Zoroastrianism never knew it; it was practised by none-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 theoretical ideal, prompted 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—body of the present. 1

1 The instance of Yama and Yami, already mentioned, does not militate against this, for a case attested 10 (on which see especially J. von Schrader, Mysteries and Mithras (in Festschrift, Leipzig, 1908, p. 275 f.) Yama manifests extreme reluctance to the union. The problem is thus raised from the human race from a primordial pair of twins. The same remarks apply to the myth of the godhead {a cognate myth comparable with the Vedic couple (see Riz. xii. 18 f.), and especially Muir, Origin and Development Text, 1[1879] 107–114, lv. (1872) 40–46).
merely a temporary experience, never a real tenet; and it was repudiated, so no, as intensely by Zarathustra as by his disciples, a few centuries later.

3. Old Persian.—Concerning the specifically Old Persian marriage rites we possess only meagre information. Strabo tells us (p. 733) that marriages were performed at the beginning of the vernal equinox, and that before the ceremony the bridegroom sat in the nuptial couch he ate an apple or camel marrow, but nothing else during the whole day. We also learn from Arrian (Anab. VII. iv. 7) that a seat of honor was placed before the groom, and that his prospective bride came "after the caps had gone round" (μερικὰ τὰ σαρώ', being welcomed by her husband with the giving of the right hand and a kiss. Naturally a banquet formed part of the wedding (Est 2:8; Jos. Ant. xi. vi. 2).

To the Scyths (g.v.), at least some of whom were Iranians, the Greeks ascribed the practice of each man having free access to the wives of his fellow tribesmen, although Herodotus (I. 218, iv. 104) restricts this to the Massagetae and Agathyrsi. The latter were possibly Iranian (E. H. G. Mynms, Scythians and Greeks, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102; cf. W. F. Lotze, Persica, I. 754 L.). The former are considered Iranian—they are certainly so—by J. Marquart (Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Iran, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1896–1905. vii, 711, 340. Evian, Berlin, 1901, p. 150), though this is doubted by Mynms (p. 111), who, probably rightly, regards them as a "mixed collection of tribes without an ethnic unity." In any event, as he says (p. 98), this form of marriage (for all Indo-European instances of which see H. Hirt, Indogermanen, Strassburg, 1906–07, p. 703; Schrader, Realllex. p. 634) is probably 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 Taiho-ryo (A.D. 701–1185), much influenced by Chinese morals and laws; (2) that of feudalism (from the end of the 12th to the 15th centuries), moulded by bushi, Japanese knighthood, much influenced by the authority of the head (patria potestas) which has varied from a great age to the present 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 Taiho-ryo was often very large, including over one hundred persons, but the numbers gradually decreased until at present it consists of only five or six individuals. Marriage under such a system not only brings changes in the status of the contracting parties, but also means the removal of a member of one group to another. In other words, marriage brought a man and a woman and also between two families. Therefore, when a marriage is to take place, 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 Taiho-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 required. In the present age the 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 caste in the strict sense of the term never existed in Japan, the Taiho-ryo was a humble class, which was not allowed to intermarry with others, who were recognized, and the child of such a marriage belonged to the humble class. During the feudal age the people were divided into lords, knights, and commoners including farmers, artisans, and merchants. Marriage was required special permission. A marriage between members of the lordly class required sanction from the central government until 1871. According to the Taiho-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 Taiho-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 old age.

4. Monogamy.—Old laws and customs in Japan forbade multiple marriages, but not concubinage. According to the Taiho-ryo, concubines occupied the position of relatives in the second degree, and no limitation was made on the number of concubines of a 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 1889 concubinage ceased to be recognized by law, though the long-established custom still lingers 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. The reason was that 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 gradually rose in the authority of the head (patria potestas) which has varied from a great age to the present 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 Taiho-ryo was often very large, including over one hundred persons, but the numbers gradually decreased until at present it consists of only five or six individuals. Marriage under such a system not only brings changes in the status of the contracting parties, but also means the removal of a member of one group to another. In other words, marriage brought a man and a woman and also between two families. Therefore, when a marriage is to take place, 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 Taiho-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 required. In the present age the 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.
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, by the prohibition which has existed since the time of the Taiho-ryo. Social disapproval of such union is very severe; and, even when the woman or wife forgives and consents, the prohibition is binding and cannot be evaded, so that those found thus married 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 Tairyo marriage of cousins, or 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 husband’s property is always under the supervision of his wife while they are married.

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 Taiho-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 match-maker who renders service to both parties and their parents. When consent is given and the engagement made, gifts are exchanged, 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 intermediary, escorting the bride in her best attire, takes her seat at an appointed place, and the bride and bridegroom drink wine, exchanging cups nine times. This constitutes the entire ceremony, after which the bride and bridegroom 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 churches; and recently the custom has arisen of holding services at Shinto shrines. The law, however, requires no religious sanction, as it is only a civil marriage that is officially recognized.

10. Divorce.—Before the promulgation of the present code (1896-98), divorce, or, rather, repudiation, was very easily secured at the husband’s will. No legal procedure was necessary beyond the husband’s writ with his signature, but it was 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: by mutual consent, and by judicial decree. 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 1908 show the total number of marriages to have been 8,583,168 and of divorces 656,768, i.e., about 7 divorces out of 100 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. KOREA.—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 29 for men and 16 for women. It is usual for a girl of 12 or 13 years to marry 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 who consider the middle class never re-marry. Arrangements for marriage are made by fathers, grandfathers, 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 performed 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 new law, since annexation, 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 908.


T. Nakajima.

MARRIAGE (Jewish).—Every man is bound to marry a wife in order to beget children, and he who fails of this duty is as one who sheds blood, diminishes the Image [of God], and causes the Divine Presence (Shekhinah) to depart from Israel.'—thus runs the rule in the Code of Gaba (Shudent, Arubh, 13). It is based on ancient Rabbinic (Tannaitic) prescription (Yebamoth, 63b, 64b), itself inferred from well-known Biblical texts (esp. Gen. vi.) with following verses), and it is emphasized by the somewhat later apophthegms: '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 was imprinted on the generation the divine image; it was, with the consequent domestic felicity, 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 primitive systems (cf. Maimonides, Ishith, 1. 22). The social obligation was strengthened by Messianic hope—"the son of David—i.e., the Messiah—will not come until all souls stored for earthly life have been born" (Yeb. 62b). Though the purpose of marriage was the begetting of children, other aspects of marital life were fully appreciated (see article FAMILY. Jewish Law, and all of the quotations in M. Mielser, The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce, New York, 1901, p. 181; I. Abrahams, Jewish Laws in the Middle Ages, 1901, p. 181;
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London, 1896, p. 114). Very profound is the Rabbinic view that man's yérer is in this instance the cause of good; but for his passions man would not build a house, nor beg children (Gen. Rabb. ch. ix.). Man, in Rabbinic theology, is impelled by two yéréras ("impulses, inclinations"); one good and one evil, both of which are termed desires by the temper of the soul (Sif. on Deut. 6 Maimonides, Bikk. iv. 5). The bodily passions are not in themselves evil (cf. F. C. Porter, 'Yēzer Hara,' in Yale Bicentenary vol. of Biblical and Semitic Studies, New York, 1906), and the control of his spirit and its direction into holy ends were effected (cf. Maimonides, Guide of the Perplexed, iii. 35). 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' (Qadushin, 106).

With regard to the authority of parents in arranging marriages of their children while minors see Ere v. 742. When the parties were adult, the consent of parents was not necessary to make valid marriages (Maimonides, Ishq. viii.), but, as MiELZNER adds, 'in consequence of the high respect and veneration, however, in which father and mother have ever been held among Jews, the case of contracting marriages without the parents' consent fortunately belong to the rarest exceptions' (p. 69).

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 usual age of the bridegroom in Talmudic times was 18 to 20 (S. Krauss, Talmudische Arch/ologie, Leipzig, 1910-11, ii. 28). A Jewish court would often put pressure on a man over 20 to compel him to take a wife (Eben hā-zer, i. 3), 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 marriagable from the beginning of their thirteenth year, and at various times very youthful marriages have been reported (see Abrahams, ch. vii.). In recent times, while, on the whole, Jews probably marry at a somewhat earlier age than the general population, assimilation in social customs is modifying differences (statistics in JE vii. 338). There is no fixed law that Jews must marry more frequently than others marry their cousins. Marriage 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, with certain extensions (Yalk. 21; Maimonides, Ishq. i. 6; MiELZNER, p. 37), the latter being partly theoretical prolongations of legal ascendants and descendants; but in one case a new degree, homogeneous to the Biblical was added; for, while the Mosaic Law (Lev. 18) 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 uttermost brother's wife (MiELZNER, 29). These marriages (see Eben hā-zer, 683) 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. Henriquez, Jewish Marriages and English Law, London, 1906. It may in general be said that while the law maintains 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 the husband and wife's sister is valid in Jewish law, such a marriage was never solemnized in England while English law disallowed it. So, too, though by Jewish law a man may marry his niece (though a woman may 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 kihān-i.e. one tracing descent from the first aposterel ewed divoced 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 Beth Din (Jewish ecclesiastical court). On the other hand, the levirate marriage was no longer in general use (though a few instances are recorded) at the beginning of the Christian era (the Sadducean question in Mt 22 was probably theoretical), has now lost all vogue (Eben hā-zer, clix., and commentaries: JE vii. 171). In the case of a childless widow the brother-in-law goes through the ceremony of hārāt (Deut 25), which frees her to marry a stranger (MiELZNER, p. 54 f.; JE vi. 170 f., where the rite is illustrated). On the levirate marriage see further, I. MATTECK, in Studies in Jewish Literature, Berlin, 1913, p. 210; on marriages between uncle and niece, S. KRASS, ib. 105.

Except for rare cases in countries where Muhammadan 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 KRASS, ii. 27). 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 fell into disuse. That monogamy was the Biblical ideal is shown by Gn 2, i.e. 21-27, and the whole tendency of the Song of Songs (cf. A. Harper, Song of Solomon, Cambridge, 1902, p. xxxiv); and the same conclusion is drawn from the mythological imagery in which marriage typifies the relation between the one God and the unique people Israel. Polygamy survived among the Jews into the Christian era (see references in JE viii. 658), but monogamy was then and thereafter the general rule. The difficulty was that, as the end of marriage was the begetting of children, childless marriages were no fulfilment of that end, and in case of the wife's sterility the older authorities were divided in view as to the relative advisability of insisting on divorce or of permitting a second simultaneous marriage (on this and several other questions of Jewish marriage and divorces, see the writer's evidence before the Divorce Commission); but by the beginning of the 11th cent. monogamy was made the binding and absolute rule for all western Jews (Abrahams, i. 188).

The ancient and medieval preliminaries to marriage have, in modern times, lost much of their old significance. Betrothal (kisvin or qiddushin) in Rabbinic law was not a mere agreement or contract for a future marriage, but an act involving the actual privileges or responsibilities of the married state, betrothal was so far the initiation of marriage that it could be terminated only by death or divorce.
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, Kollelash, v. 2). The legal betrothal was always preceded by an "engagement," and this 'engagement' gradually replaced the older betrothal. Often a professional match-maker (shahidahim) 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:

'Be thou consecrated unto me by this [ring] according to the law of Moses and Israel.' The marriage rite was and is invalid without the bride's consent—her consent is formally stated in the Ketubbah (see below); but, until recent times, she took a passive part in the ceremony, the formula being spoken by the man only. In some orthodox and in many Sephardic, the bride's part is now more active. For the validity of a marriage the presence of a Rabbi is not essential, but such presence is usual, and so are other ceremonies: the use of a ring, an espoused (shagah), the breaking of a glass, the recital of the Ketubbah, and the repetition of the Seven Benedictions.

The ring, now so usual in Jewish weddings, is not a Talmudic, but was introduced in the Geonic age (A. Harkavy, Tahwibhahim hap. Geonim, Berlin, 1887, § 65), perhaps in the 7th cent. The ring replaced the older gift of money or some article of value; it must not contain gems (Abrahams, p. 183), and need not be of gold. Possibly the use of the ring was derived from Rome, just as the objection to marriages between Passover and Pentecost corresponds to the Roman prohibition of marriages in May (J. Landesberger, in Jud. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, and Leben, vii. [1869] 81). In the Middle Ages Friday was a favorite day for Jewish marriages, though the Talmud objects to such marriages. Wednesday was also a common day for virgins, and Thursday for widows. In modern times there are no restrictions to days of the week, except that marriages are not celebrated on Sabbath or fast days. 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 the marriage ceremony the ring is put on the forefinger 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 the 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 in L. Levine, in Generaler Scheve, where many other Jewish marriage questions, historical, social, and legal, are also discussed (iii., Szegedin, 1893, pp. 13-53).

The bride and bridegroom usually stand under a huppah or canopy, during the marriage ceremony; the rite has been abrogated in some of the modern Jewish congregations. Originally the huppah was the marriage chamber, into which the bride and groom were conducted after a procession, but it is now merely symbolic, and consists of four upright posts covered by a canopy of silk or tapestry (for details see Abrahams, p. 183; for illustrations, JE vi. 504 ff.). A regular preliminary of the ceremony is the signing by the bridegroom of the ketubbah (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 also the wife's dowry, in respect of which, as of the husband's settlement, the ketubbah was, in all cases of claim on husband's property (see Mielziner, p. 104 f.), and the ketubbah protected these rights, and also formed a potent restraint against rash divorces. An instance of a ketubbah, however, the reader may refer to L. Ginsberg, Gemara, New York, 1906, ii. 729. In Oriental lands the ketubbah often included a solemn undertaking by the bridegroom to observe strictly the law of monogamy (see Abrahams, p. 189), and the document published by him in Jews' College Jubilee Volume, London, 1906, p. 101). Of the many marriage customs which have prevailed in Jewish marriage ceremonies, one deserves special mention. The bridegroom breaks a glass, but the meaning of the rite is uncertain. Some have seen in it a symbolic allusion to the close of the anti-nuptial condition (some say that the theory is that the custom arose from... a desire to keep men's joys tempered by more serious thoughts, and on the other hand from the never-forgetten memory of the mourning for Zion (see Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer Book, London, 1914, p. cxxvii). The same phenomenon is seen in the 'Seven Benedictions' cited below, where Jer 33:16 is effectively used. As regards the momentous nature of the Jewish prenuptial ceremony is recorded in the Talmud (Brakhot, 30b):

'When the son of Rabbah was married, the father saw that the Rabbin present were in an unpious mood; so he took a costly vase of white crystal worth 400 minims and broke it 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 differing of poor brides was an act of sanctified loving-kindness (Habbath, 12b); and the assistance at wedding festivities was an element in pious life (Proph. 34). Lyric praises of the bride were so regular a habit that we find quaint discussions as to the terms to be used in the eulogies (Habbath, 17a). On the subject of other wedding customs, both Oriental and Western, see Abrahams, ch. x. and x.; JE viii. 340 ff.; Krause, ii. 57; W. Rosenkrantz, Ceremonial Institutions and Customs, Baltimore, 1902, ch. xi.

Most characteristic of the Jewish marriage ceremony are the Seven Benedictions, which are already quoted in the Talmud (Habbath, 8). First comes the benediction over wine (on the use of wine in Jewish ceremonial see Annotated Prayer Book, p. cxxxii); then follows 'blessed art thou... (sof the creator as the author of all things to His glory; after this
MARRIAGE (Roman).—It is a comparatively easy task to describe the Roman idea and practice of marriage, if we confine our description to historical times; for there the evidence is fairly complete, and the state of society familiar to us. But the subject is complicated by its antiquities; and these cannot be wholly omitted, for they are the foundation of marriage systems, and they reflect the earlier conditions of Roman society from which the later practice descended. We shall begin, then, with these antiquities, and so clear away the main difficulties, which, however, cannot be fully explained in the present state of our knowledge.

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; but at what stage, whether among the people of the terrae maxima in N. Italy or still further back, we cannot tell. The simulated rape of pasta (see below), the parting of her hair with a spear, possibly the lifting her over the threshold of her husband’s house, taken together with the legend of the rape of the Sabine women, suggests a custom. 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 we have no evidence in the Roman marriage. Marriage was originally within the limits of the gens (Marquardt, Privatunterthumer, 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 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 composito, which, as we shall see, was merely a simulacrum of the marriage by purchase from the potestas of her father to the manus of her husband (for the possible connexion of the compositio with marriage by purchase see Westermarck, MT ii. 364 ff.).

2. Early forms of marriage: confarreatio, 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 summa matrimonium, such as was the result of all 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 compositio, i.e. cohabitation without marriage, were not to 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; as Ulpian says, in the clearest exposition that we have of the law, 'Summa matrimonium est si inter eos qui nuptias contrahunt connubium sit.' Connubium, or uti connubii, is the right of contracting true or legal marriage, and belonged, at least, to Caesar (i. 58), to Roman citizens only, to Latins and foreigners only when it had been granted by the State. And, as marriage in this true sense meant the transference of the bride from one definite legal and religious position to another, from the sacra of one family to those of another (see Family [Roman]), and from the potestas of one paterfamilias to the manus of another, it is obvious that the process was one of the utmost gravity both for the families concerned and for the State. The sense of this grave importance is best seen in what, rightly or wrongly, is generally believed to have been the oldest form of patrician marriage, which was applicable only to patrician families throughout Roman history—confarreatio or farreus, so named from the sacred cakes of far (the old Italian wheat) used sacramentally in the rite. Confarreatio stood also next in age to the presence of the Pontefex Maximus and the Flamen Dies, the former, no doubt, representing in the Republican age the Rex of an earlier time (see Fowler, Religious Experience of the Roman People, London, 1891, p. 271), and the Flamen representing Jupiter, the deity of good faith in all alliances. When the preliminaries had been adjusted (spomandia, auspicio, etc., see below), which were common to all insta matrimonio, a cake of far was offered to Jupiter Farreus, and sacramentally shared by bride and bridegroom, in the presence of the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamen Dies, and ten other witnesses. This number ten has given rise to much discussion, but it is so common throughout Roman procedure that there need be no special significance in it (in Livy, xxxvii. 3, it appears to have religious meaning, and so perhaps in confarreatio). A victim also was offered (to what deity is uncertain), the skin of which was stretched over two seats, on which the bride and bridegroom had to sit (for these and other details see Gaius, i. 112, Serv. ad Aen. iii. 347, Georg. i. 81 ; Dei Aug. on Book ii. 11). The ceremony itself must be noted, do not perform the service, but witness it, giving this rite a peculiar solemnity which our authorities do not explain, probably because they did not understand it. Modern scholars and students of Roman law have usually thought of it as the real original form of marriage.
in the Roman State, which must be imagined as an accumulation of both 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, Dialis, Martialis, and Quintus Flaminus (Gaius, i. 118). Later, however, it has been suggested (by Cuq, Institutions juridiques, p. 215 ff., followed by Lamprach, State and Family in Early Rome, p. 110 ff.) that it came into existence only when the 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. It is possible that the confarreatio may have been a very special religious form, originating in the marriage of the Rex only, or in families forming an inner circle of aristocracy, from which the Rex must have been chosen, and which would be likely or willing to supply children qualified to become camilli patrini et matrimini 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 it, but not exactly that which we have been accustomed to imagine.

There are 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 under marriages which did not produce confarreatio 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 filius familias in the potestas of his father. Thus marriage, the form by which, in the presence of five witnesses and a libratores (a form which could be used for other purposes besides marriage), the bride was made over to the manus of her husband by a symbolic purchase (Gaius, i. 115), 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 confarreatio in manus took a whole year to complete the process; 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 absenting herself yearly for three nights from her husband's house, by which means, in legal language, the manus would be barred (Gaius, i. 111). It is not easy to see that this was the reason why the husband could acquire manus, and the one most commonly in use. Confarreatio and confutex both presuppose the existence of the law and the state of the full development, but manus may go much further back. Manus and confutex are, however, alike in this, that they have 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 plebeians or Latins, when these attained consulship; but this could not be so with confarreatio, if, as we have assumed, the main object of the latter was at all times to be the exclusive holding of the exclusely patrician religious offices.

In these three methods of marriage the union was accompanied by manus, though in the case of manus not till a year had elapsed. Usus, indeed, shows us plainly that the Romans 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 iuris, but a filius familias 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; and 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 as proving that a tendency in this direction had shown itself much earlier. After that time, mainly, no doubt, from reasons of convenience connected with the ease of a marriage without manus came to be almost universal. Usus died out altogether (Gaius, i. 111); confarreatio survived as a legal expedient in certain cases (e.g., CIL vi. 1627; CIL vii. 24163 Turc, lines 14); and confarreatio became so commonplace that its bonds had to be relaxed by Augustus in order to get a supply of candidates for the old patrician priesthoods (Gaius, ii. 138; Tac. Ann. iii. 71, iv. 16; Sustin. Aug. 31). Yet marriage law continued to be as complete and binding a union as before, and we now have to see what made it so, by briefly examining the process as we know it in historical times.

3. The historic period.—(a) Conditions of marriage.—The necessary conditions of marriage were:

1. The families of both parties must possess the usus comunitatis (as explained above); 2. The parties must not be within the prohibited degrees of relationship (cognato).

Originally no cognato could marry who were within the seventh degree of relationship; i.e., second cousins could not marry; this was, no doubt, a survival from a period in which families of three generations are under the same roof, and were therefore, by a well-known psychological law, unsuitable for intermarriage (see E. Westermarck, History of Human Marriage; London, 1904, p. 320 ff.). Traces of such large households are not wanting in Roman history (Val. Max. iv. 8; Plut. Crassus, i. 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 Marquardt, Privatlehrbucher, 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. xi. 6; Gaius, i. 629). (3) The consent of the parties was absolutely necessary, but not that of the parties themselves, who were 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. 140 f.). This was a survival of the old custom in many parts of the world, where the maintenance 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 (sponsatio), however, at Rome was not a promise of marriage but a legal contract, and might be broken by
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consequent if there was a strong dislike on the part of either boy or girl (see, however, Serv. Sulpicius, in Aul. Gell. iv. 4). The early betrothal 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, or, once the marriage was consummated, the two persons were considered to be one. The age of puberty and the toga 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.

(8) Ritual.—If all these conditions were fulfilled, a day was fixed for the marriage which must be one of good omen; as with May, was an unlucky month for this purpose, and so was the early part of the year, while certain days, such as reiugiones were to be avoided (Fowler, Rel. Exper., p. 38 ff.). At earliest dawn, according to ancient usage both public and private, the auspices were taken by the right of birds; but by Cicero's time this seems to have dropped and the election of the exact hour that the victim 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 flammeum, or hood of red or yellow, and the tunica recta with a woolen girdle fastened with the nodus herculaeus, this knot, we learn from Piny (HN xxvii. 63), was used for binding up wounds and we may therefore suppose that it was a charm against various kinds of evil (c.f., however, ERE vii. 749). Her hair was parted into four separate locks with a spear-head (hasta collisibalis), which may have been a survival from pre-historic marriage by capture; and under the flammeum she carried a bunch of herbs picked by her own hand (Festus, e.n. 'Cornu' [p. 56, Lindsay]). She was then ready for the actual marriage rites, which, as will now be seen, was a matter not only of secular contract, but of religious usage; it is occasionally called a sacrum, as in Luan, Phar. ii. 350 (of the marriage of Cato): 'a vestimentary textum in hoc sacramentum' (Festus, p. 249 [p. 292, 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 Hochzeit- und Ehedekämmer, Leipzig, 1871, passim; these are, however, all of very late date, and not easy to interpret. The destrarum arcus, a symbolic act of union, in which, under the guidance of a promus, who must be a matron only once married, the bride placed her right hand in the right hand of the bridegroom (Festus, p. 242 [p. 292, 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 Hochzeit- und Ehedekämmer, Leipzig, 1871, passim; these are, however, all of very late date, and not easy to interpret. The destrarum arcus took place, so far as we can see, in all cases, and the important fact is that it was not always accompanied by the solemn declaration of consent. Possibly the Veiius was the usual method in early times (Fowler, Rel. Exper., pp. 121, 138), and it is sometimes, at least since the two in E. iv. 106. When the sacrifices had been offered by the pair, the persons present swore on a palus 'by way of good omen, and the wedding ceremony, exquisitely described by Catullus in his first poem. She was taken to the boy's house, 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 old, and of good ones, one of whom carried a torch of white-wood, while the other two held her by the hands; flute-players and torch-bearers went before, the mysterious and unexplained cry 'Talasse' was raised, and nuts were thrown to the youthful lookers-on. When the bride 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 averi evil (for the see J. Play. De Lanza in antiquorum ritibus usus, in RSVV ex. ii. [Gassen, 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 obvious in its details, but the general meaning is plain. It was called 'reception into community of' fire and water' ('reception in ignem acceptus', i.e. into partnership with these necessities of human existence (E. Samter, Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer, Berlin, 1901, p. 28 ff.). We are also told that she brought with her three coins (aunae), one of which she gave to her husband, one she laid on the hearth, and the third she threw down at the nearest compitum ('crossways') (Normus, p. 802, Lindsay). Here she seems to be making an offering to the genius of her house, to the spirit of the hearth-fire, and to the Lar of the family's land allotment, who dwelt in a sanctuari at the compitum (see Fowler, Rel. Exper., p. 77). She was now in the atrium proper which, opposite the door, the lectus gentilis had been made ready. The morrow would find her a mater-familias 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 Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities). As Cuv. well puts it (p. 291), 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 with empty hands and lived at 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 patronymic 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 of politics or intellectual she was expected to be silent.

'When she went out arrayed in the graceful vesta matronalis, she was treated with respect, and the boy looked after 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. 144).

The character induced and expressed by such a position is exemplified in the legendary story of Corto, the son of the mother of the Greek, in Caesar's mother Julia, and, among many others, in the perfect lady whose courage, good sense, and domestic virtues live for ever on the marble of the Capitol. The Reins (CIL vi. 1227; Fowler, Social Life, p. 109 f.)

4. Divorce.—No doubts towards the end of the
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Republic the type of womanly virtue just described was growing rare, owing to the gradual break-up of the tribal family life—the result of a moral degeneracy which even Augustus was unable effectually to check. This downward tendency is best seen in the history of divorce. Marriage by custom had been practically indissoluble; we hear of *differentia*, but it is said (Plut. *Quint. Rom.* 50) to have been so awful a rite that we assume that it was used only for penal purposes. But the other forms of marriage, not being of the sacred or canonical character, did not present the same difficulty, and the legal formula of divorce is as old as the XII Tables, and therefore probably earlier than the fifth century B.C. ('claves adimere or exigere' (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28; cf. above, p. 1299). By the 2nd cent. marriage was becoming unpopular in high social circles, and divorce was becoming common (Fowler, *Social Life*, p. 117 ff.). In the Ciceronian age it was extraordinarily frequent; almost all the well-known ladies of that period were divorced at least once. Pompey, though a man of excellent character, was married five times, Cæsar four times, Cicero three times. Under the Empire the virtuous Pliny the Younger also three times. There was no difficulty in the operation of divorce; it was purely a private matter, and either party could send in the petition of divorce without any given reason or any complaint of misconduct. No remedy was found for a disorder so universal; and to the looseness of the marriage-tie, and the corresponding disregard of what had once been the chief object of marriage to be wedded in part at least the degeneracy of Rome and Italy in the first three centuries of the Empire (L. Friedländer, *Sitzungsberichte Rom*, Leipzig, 1901, Eng. tr., London, 1908-13, i. 242 f.).


MARRIAGE (Semitic).—Students of social evolution seem justified in holding that the family of primitive man was an intermediate development between the sex of the closest animals and the lowest living man. 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 some communities it might in time easily 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 to bear children and sacrifices their virtue by one or more acts of free love. It was thus, apparently, that the temporary *hierodoulai* originated (see *Hierodoulai* [Semitic and Egyptian], vol. vi. p. 672 ff.). 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 the area was the cradle-land of the Semitic people. Naturally, the peculiar desert and oasis environment of the Arabian peninsula left its impress on the Semitic family life. In the oases dates and fruit, and to a certain extent, apparel and maintenance for the flocks was produced, but it was necessary to lead the flocks into the desert in search of pastureage. 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.

That marriage was, on the whole, temporary seems probable from the frequency of divorce in Semitic lands, especially among the Arabs and Abyssinians (see below). The researches of W. Robertson Smith established as well as the evidence will permit that among the early Semites kinship was reckoned through the mother: the researches for this view are as follows: (1) The well-known Biblical phrase for relationship is 'bed in parity' (Gen. 46:26). (2) The custom called *aspis*, 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 counting 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 priest Zabai, son of the prophet Daniel, and the Arabic antiquarians appear to have known that such cases were not uncommon. (3) The fear that sons would choose their mother's clans led men 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 him (Gen. 46:29). (8) Tamar might legally have been the wife of her half-brother Amnon, the relation being on the father's side (2 Sam. 13:15). Such unions were known in Judah as late as the time of Ezekiel (Ezk. 16:28). (9) Tabitha, 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 obnoxious to the Semites, kinship must in these cases have been counted through the mother. (9) In the Arabic genealogical tables metronymic groups are still found. (10) In Arabic inscriptions found at Hejra metronymic clans appear. To this evidence a few items gathered by other scholars. Nöldeke noted that among the Mandæans a man is described

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1 *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 170 ff.; cf. also *Barton, Semitic Origins*, p. 516.
2 *Ch. 21, l. 198, 299.*
as the son of his mother, which indicates that kinship was reckoned through the mother. F. E. Peters points 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. Wellhausen has observed that in the Pentateuch J counts descent through the mother, while P reckons through the father. Among some primitive peoples kinship is counted through the mother because they are ignorant of the part of the father in reproduction, among others, as e.g., the Nairs of the Malabar coast of India, 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 came 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 the Ugarit texts there are specific statements that the women whom the poets visited only occasionally were members of other clans, and that they often visited them at personal risk, which indicates that there were relations between 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. Ammianus Marcellinus was no doubt speaking of this type of marriage when he said that among the Arabs the bridegroom lived with his wife and her husband, and that, if she chose, she withdrew after a certain time. In this type of marriage, the propriety 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 the desert parts of the peninsula like Oman and Hasa, which are not so dominated by Islam as the rest of it. The type of marriage which seems to have prevailed in past, as well as in the present, is polyandry and polygamy. Just as a woman might receive successive husbands, so the husbands also 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'an, xvi. 61, lxxvi. 8), so that women must have been fewer than men. Marriages of this early Semitic form were not always as common as the mixed marriage offered in his Mu'allajat that he followed one day the whole tribe of the tribe who spent a day in their camp, and that of the tribe who afterwards rode and whose fruit he found he repeatedly tasted was the daughter of his uncle. In like manner Lailah, the woman celebrated in the poem of Amr b. Kutham, was Amr'skinswoman. Whether the marriages which 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 conditions there developed a type of temporary marriage for a specified time—three nights or more—called mutḥal marriage, which continued till the time of Muhammad.

Another type of polyandry, that called Tibetan, because first studied in Tibet, was the form of marriage in vogue at one time in the northern part of Arabia. In this form of marriage a whole family of brothers possess one wife in common. The most important witness to this type of marriage is Strabo, who says, in describing Arabia Felix:

'All the kindred have property in common, the eldest being lord; all have one wife, and it is first come first served, the man who enters her house first has the bark of the palm. It is customary for every one to carry it; but the night she spends with the eldest. Hence all are brothers of all; they all have conjugal intercourse with mothers; an adulterer is punished with death; an adulterer is a man of another stock.'

The reference to conjugal intercourse with mothers is probably not to be taken literally, but it is to be explained by Qur'an, iv. 26, where it appears that men had married wives of their fathers. In other respects the passage describes all the features of Tibetan polyandry. Its existence in that part of Arabia is also attested by epigraphic evidence.

W. Robertson Smith collected considerable evidence to show that this type of polyandry was also known in N. Arabia.

(1) Bakhshali relates that two men made a covenant of brotherhood, which resulted in their sharing goods and wives—a fact which seems to betray a survival of the type of polyandry. (2) In Arabic kanāmah means the wife of a son or foster son, but is used also to denote one's own wife; in Hebrew kālihā means both betrothed and daughter-in-law, while in Syriac kūthā means both bride and daughter-in-law. These facts can be most easily explained as remains of the type of polyandry. (3) The Arabic law that a man has the right to the hand of his cousin, and the fact which the fourth saqib and his attendant traditions attest, that, if a man died and left only female children, the father's male relatives inherited the property and married his daughter, are regarded as the results of a previously existing condition of polyandry. (4) The Qur'an (iv. 22 ff.) forbids men to labor against their will, and forbids them to take their deceased mothers in marriage except what is just.
earlier time and the patriarchal form of marriage, which generally was prevailing at the time of Muhammad. W. E. Smith so regarded it. But, be this as it may, by the time of Muhammad, the custom of polygamy had come into vogue in Arabia; a type of marriage in which the husband was practically the owner of the wife, and which is, consequently, known as *bd al* marriage. In this type of marriage children belonged, of course, to the father’s clan. Smith attributed the origin of the *bd al* 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 of the wife 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 solemnity or agreement between the parties sufficed. 1 This must often have been the case also with the later *mut*ah marriages. After a marriage of this kind was recognized by the clan of the bride, a period was celebrated for a week, during which there was much jollity of a type suited to the rough character of the civilization (see Jg 14:21). As marriage became more permanent, somewhat similar festivities became the rule and have persisted in all parts of the Semitic world.

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 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 Barnatarru, wife of Lagash about 2825 B.C. From an archive of tables discovered at Tellah, which contained the pay-rolls of the attendants of her palace, memoranda of her gifts to temples and festivals, 2 and even a record of her acrobatic 3 abilities, 4 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 other. Frequent references in the eyes of the public have parallels in Babylonian history, and are in striking contrast to the insignificance of the women in the *harim* of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), into which many princesses went, never to be heard of again. 5 Sennurunatu, the wife of Adad-nirari IV. (910-752 B.C.), was prominent enough to be described as “lady of the palace and its mistress.” 6 She is the nearest Mesopotamian parallel to Barnatarru. In the light of later Babylonian laws, however, it is probable that Barnatarru was the only wife of Lagash, and that he was, at least in theory, a monogamist. If this is the true of the rule, it would be true for most of the men of his kingdom.

For the period of the first dynasty of Babylon (2123-1924 B.C.), the Code of Hammurabi affords an authoritative source of information on marriage. The Code contains this regulation: 7 ‘If a man takes a wife and does not execute contracts for her, that woman is no wife’ (§ 18). This is proof that in Babylonia marriage had passed from Semitic life, and had, in consequence of long legal development, become a matter of record. The marriage ceremony was incomplete without the signing of contracts. The law did not recognize the marriage of a woman without a ‘common law’ marriage. One reason for this was that the bride usually brought a dowry from her father’s house, which the law safeguarded for her and her children. The husband also had to pay a bride-price to his father-in-law, which, upon certain conditions, reverted to him (§§ 138 f., 162-164). As Babylonian law dealt much in the evidence of written contracts, these were regarded as necessary to a legal marriage. The terms of the marriage, according to the Code, bore somewhat more heavily upon the woman than upon the man. 

1 See Bab. Esp. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, v. 1 (1906) 49.

2 See Smith, *Kinds of*, p. 84.

3 Published by T. A. Nickolay, *Documents of Economic Ac-

4 Counted from the more ancient Chaldaean Epoch (Babylonian),

5 Petrogad, 1908; H. de Genouillac, *Tabellae monimentorum

6 editiones*, Paris, 1841-54; and M. L. Hussey, *Sumarian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, pt. 1, Leipzig and

7 Cf. *E. G. in 154 f.*

8 Cf. *E. G. in 156 f.*
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divorce, provides that, if the husband divorces the
wife, he shall be driven out to the oxen of the
yoke; and all women of Semitic polyandry shall be driven
out of the marriage-house of the palace. 2 Another contract
provides for a divorce on the part 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. 3 This latter was a less severe penal-
ty than being thrown into the river. In general,
however, the penalties for initiating divorce im-
posed upon the wife in the marriage contracts are as
mild as those of the Code, though not necessarily
identical. In one case the wife is to be thrown
from a tower; 3 in another, impaled. 4 Never-
theless, the penalty most often imposed is that
mentioned in the Code. 1 One marriage, concern-
ing which two documents bear witness, 2 records the
wedding of two sisters by one man, but provides
that the elder shall be the chief wife, and that
the other shall perform for her certain specified
duties.

From the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods
several marriage contracts have come down to us. 1
The stipulations in them as to bride-price and dowry
varied; but there were several legal relations those of
the time of the 1st dynasty, but the conditions on which
the parties may separate are generally omitted from
the contracts of that period, although divorce did the
contracts the man acts for himself and arranges with the
parents of the bride, though, if the husband 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 farther than that before marriage every woman had to act once as a tem-
porary hierodoulas (see Hierodoulou [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 be-
longed to a hostile clan, lived with her people,
and was visited by her husband for longer or shorter
periods. The stories of the Patriarchs give a
true view of various phases of matrimonial development.
The marriage of Jacob to the daughters of Laban in-
dicates a type of marriage in which the husband
resided with the bride's family, and the children
were counted to his family, for Laban says: 'The
daughters are my daughters, and the sons are my
sons' (Ge 31:27). Then Jacob broke away, and the
children were counted to his stock. This
marked a transition from one system of kinship
to the other. A number of survivals of the two
matriarchal types of marriage just mentioned are
found in the narratives of the OT; Sischem, e.g.,
consented to circumsision to render himself accept-
able to the clan of his proposed wife (Ge 24:37).
A number of instances also occur in which a son in-
erherits his father's cconces; Labosheth regarded
Saul's concubine as his own, and rescued Abner's
taking her (2 S 3:6); Solomon for the same reason
regarded Adonijah's desire to marry Abigail as
treason (1 K 2:13; cf. v. 2); Reuben was denounced for endeavouling to anticipate the inheritance of

his father's concubine during his parent's lifetime
(Ge 35:25). As noted above (§ 4), these are survivals
of Semitic polyandry, and the marriage con-
vival was the levirate—a custom which required a
brother to take the widow of a deceased brother and
claim the first fruit of the union as the child of the
decayed (Dt 25:5; Ge 28:5-8). The influence of
these early forms of marriage is evident in the
great liberty enjoyed by women of the early period
(see 1 S 25:14, 2 K 4:21). In the stories of Abraham
and Jacob the type of marriage is also reflected in
the arrangements which Abraham concluded with a
husband, for the sake of obtaining an offspring
which the wife is unable to bear (see Code of Ham-
murabi, §§ 144, 146). The general type of marriage
of which we have evidence in the Hebrew writings
was, however, batal marriage, the regular Hebrew
word for husband being *b*al, and that for a
married woman *b*a'lah, which means 'owned,' 'possessed.' Another evidence of this conception
of marriage may be seen in Ex 20:13, where the wife
is counted among a man's possessions. Among
the poor, marriages were probably often monogamous,
but there was no sentiment against polygamy, and
in the law of the patriarchs, in which the large harems of David and Solomon abundantly
show, Dt 21:20, presupposes that a man will also
often have two wives. The law of Ex 21:11-14
takes it for granted that a man who divorces his wife
concerns either of her owner or of his sons.

1 See 1S 25:14, 2K 4:21. The list of the degrees of kinship in which marriage was prohibited in 1R 18, 20, and Dt 27 belongs to the period of Judaism which began
with the Babylonian Exile. At no period were
young people allowed to arrange matrimonial
affairs for themselves; such arrangements were
made by the parents (cf. Ge 21:24, 29:34; 1R 14).
About to about 650 B.C. a man could
divorce his wife without any formalities whatever
(see Hos 5:1 and 2 S 8). This liberty was some-
what modified by the Deuteronomistic Code, which
provides (24:1) 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 favor in his eyes.' Apparently the custom
made divorce less easy than in earlier times, when
no written statement was necessary; for, in an age
when writing was not a usual accomplishment, it
was quite an undertaking to compose a divorce
compos. In Judaism, however, this provision
was held to justify frequent divorces.

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. One in-
stance, however, is known in which a Hebrew
bride secured by her marriage contract a similar
liberty. Among the Jewish rabbis discovered at
Elephantine in Egypt a marriage contract was
found, which contains this passage:

1'st to-morrow or any later day Mibphahah shall stand up in the
congregation and say, 'I divorce As-hor, my husband,' the
price of divorce shall be on her head. .. If to-morrow or
any later time As-hor shall stand up in the congregation
and say, 'I divorce my wife, Mibphahah,' her marriage
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, Mibphahah, we do not know; but in any
event it is a significant modification of the OT
status of women in such matters.

The Deuteronomist's law defined two cases in
which a man was for ever powerless to divorce a
wife: if he had falsely charged his bride with not

1 See H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri Dis-
covered at Assuan, London, 1606, Papyrus 6, p. 291. Papyrus
Q confirms the statement.
MARRIAGE (Semitic)

being a virgin, and if he had been forced to marry a woman whom he had violated (Dt 22:22). The penalties for adultery bore more heavily on the woman than on the man, the only cases where the woman could be stoned being when the crime was committed with the wife or betrothed of another; then both the man and the woman were to be stoned (Dt 22:22-23). The point of view was that adultery was an offense against the 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 love the woman, and marry her, the consent of those who were really or prospectively the wives of others, he was not punished, except that, if he violated a maid, 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 (Gn 39:30), but was later changed to stoning (Dt 22:24). If a woman was simply suspected of adultery, she was tried by ordeal (Nu 5:11-31). As the ordeal consisted, 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 frequent recurrence 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 Kr 31 and Hos 3:2) afforded specious 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. By the time of the Prophet the marriage had apparently become the normal type, and polygamy prevailed among the rich. The husband had full power over the wife and could even divest her of her authority by beating her (Qur'ān, iv. 30). Some survivals of customs which belonged to the earlier time were, as noted above, condemned by the Prophet (iv. 26). Before the time of Muhammad no limit had been set to the number of wives a man might possess. In the interest of moderation, Muhammad ordained that legal wives should be no more than four, but that a man might also enjoy as concubines as many slaves as he was able to possess (iv. 8, 29). The Prophet himself was allowed as many as he wished (xxixii. 49). Marriage with one's mother, daughters, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, nieces, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, granddaughters-in-law was prohibited (iv. 27). Marriages with foreign women were permitted, if the women were believers (lx. 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 burned, but Muhammad 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. 36). Divorce of a wife, as among the Hebrews, was possible to the husband at will. Before the time of Muhammad, the formula of divorce consisted of this sentence, which the husband pronounced to the wife: "I renounce thee as my mother's hand!" After this had been pronounced over her, it was considered as unnatural to approach her as it was to approach a real mother, and so it was considered wrong to remarried a divorced wife. Muhammad called this "backing away" from wives (liviii. 2). He declared, however, that the utterance of this formula did not constitute a real relationship, and so permitted a man to marry a wife whom he had divorced (xxixii. 4). A man might not divorcing a wife who was pregnant, or who was nursing a child (lxv, 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 (xxxii. 48) that men will frequently change their wives for mere whims after marriage, even before consensual relations have been established. Liberty of divorce has been freely exercised by the faithful both in ancient and in modern times. A dower (the so-called gift of marriage) was required, including all that he 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 one time and add new ones and those who were already in his household. A certain Mughairah b. Shabah is said to have married eighty women in the course of his life, and Muhammad al-Tayib, a dyer of Baghdad († 623 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. C. M. Doughty tells how Zain, 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.7 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 Mughairah of Yemen is said to have had upwards of forty husbands, and her son Kharijiah did not know which one was his father.8

In parts of Arabia certain old marriage customs still survive in the practice of Islam. Thus in Sudan and among the 'Asir in S. Arabia marriage for a definite term still exists, and a man who has a permanent wife may also take a temporary one. In Sudan the agreement is witnessed before the qādī, 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, a new contract is necessary. Such marriages are still practised in Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage.9 Marriage ceremonies among the Arabs vary greatly according to circumstances. Sometimes they consist of a feast, sometimes of a civil contract before the qādī, and sometimes there is no ceremony at all. The marriage of a woman is announced above, is said to have reduced the contract to very simple terms. A man may marry more than one.10 Betrothed women spoke, and she replied, "Married!" and was from that moment his lawful wife.11

5. Abyssinian. — Abyssinian is Christian, though its form of Christianity is the result of an arranged marriage. The Abyssinian is 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 partner is alone permitted to him.12 Among the people religious marriages are not popular. All travellers agree that the Assyrians prefer to be married by civil contract, as these

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1 See Wellhausen, OGH, 1889, p. 452 f.
2 See Lane, The Thousand and One Nights, 2 vols., i. 912 f.
3 Lane, 2 f.
4 Arabia Deserta, Cambridge, 1889, i. 235 f.
5 See Lane, i. 318 f.
8 Cf. Wilken, loc. cit.
9 See Lange, loc. cit.
11 See Bats, The Sacred City of the Ethiopians, p. 51.
MARRIAGE (Slavic)

MARRIAGE (Slavic).—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, and marriage by purchase. In the Christian period only the latter was sanctioned by the Church and approved by the law. In the Slavonic countries, marriage by capture was prohibited and gradually disappeared. Nevertheless, a series of traditions and observances which visibly reflect traces of the old form of marriage by capture is preserved in the wedding ceremony. To these customs belongs, e.g., that of stopping the bridegroom on his way to the house of his bride and then of shutting the door before he can hide the bride; and here may also be mentioned the habit of presenting a false bride to the bridegroom. In Russia the wedding-guests engage in symbolical fights, which may rightly be deemed as survivals of the old and family. It frequently happens that those who have been divorced and have each married others divorce their second spouses and are again reunited. If 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 concubinage 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 emasculated, 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. The Abyssinian is so anxious to marry a girl, he applies directly to her parents or nearest relatives; when their consent is obtained, and the dowery arranged, the affair is considered settled, the girl being given 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 a day of festivity, the bride is carried to the house of her husband, and the marriage is accomplished. This formality is observed in no matter how many times the bride may have been married before.


GEORGE A. BAYLON.
to show her submission (sometimes she even re-
sixed the symbolic blows), and, after being clothed
in new garments by the women and the 'best man,'
she went to bed with her husband in the presence
of the witnesses. After the nuptial night purifica-
tion was performed in a clear stream or at a well.
Later on, this procedure was reduced to a mere
sprinkling with water.
Besides these chief and almost fundamental
ceremonies, the various Slav peoples have other
customs connected with the popular wedding, the
details of which cannot be described at full length
in this article. It is interesting, however, to note
that for a long time the people attached far
greater importance to these domestic wedding cer-
emonies than to the rites prescribed by the Church.
Historical documents testify that, even in the 16th
and 17th centuries, not only the common people
but also the more cultured classes regarded the
ecclesiastical ceremony as a purely religious act
without any legal significance. A marriage became
legal only after the precise performance of all pre-
scribed observances inherited from the ancient
and consecrated by the family tradition; and this
conviction is still to be found among some of the
Slav nations.

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geschichte, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1875, S. 146); Stadler, Die
Erweckung der Südslaven, Vienna, 1856, pp. 514-45; O. Schrader,
All these contain references to works in Slavic languages,
and do also H. Hirt, Indigenenheiten, Strasbourg, 1905-07, p. 711. Th.
Stauber, Die slaw. Familie (Cassel and Prague), 2 vols.,
v. p. 780.
M. MAICHAL.

MARTINEAU.—James Martineau (1805-1899) was born in Norwich,
April 21, 1805, the fourth son and seventh child of Thomas Martineau,
a manufacturer of baromines. Of Huguenot an-
cestry, he was also descended through his father's
mother from John Meadows, one of the ecclesias-
tic ministers of 1662. After four years at the Norwich
Grammar School he was placed under the care of
Dr. Lant Carpenter at Bristol (1818-21), to whom he was
then ''spiritually reborn." 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-
working factories. Later, by an appreciation
ship after a year (partly under the shock of a
tereavement which 'turned him from an engineer
into an evangelist' (speech at Nottingham, 1876; Car-
penter, James Martineau, p. 241), and in 1828 he
entered Manchester College, York, as a student
for the ministry. He had been brought up in the
Unitarian theology of Priestley, and embraced his
necessitarian pantheism with ardour, though at
Bristol he had read Wilberforce and Hanah
More, and was not without occasional misgivings
concerning the freedom of the will. On the com-
pletion 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
(1828-29), terminated through his refusal of the
endowment known as the Regent Denum, he began
his longest pastorate in Liverpool (1832-57). In
1840 he undertook the additional duty of Pro-
fessor of Philosophy and Political Economy in
Manchester New College, on its return from York
to its old home in the industrial city. During the erection
of the Hope Street Church by his congregation
(1848-49) he spent fifteen months with his family
in Germany, returning to resume his ministry.
The conversion of the College of the City of London led
his settlement there in 1857, and from 1859 had also
ministered in Little Portland St. Chapel till 1872,
in which threatened failure of health led to his
retirement. In the meantime he had succeeded to
the Principalship of the College in 1899, which he
held till June 1886.
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 time. At a very early age he was
the chief influence in transforming its fundamental theological
conceptions, while in the wider field of philo-
sophy he was the powerful antagonist of the empiricism and
monism of the age. His writings and lectures are
characterized by an unceasing battle against the
philosophy of Spinoza, aesthetic 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 recog-
nized Jesus Christ as the Messiah, whose teachings
were authenticated by miracles. To this interpre-
tation 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 Rationale of Religious Inquiry
(1836), 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 the human mind.' By 1845 he had
abandoned the apostolic authorship of the Fourth
Gospel, and in the third edition of the Rationale
(1845) he ceased to demand belief in the gospel
anomalies as essential for an Christian name. In
the Prospective Review (1845-64) 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 West-
minster. 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 Chris-
tian doctrines, and in his last large treatise, The
Scot of Authority in Religion (1860), he returned
again to his earliest theme. He re-examined the claims
of the Roman Catholic Church, the infallibility of
the Bible, and the historical significance of Christ-
ianity, 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 (1889), 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 and Western centuries ago,
had been the reality directing, though hardly conscious aim of
my responsible years of life" (Carpenter, p. 560).
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 modern social and political devo-
tion, 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 majority of chapels occupied by
Unitarians were held. Some of these had been
founded in the 17th cent., others in the 18th, by
the English Presbyterians, who, under the leader-
ship of Baxter, had stood for 'catholicism against
all parties,' and repudiated creeds and confes-
sions. In dedicating their chapels 'for the
worship of God by Protestant Dissenters' (some-
times specified as Presbyterians, sometimes as
Independents, sometimes as both together), they deliberately rejected all limiting doctrinal names. By slow processes of Scripture study many ministers and congregations gradually became Unitarian in theology. At first this was the case, and a suit was instituted against the trustees of a charity in York founded by Lady Hewley, whose husband, Sir John Hewley (M.P. for York in the reign of Charles II.), had been a wholesale dealer in these doctrines. The decision (December 1833), which displaced the Unitarian trustees, was at once seen to imperil 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 very possibilities of change which had been the secret of the Unitarian advance. Deeply conscious of indebtedness to the Manichean world, Martineau endeavoured (1856) to form a Free Christian Union, which was joined by representatives of every British Church, but was disbanded two years later. Subsequently he worked out a scheme for the National Church as a Federal Union (CL II. [1887] 408 ff.), which proposed to abolish the Act of Uniformity, to release the Church of England from State control, and associate with it the other British English Christian Churches. The plan aroused considerable academic interest, but the 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 force. Martineau now contributed here to give it new meaning. Wordsworth had long been his favourite poet; Plato called forth his admiration for 'the fair and good'; Coleridge and Carlyle revealed unsuspected deeps of thought and passion in human nature; and through all the other makers and thinkers of his time, his 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 affections, 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 Wesleys opened new aspects of the inner life; and in the lecture on 'Moral Evil' in the Liverpool Controversy (1859) he formally abandoned the determinism of his youth. The change involved many modifications. He ceased to regard revelation as 'communicated truth'; it was effected through character; its organ was the conscience and not the intellect; the definite 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 moralisms of Spenzera and Hegel, Martineau began to work out his new analysis of man's moral 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 examined side by side, some revealed themselves as more powerful, while others fell into a lower place; and this distinction of rank was irresolvable into any other element such as order, truth, beauty, sympathy, or reason. All moral estimates, therefore, were relative; preference 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 in the '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. 335). The year before, during a visit to Liverpool, Mrs. Carlyle had described Martineau as the 'victim of conscience.' He was to become the 'conservative' moralist since Butler. Here was the witness of Deity within; here the access of the soul to divine things; here the true ground for the conception which he was afterwards to define as 'the personal indwelling of religious ideas in the mind and the soul.' alongside this man's ethical constitution ran an exposition of our knowledge of the external world (in a review of J. D. Morris's 'Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1846, in Prospects, 1846): 'The act of perception gives us simultaneous knowledge of subject and object' (p. 360). Again and again in subsequent essays Martineau insisted on this 'natural dualism' against idealism on the one hand and pantheism on the other, and vigorously defended the veracity 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 the I and the not-I, a cause-relation was revealed in the same antithesis. In the strenuous conviction of personality which he derived from his ethical experience, Martineau found 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-I' now contributed him to give it new meaning. Wordsworth had long been his favourite poet; Plato called forth his admiration for 'the fair and good'; Coleridge and Carlyle revealed unsuspected deeps of thought and passion in human nature; and through all the other makers and thinkers of his time, his 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 affections, 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 Wesleys opened new aspects of the inner life; and in the lecture on 'Moral Evil' in the Liverpool Controversy (1859) he formally abandoned the determinism of his youth. The change involved many modifications. He ceased to regard revelation as 'communicated truth'; it was effected through character; its organ was the conscience and not the intellect; the definite historic type was seen in Christ as the image of the Father.

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branche, Spinoza), and physical (Comte), he expended (vol. ii.) his own interpretation of the nature of moral authority. This involved a classification of the propensions, passions, affections, and sentiments, and an arrangement of them in a scale of value. The scheme he thus wrought out of human experience was then contrasted with the hedonist ethics of the older utilitarians, and the modifications introduced by the idea of evolution. In employing 'Bitches in the Evolutionary Deduction' he denied that laws of matter and motion could explain the genesis of consciousness, while the feeling of moral right and freedom involved another point of fresh departure. The section on 'Conscience developed into Social Censor and Religion' further supplied hints which modified the stress of individualism in some of his earlier writings.

The stream of Esayns had ceased for some years after the suspension of the National Review (1864); but an important address on Religion as affected by Modern Materialism (1874), suggested by John Holden's discourse to the British Association, Belfast, and its sequel, Modern Materialism: Its Attitude towards Theology (1876), brought Martineau again prominently into the field of philosophical discussion. Two other addresses, Ideal Substitutes for God (1879) and The Relation between Ethics and Religion (1881), belonged to the period in which he was slowly completing the treatise modestly entitled A Study of Religion (2 vols., 1884). It opened with an investigation of the limits of human intelligence, a fresh defence of 'natural realism', a plea for the objective reality of space and time, a reply to the empirical doctrine that we know nothing but phenomena, and a refutation of the agnosticism of Spencer. God had been presented at the outset as a 'divine Mind and Will ruling the Universe and holding Moral relations with mankind' (vol. I. p. 1); and the bases of theology in the doctrine of His sole causation in the natural order and His perfection in the moral order were re-established and supported with fresh illustration. The teleological conceptions which had been discarded in earlier revolts against Paley were now revived on a far wider scale, and the presence of rational ends was displayed with varied scientific knowledge in the vast processes of evolution. Martineau's last word on the grounds of belief and their illustration in the NT was uttered in The Seat of Authority in Religion already cited, in which the origin of Christianity were expounded with remarkable force and daring (1899). The work was less technical than its predecessors, and appeal to the wide circle of those who had found indelible help in the author's earlier writings. In the Endevours after the Christian Life (2 vols., 1843-47) he had unfolded secrets of personal religion and moral experience in language often of lyric beauty; and his Hours of Thought on Sacred Things (1878, 1888) narrated on the themes of his thought and many of the varied incidents of the human lot. A small book of Home Prayers was issued (1891) in response to the urgency of many friends, and in four volumes of Essays, Reviews, and Addresses (1890-91) he gathered up those of his detached writings which he wished to preserve. Even their wide range, over history, science, and philosophy, does not exhaust the whole scope of his productivity, which included periods of research and study. In the theological timidity and the ecclesiastical strife of the early Victorian era he stood forth (often alone) as the fearless advocate of the principle of religious freedom. Later years brought unsought appreciation. Gladstone designated him as 'the greatest of living thinkers'; and a younger philosopher (A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, HJ i. [1905] 444) aptly fixed the character of his service to his age by describing him as 'an ideal champion of the spiritual view of the world in a time of transition and intellectual insecurity.'

LITERATURE.—Besides the works already named, some of Martineau's earlier writings were collected by American friends in Woodsmen, Cambridge, Mass., 1882; Studies of Christianity, London, 1888, and Essays Philosophical and Theological, 2 vols., 1891. He was a contributor to Theft, Murder, and Robbery and a Study, 1907; J. Drummond and C. B. Upton, The Life and Letters of James Martineau, 1890; H. Carpenter, James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher, 1908.

MARTYRS.—See SAINTS AND MARTYRS.

MARY.—The following article, dealing with the cult of the Virgin Mary, issues from the Scriptural and orthodox positions (1) that our Lord Jesus Christ, being the eternal Son of God, became man, being conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary; and (2) that, insomuch as He is thus God and man in two distinct and one person for ever, so is she, His mother, truly and properly described as Theotokos and Virgo Deipara—the Mother or Bringer-forth of Our Lord and God, who was God when He issued from her virgin womb, wearing the manhood of Christ, as that 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 has more or less been silent upon it, unquestionably 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 overwhelming the larger part of Christendom, viz. her perpetual virginity: 'virgo concept, virgo puerper, virgo permaneat.' 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 examine 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.

1. In Holy Scripture.—Over and above the witness borne by the four Gospels, the apocryphal collections of hymns (e.g. 1st and 2nd century), having a human mother (Mk 30, Jn 25-26) whose name was Mary (Mk 6), and the direct statements of two of them (Mt 1.18, Lk 1.26-35) that she was a virgin when by the power of the Holy Ghost she conceived and bore our Saviour, we have in the third Evangelist several notices expressive of the high reverence and honor due to her. St.
Luke records the angelic salutation, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee (19)" and the angelic blessing "Blessed art thou among women" (18). 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 explanations. At Cana, when she does interpose, she is hidden behind His time; and her advice to those whom she is sure that He will help is, "Who soever He saith unto you, do it" (Jn 2:5). When, on another occasion, he sent two of His disciples, calling him, "Jesus evidently did not go, but answered, "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my mother."" (Mk 3:31-32, Lk 10:41) 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 conspicuously in her, but He certainly puts the moral virtues higher than even her unique privilege. And when, from the Cross, He commands her to St. John saying, "Behold thy mother," and to him, "Behold thy son," He was giving him a precious legacy to the theologian 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 proponentess of the Christ. The Words in the Acts of the Apostles, "Jesus, the Son of the living God," and in the Holy Communion in the NT are (1) the mention of her by St. Luke (Acts 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 Protesvangelium (GN 39); and (3) St. John's taking from her experience certain features for his prophetic portrait of the Church as the sun-clothed woman (Rev 12). 2. In the first three 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 of the Lord and therefore to be honoured, give no suggestion of aught that could be called a cult. Herol's short Epistle does not contain her name; but in his Life by Pionius there is this: "He, according to the prophecy, . . . being born of an undivided and apostolic virgin." (Eph.). In the Apology of Ariamidas she is simply "a Hebrew virgin." Ignatius, in the short recension of his seven Epistles (here regarded as genuine), is fuller. He tells (ad Philad., v. x.) how the virginity of Mary deceived the Decoll; that 'hidden from the public eye, this world was the virginity of Mary and her chastity.' He intimates that "mysteries wrought in the silence of God, now to be cried aloud:" he adores our Saviour, "Son of Mary and Son of God:" and he insists (ad Trall. i. 1) that His birth of her demonstrates that she deceived the Decoll; that she was a slave of ignominy, and that the correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin is a Latin forgery, which never existed in the Greek, and is based on the saint's use of the word "virgin."

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 the Virgin Eve had bound fast through unbelief that did the Virgin Mary set free through her obedience. (Tertullian, ad. Marc. v. xi. xxiv.) And again he dwells on the moral side of her part in the incarnation; "Mary, having a man before her and being nevertheless a virgin, by yielding obedience became the cause of salvation to herself and to the whole human race." (c. He.)"

If, however, we find Irenaeus, in the barbarous Latin version of his works, calling Mary the "advocate" of Eve, we shall do well to remember that his Greek, apparently, evryphage, which implies not advocacy in our sense, but reliance. 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 supplying us with the secret of his permanent veneration for his mother, "mocking fate" according to those who think soundly of her; Mary had no other son save Jesus; and that Jesus said to her, "Behold, thy son." Therefore those, in whom Christ lives are sons of Mary (C. Probal. i. 69)."

But does this go further than Christ's own, "Behold, my mother and your mothers" (Mk 9:30)? Both Origen and Tertullian, like Ignatius before them, draw from her motherhood of Christ arguments against Gnostic or Docetic heresy. Yet even of the Gnostics—so strait 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 St. John or the apologies of the defenders of the faith. But such accounts of the Church service of the period as have come down to us exhibit precisely the same features as do the writings of the ante-Nicene Fathers. No mention of Mary's name, no reference to her, occurs in the notices of Holy Communion in the NT; nor in the liturgical thanksgiving in the 1st Epistle of St. Clement of Rome; nor in the Didache; nor in the Martyrion of St. Mary or Tertullian's account of the Eucharistic service. 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. Cyriacus has to say is:
MARY

In like manner, Gregory of Nyssa, "Have any of ourselves dared to say..." Mother of God, that most holy Virgin the Mother of God?" (Ep. xvi. 7; and Ambrose, "Talis decret partus Deum" (Hymn iv. de Adventu Domini (PL xvii. 1474). Cyril of Jerusalem, with equal force, uses Christ's birth of Mary as demonstrating the companion truth of His real manhood.

"Believe that this only-Begotten Son of God..." was begotten of the holy Virgin. The Virgin was made Man, not in seeming and mere show, but in truth; nor by reading through a charmed book, but truly of her own flesh... If the Incarnation was a phantom, salvation is a phantom too. (Cat. Lect. iv. 9).

The whole church, we may say, of this period were, in one form or another, devoted and the Incarnation; they all fixed men's thoughts on the question pronounced by our Lord Himself, "What think ye of the Christ? whose son is he?" (Mt. 22). It was impossible for the Church to refuse any of them, as of God His Father, so of the Virgin Mary His Mother—"to reply to Macedonians, with its denial of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost who overshadowed her (Lk 10); to Apollinarism, which, refusing to Christ a human soul, cut off from His sacred heart its thousandfold return of her love; and then to Nestorianism, which, dissolving the unity of Christ's Person, by one and the same stroke reduced the Great Mother from being Himself the Word incarnate to a mere bond in close association with the Word, and made Mary the mother only of a human infant. All these efforts helped to burn in upon the mind of the Christians of that age the truth which E. B. Pusey tells us so

"startled him in his young days when first it flashed upon him that it must be true, that one of our natural senses is the last and lowest of God's rational creation was raised 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 was deemed to take the human flesh was brought to a nearness to Himself above all created beings; that she stood in all creation or all possible creations, is that in whom He who in His Godhead is consubstantial with the Father, deigned, as to His Human Body, to become consubstantial with her" (Hibern. i. 24).

It is no creature-worship; it is the sense of this tremendous fact brought home to a heart invested 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 was not that she is the mediator (there is no hint of such a notion), but that it is He is God whom she bare, whom "she alone inexplicably housed." Nor need we fancy with the writer on 'Mary' in E.B.1) that it was the Nicene solution of the Arians, that 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 Gregory, of Ambrose and Augustine as well as of Leo. It was in this connection that Athanasius had spoken of her as theoreas long before Nestorian preacher shocked the congregation of St. Sophia 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 belittle Christians who assert that the Word descended on a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and deny that He Himself from the Virgin Mary, and that being the body from Mary?" (Ep. ix. 2d Epist. 2); and, again, because, "where the flesh of the Virgin differs nothing from the flesh of sin;... but her body transmit it not to the body of Christ, which she did not conceive through concupiscence" (Augustine, c. Jul. Pelag. v. 19).
And Pope Leo I. (in a passage still remaining in the Roman Breviary as one of the Lessons for Christmas Day) says that: "to (Christ's) birth alone the modes of human passion had not contributed."

In entire consistency with this teaching of the great Fathers, we find that the worship of the Church in the conciliar period shows hardly a trace of the cult of the Virgin. There are indications that she was prayed for.

Thus, in the Armenian Liturgy, "We beseech thee that in this holy and holy Mysteries let the name of the holy virgin Mary, and of John the Baptist, of the proto-martyr Stephen, and of all the saints" (F. E. Brightman, Liturgics, Macmillan and Co., p. 449).

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 Thon knowest." In other liturgical works of the period—e.g., the Statutes of the Apostles (Ethiop., c. 350)—there is no mention of any commemorations of the departed, nor even there in the Arabic and Suidic versions of this book.

The liturgical service in the Testamentum Domini gives thanks that the "Word... was born of the Holy Ghost and God Virgin;" but its commemoration of the dead. Remember those who have fallen asleep among the faithful, and grant us an inheritance with Thy saints, names neither the Virgin nor any other saint. The Pilgrimages of Silene also is silent concerning her, while the Catechetical Lectures (Lect. xxii. on the Eucharistic service) of Cyril of Jerusalem, where we might have expected to find something, has only this:

"Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first the Apostles, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their intercessions God would receive our petition"—still no mention of Mary.

In the liturgy of the civil 'diocese' of Africa in the time of Augustine (A.D. 400) the only place where an invocation of the Virgin could have come in is in its commemoration of the saints and martyrs, but there is again no direct evidence that her name appeared (Ordo Rom. Primi, App. iv.). Of Basil his latest editor says:

"Even Letter CXXII, which bears obvious marks of sporadic revision from a later age, does not go beyond a recognition of the Blessed Virgin as Guardian, in which the Catholic Church is agreed, and a general invocation of apostles, bishops, and martyrs, the Virgin not being set apart from these" (Bloomfield Jackson, Prolegomena to St. Basil, Allen and Unwin, 1899, p. 127).

The passage runs: "I invoke you to supplication to God, that through them, that is through their mediation, the merciful thing may be procured for me."

That the departed saints, now 'with Christ' (Ph 1:23), do pray for us is an obvious conclusion from their perfected love; it has some sanction in the NT (Rev 5:13); it is argued for on this ground by Origen (de Orat. 31), Eusebius (de Martyr. Patent. v.), and Jerome (Ep. ix.); and it was an easy transition to ask God that their intercessions might be heard for us; but Omnipotence alone can hear the cry of every human heart, and Omnipotence alone can deliver everywhere, and it was quite another thing to ereit any saint, however highly exalted, with powers or prerogatives of the kind. Not so did the Fathers of the Church and the holy martyrs pray. Cardinal Newman admitted that no prayer to the blessed Virgin is to be found in the voluminous works of St. John Damascene (in the 4th cent.), we do find cases of direct invocation of this or that individual saint, it is in private prayer, and in regard to some more restricted matter in which the Virgin has not been interested when on earth, and might be presumed to be interested still. Of this limited sort was the prayer of Justinian, mentioned with incidental approval by Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxiv. 11), "imploiting Mary to come to the aid of a virgin in danger." St. Mary had already been thought of as the 'virgin of virgins'—the leader of those virgin bands to whom, next to the martyrs, the Church felt that she owed a special debt. The martyrs were her witnesses to Christian truth; her virgins were the exponent of Christian purity. She was, it must be remembered, not only 'sacrosanct,' but she was actually accorded the title of Virgin, and St. Paul (1 Cor 7:9) under the pagans pertinaciously and, when, on Constantine's conversion, pagan sensuality proved a menace no less formidable to morals than heresy to doctrine, virginity, organized into monasticism, became more and more like the expression and the shield of this side of Christian virtue.

Athanasius found the monks and virgins of Egypt the greatest use to him in his contest with Ariasimus. He introduced monasticism at Rome; Ambrose and Martin carried it respectively to Gaul and to Transalpine Gaul; through the latter, the trainer of missionaries, it spread over the Celtic West. Jerome carried it to Palestine; Basil was its protagonist through Asia Minor. Virginity and monasticism, no less than orthodox, turned the thoughts of the faithful very much towards St. Mary. If orthodoxy found, as we have seen, that Christ's birth of her was a witness at once of His Godhead and His human, and His monasticism boast her as the crown of virgins. If orthodoxy called forth the panegyrics on Mary by Proclus and Cyril of Alexandria, the thought of her virginity led even more directly to her being regarded as a patroness.

It is while considering the veneration of the virgin life that Augustine reminds us how "the glory of the Virgin is the glory of all holy virgins: they, too, are mothers of Christ if they do the will of His Father" (de Sanct. Virg. v.).

Thus, too, Jerome:

"Therefore the virgin and the Christian Virgin may have dedicated in themselves the firstfruits of the virginity of both sexes (Ep. civili, ad Pam. 51); and Gregory of Nyssa:

"What happened in the stainless Mary when the fulness of the Godhead which was in Christ abused out through her, that happens in every soul that leads by rule the virgin life. No longer does she, indeed, do the Master come with bodily presence, but spiritually, He dwells in us and becomes His Father with us (De Virg. ii.)".

4. During the medieval period.—For the purposes of this article, this period is divided from the extinction of the Western Empire by Odowace (A.D. 476) to the close of the Council of Trent (1563). Throughout this period Christianity runs in an Eastern and a Western stream; 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 these the orthodox found 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 hallowed monasticism; it rebuked the impurities first of the Iconoclasts and then of the Mahommedans, while the calamities which afflicted and cut short, if they did not, till A.D. 1453, destroy, the empire in the East, were at least sufficient to impress all Christians who remained when it ended, with awe-struck thoughts of Christ as the Judge of men. They remembered how, in the days of His flesh, the good centurions had, unrelished, deemed himself not worthy to come under the feet of the Christ, but had besought Him through the elders of the people.

W. M. Ramsay argues that so early as the 5th cent. the honour paid to the Virgin Mary at Ephesus was the reversion in a baptized form of the old pagan worship of the Virgin's Mother (Pauline and other Studies, p. 130).
It must be admitted that such prayers are but inferences, not unnatural, from the deliberate teachings of the latest Roman Catholic dogma, the most influential in the East, of the Greek Fathers, of John of Damascus, that Mary is the sovereign Lady to whom the whole creation is made subject by her Son—implying, of course, that, over and above her office in the Incarnation, she is herself, through His gift, a direct giver of help to such as may seek it at her hands. It should be added that the Feast of her (not of Christ's) Presentation in the Temple (the story of which was mentioned above), originated in the East in the 5th cent., and was not introduced into the church of the West until the 15th. See art. IMMUNE

The Western Church, too, was soon to find through many ages the practical value of monasticism, and to carry the doctrine of celibacy to further lengths than its Eastern sister. It, too, was to have experience of errors (such as the 8th cent. Adoptionism) which, disparaging the Saviour, disparaged her also. In Spain, Hungary, and the two Sicilies, as well as through the Crusades and Algerian piracy, it was to come into painful contact with Islam. In the 12th cent., on the other hand, the reaction from those errors contributed its impetus to every movement in the Virgin's honour, while manifold oppressions of the poor turned them naturally to the thought of her as the Mother of Pity, and the chivalry of the knights made her the Lady of his orisons. But the development of her cult was slow in the West. In Adamnan and Bede it is hardly perceptible; in the Life of St. Columba she is not mentioned. In Bede's H.P., St. Wilfred has a vision of St. Michael telling him, 'the Lord has granted you life, through the prayers of your disciples, and also the prayers of His holy Virgin, the ever-virgin, ever-mother, ever-mother of perpetual virginity' (v. 10), and the Hymn concerning St. Etheldreda urges how 'ever Virgin Mother a shining virgin band rejoices; and how her honour has made many virgin blossoms to spring forth' (v. 20).

At Rome in the pope's (8th cent.) mass on Easter-day at the Basilica of St. Mary Major, the only mentions of her are those (1) in the Great Intercession:

"Venerating the memory first of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of the same Our God, and Lord Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed apostles and martyrs ... and all Thy saints, and of her whose marbles and whose doors the wise shipwrights' hedges, the holy mother of God and all the saints' their memorial and intercession with the Father" (p. 115).

(2) and in the Post-Communion:

"Deliver us, O Lord ... and at the intercession for us of the blessed and glorious and ever-Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, and of Thy blessed apostles ... and of all Thy saints, that in all things we may be defended by the help of Thy protection; through the same Christ, Our Lord".

The two liturgies remaining in use among the orthodox Greeks are those of Chrysostom and Theodoret, and are more moderate. The former mentions her in the Euchologian: Thanksgiving for Christ 'born of the holy Mother of God, ever-Virgin'; and prays that God 'would unite all of us who are united under thee, O Virgin'; also (p. 24) that 'we may be found with all Thy saints ... especially all holy, immaculate, supremely blessed glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever-Virgin Mary' (pp. 397, 414).

It is not impossible, in view of Basil's own writings, that even the last is an interpolation. The liturgy called Chriseomos is fuller on St. Mary:

The Prayer to the Virgin is more through the intercessions of the Holy Mother of God and all the Saints"; but, again, it prays for her: 'We offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith ... Apostles ... Virgins ... the most holy, undivided, excellently laudable, green Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary' (pp. 814, 820).

Moreover, we are now to the last augments and more popular of the authorized devotions of the Greek Church, we find her invoked in the most direct manner:

"O God, who didst lead Thy Word to flesh from the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, grant that we who believe her to be in truth the Mother of God may by her intercessions be helped before Thee." But neither is this, nor the Secreta de S. Maria, nor the Post-Communio de S. Maria a prayer to her; the last was indeed adopted in the English Book of Common Prayer as the collect for the Assumption. The confession of sins in the Mass made to Almighty God, to the Blessed Virgin, ever-Virgin ... and to all saints, is held to be but a recognition of the fact taught by St. Paul, that the whole body of the Church (from which those who do not separate the saints [Ro 6:1] suffers with the suffering of every member (1 Co 12:12); and, inasmuch as we are united in a common body, the honour of Christ the Head is the honour of all His members. If it be not wrong, it is thought, to ask, as is done in the prayer 'Sancti sancta Trinitas,' that our memorial of Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension may redound to the honour of Mary and all saints, as well as to the salvation of all for
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 suffice, however, for the popular devotions, which were more and more assumed to assume the forms, first of invoking her directly to intercede for us ("ora pro nobis"), and, next, of asking her personal help for both soul and body. Two festivals really of our Lord—His Presence 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 at 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 up a sort of her dormition, or 'sleep.' The doctrine of her bodily assumption into heaven, derived from the apocryphal story condemned by Pope Gelasius, though widely believed, and implied in the teaching of the First Council from John of Damascus, is not even now de fide in the Roman Catholic Church, but only a 'pious opinion.' The Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin (July 2), also apocryphal in origin, was introduced from the East in the last century, withdrawn from the Calendar by Pius V. (1565–72), and reintroduced by Sixtus V. (1585–90).

The Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8) would be older if the sermon of Augustine, cited in his Office, be generally admitted commonly said that this fact is first mentioned by Andrew of Crete (c. 750); its observance was appointed by the synod of Salzburg in 800; 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 (Summa Theol. III. xxi., that the Church of Rome tolerated it but did not keep it (a not uncommon way with some in those days of treating popular devotions); and, when it did, commonly in the churches of St. Mary Major, it was still, so late as 1340, the festival only of the 'Sancification of the B. V. Mary.' Underlying these different names for this festival lay the long 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 15, 7); but there arose in the 15th 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 not historical considerations. The discussion, nevertheless, tended to her exaltation above all saints, on the ground not alone of her office, but of the grace bestowed on her. It must be confessed that some medieval writers transgressed all bounds in the language which they employed. Peter Damian, e.g., speaking of her as 'defiicata' (Serm. de Nativ. Mar. [PL. cxlv], 740), while the very natural tone of Thomas Aquinas' Scotus Catechism of 1552 calls the 'bonny image of the Baby Jesus and His Blessed Mother' to remind us of His gracious coming as an infant to sanctify childhood and maternity was dealt with in a manner 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 justification and salvation of the sinner are through faith in Christ alone, involved, on the one hand, the fullest recognition alike of His Godhead and His manhood; and, on the other hand, a reformation, accordingly, were at one in confessing the Catholic faith as set forth in the ancient creeds and by 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 disregarding the help which He has graciously provided in His Body the Church (Eph. 4), 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 example) in this world. The 'Communion of Saints,' while admitted in words, was interpreted as existing simply between believers in this present world; and, contrariwise, the prayers of the living were limited to the 'Church militant here on earth.' The prominence of St. Mary in Roman Catholic devotions reacted among the Reformers in an opposite direction, till Puritanism (in certain sections) 'scorned' even the singing of her inspired 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 (1858) was able to secure the rejection of Bishop Richard Man'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 courtesies have helped either to a livelier faith in Jesus Christ or to a deeper love towards Him; and how far they have furthered Christian ideals of purity, chivalry, and sanctity. Puritanism, however, has not conquered either the Scottish or the Anglican Church. The former in the 18th 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 'authorizes' the printing of it in prose, as well as the recital of 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 Annunciation 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' (Psalms and Other Psalms and Odes, 196).

In the Roman Catholic Church there was some hope at the beginning of the Counter-Reformation that much might be accomplished in the exuberant cult of St. Mary would be averted or at least modified, but this thing certainly 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 

...
some Negro race (which in bodily characteristics verges on the Hamitic negroid) were used for land, cattle, sheep, goats, and the domesticated ass 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 terms of the Urban vus.

The relationships of this speech lie nearly and clearly with the Luluka language of the Mountain Nile, with the Bari of the southern Egyptian Sudan, with the Elgoni of Mount Elgon, and with the Turkana of Lake Rudolf; perhaps also with other languages of the Rudolf basin. In a more remote degree Masai is related to the other members of the great Nilotic speech-group—the Nandi languages of British E. Africa, and those of the Dinks, Shilluk, etc., of the Egyptian Sudan. The customs and, to some extent, the beliefs of the Masai similarly connect them with the tall Negresses of the Upper Nile basin. Clearly, the progenitors of the Masai emigrated originally from those regions which now constitute the northern provinces of the Uganda Protectorate; but at what period this is little evident to show, except that it was far enough back in the history of E. Equatorial Africa for the migration to have passed out of tribal recollection. In all their myths and legends they think of themselves as a people indigenous to E. Africa, most of all to the regions round about Mount Kenya. This snow-crowned lofty volcano of more than 17,000 feet of altitude plays a considerable part in their traditions, and is supposed by them to be the habitation of a demigod or goddess Naitenkap, who was at the same time E. Eve or Adam, the parent, at any rate, of the higher types of humanity. The Masai speech, like some other Nilotic languages, especially those of the south-eastern portion of the regions inhabited by Nilotic Negroes, bears evident traces of an ancient Hamitic impress, though it must be emphasized that neither it nor any other member of the Nilotic family can be described as Hamitic, or as other than a ‘Negro’ speech. But many centuries ago, perhaps as far back as the last periods of dynastic Egypt, the Kushitic section of the wide-spread Hamitic race (Caucasians tinged with Negro and perhaps Dravidian blood) profoundly impressed itself on the racial type, the speech, the culture, the beliefs, and those of the Nilotic Negroes. Similar action on the part of these Hamites appears to have led to the final shaping of the Bantu languages and the impulse of the Bantu conquest of the southern third of Africa. It is curious that, however, the Hamits—the Masai, Nandi, and other south-eastern Nilotes may be in physical and mental characteristics, their cattle, on which such a large proportion of their thoughts and beliefs are centred, are of the E. African, humped, originally Indian ‘zebu’ type. They do not belong to the long-horned, usually straight-backed, Galla breed, a bovine variety which seems to have originated from a wild species in W. Asia in remote Neolithic times, and to have been the earliest form of domestic cattle in ancient Egypt. These Galla oxen are nowadays found in the greater part of Abyssinia, in Darfur, Wadai, and Bornu. The mysterious Be-hima—the Galla—

1 In the traditions of the Masai their home-land—Kapsokob or Kopeskob—lay to the north of their present habitat. They called the south ‘the land of strife,’ showing that their southern advance was attended by constant struggle with the rival tribes not of Masai race.

2 Na-irra-kop is a word beginning with the feminine prefix na-, a prefix originally conveying the sense of ‘mother,’ or often diverging into an equivalent for ‘source of,’ ‘place of,’ productive of.

3 There are, however, traditions among the south-western Masai that they once possessed or knew of this long-horned breed.
like aristocracy of E. Equatorial Africa — implanted this long-horned type of ancient Egyptian ox, cattle in the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and the frontier of the Congo forest. But the long-horned Galla 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 Egyptian and the Negro; and one is struck 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-reaching divine power emanating from the sky high above the earth, and even above the lower regions of the atmosphere. This divinity, to which they can pray at times with real earnestness, is known usually by a female name, Eti-ai (Et- is the feminine article, ai, or gi, is the root). Eti-ai is occasionally referred to as 'the Black God,' though in some stories or in some manifestations of the divinity to be a true consisting of (1) Eti-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 angry or malicious Red God, who is, on the whole, spitefully disposed towards mankind and dwells in the lower part of the atmosphere. Eti-ai and the Black God (or both fused in one personality) would like to keep the rains from falling to the parched land, and to bring perpetual drought and desiccation. 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 Eti-ai, as the Black God, intervenes and interrupts the moisture so necessary to life under an equatorial sun. Distant thunder is believed to be the remonstrance of Eti-ai at this churlishness of his subordinate deity, whom, however, he seldom besets himself to circumvent. Eti-ai is known to some of the non-Masai tribes as 'Kai' or 'Gal' without the article, and by the Masai themselves is called by other names, such a Paassai.

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, Eti-ai), the Masai believe in superhuman beings who resemble the jinns (genii) 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 jinns, 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 insomniac 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 the forest. They are mainly, if not entirely, anthropophagous in their food preferences, and do not touch wild beasts.

In one of the Masai stories recorded by Hollis it is narrated that the devil's custom is to call to human beings who pass the place of his settlement in the forest. 'Come, my brother, help lift this load of firewood.' If they are foolish enough to present themselves to him, he challenges a polotted stake which he carries. When any particular district was believed to be haunted by a devil and the Masai wished to pass through it in their customary migration, they provided for himself and his followers who would arrange to march past the cannibal's haunt in a large body as possible, the warriors going both in front and behind. 'Should a voice be heard issuing from the bush, calling some one, everybody remains silent, for they know that it is this devil that is calling. The man who is called being a phagophagous jinn, seizes all the human beings in one district except a woman, who succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit. As the boy grew up he made a bow and arrow, and, when he was fifteen years old, called the boy information as to how he might proceed to recognize his tribe, and, most if not all, of the people whom he had eaten, out of gratitude these resuscitated Masai elected the boy as their chief.

It is quite possible that this and similar stories, widespread over Negro Africa, refer to the lurking cannibals of some big and brutish race which lingered 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一类 one with beast, and on the other a ghoulish type of man.

4. Cosmology. —The Masai believe that, when Nairnerkop,2 the demi-god of Mount Kenia, decided to start out on the earth-preserving trip, the Masai — be found things in E. Africa, via an already existing Dorobo (the word properly spelled Torobo and means a wandering people of pre-Adamic life, an elephant, and a serpent, all of whom lived together. In course of time the red serpent and the elephant mother, who, however, before her death had given birth to a calf, which escaped from the Dorobo, and to its journeying about the world met a Masai to whom it confided its troubles. At this juncture God himself (Eti-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 good gifts and honours, because they had been the master of E. Africa. Other variants of this story make Nairnerkop (the divine man of Mount Kenia) machine throughout, and do not involve the intervention of the great sky-god, Eti-ai.

Exegetical.—With regard to a life after death, in some of the Masai traditions it is related that, when the man-god Nairnerkop gave to their primal ancestor, Le-eyo, instructions as to how to arise when a child died, the latter out of selfishness because the child next to die was not his own—over the prayer which was to adjure the child's spirit to retire, Le-eyo frequently prayed that the moon, though it died, might rise again, but that the dead child might remain dead. Some time afterwards Le-eyo was likely to lose his own, and therefore said the prayer rightly. But it was too late; only the first invocation had produced its effect when he died, 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 of a creature—these personalities of those whom we have loved or respected—prevails with the Masai, as the repeated assertions in their folklore that 'All is over with man as with the cattle, and the soul does not come to life again.' 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. 212th.
2 J. L. Kraef, the great missionary pioneer of Equatorial E. Africa, writing in 1830 in his preface to the Vocabulary of the Engilish El Dobu (the Western Masai), thus describes the religious beliefs of the Masai: 'At the remotest antiquity there was one man residing on Oldonyo elibor. . . . This man was superior to any human being, and whom Esgai (heaven, supreme being, god) placed on the mountain. This strange personage whose beginning and end is unknown and whose whole appearance impresses the Watusi mind with the idea of a demi-god is called... Neterokub. The intelligence of this strange person residing on Oldonyo elibor reached a man named Enjema Enamer, who with his wife Sambu lived on Mount Sambu which is situated to the east of Oldonyo elibor and is a high mountain but does not attain to the height of Oldonyo elibor. The White mountain of Tanga and with his wife who by the intercession of Neterokub became fruitful and gave birth to a number of children. Neterokub also taught Enjema Enamer the taming of the elibor and all its uses. In the forest—... It is to Oldonyo elibor ('Kenia,' as the Watusi call it) that I offer to the Watusi the obligation of the intercession of Neterokub for getting rain, cattle, and health from the Esgai.

The Dorobo are the game 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—Hamite, Negro, and possibly Bushman.
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 who thunders and it rains,
Give me offspring.
To thee only every day do I pray,
Thus morning star;
To thee only every day do I pray,
Thus who art of sweet morning and all sage plants.
To thee only every day do I pray,
Who art prayed to and who hearest;
To thee only every day do I pray.

Women and children also pray for rain. The old men's prayer in time of drought (shanted round a bonfire of sweet-smelling wood into which is thrown a charm from the medicine-man) is:

'Black god, hail!
God water us;
O them of the uttermost parts of the earth,
Black god, hail!
God water us.'

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 confined to the sky over the moon, but is something behind, above, beyond, and more powerful than these heavenly bodies, which are beings of either sex that alternately marry and quarrel, other celestial 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 Sword of Orion, and Orion's Belt. Counts 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 East 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 Semiticized Somali. For unnumbered centuries waves of Caucasian influence and even trickles of Caucasian blood have been passing from Western Arabia, Syria, and Egypt through Ethiopia into Nilenland, the Central and Western Sudan, and the steppes and forests and lake regions of East Africa. The Masai have brought their share of these beliefs, superstitions, 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 Steggall, a missionary long resident in the eastern part of Masailand, both argue that Merker got his information regarding Masai beliefs chiefly from Masai who had long been connected with the Roman Catholic mission, 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 for much teaching to have been imparted to Masai, nor, from what the present writer knows of missionary work in those regions, is it likely that either Roman Catholic or Protestant missions

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 of the serpents or 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 one at night, but, she pours milk on the ground for it to lick up. A variety of species of snakes are regarded as totem animals by one of the Masai clans, who protect them against ill-treatment by the members of any other clan, and will even call on them for help if they get worsted in a fight, exclaiming, 'Avengers of my mother's house, come out!' The Masai believed that the female snakes thus invoked would bite those who had not adopted them as a totem.

It has even been thought by some Masai, probably 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 up to heaven, to the abode of Esai. It is not impossible that this growing belief may have resulted from their talks with the missionary in E. Africa. They certainly believe that there is where one could call God; and soul, some impalpable living essence, and that this subsists a man's body when he falls asleep. Therefore a sleeper must be too suddenly awakened lest the soul be left outside the body and the man die. In one mood the Masai will assert that no such things as 'ghosts' exist, because they cannot be seen; in another they appear to believe that ghosts do exist and can be killed by cattle, though not by men. When a herd of cattle hauls and staves fixedly at something, it is not a lion or a leopard, it is a ghost.

6. Divination. — They also believe in omens, and, like all the Negro peoples of E. Africa, pay great attention to the cries and the actions of birds which are propitious or unpromising. Their medicine-men practice divination of future events (1) by shaking a handful of stones out of a horn, (2) by examining the entrails of a slaughtered goat, (3) by getting drunk on mead, and then prophesying at random, and (4) by the interpretation of dreams.

7. Prayers. — The Masai have a very real belief in God, and, if they are vague about his personality 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 mountains, Kenya and Kilimanjaro, with the Deity. They pray for children and for the health of the children, for rain, for success in time of war, and plenty of cattle. The present writer, however, when residing many years ago at Taveita near the eastern border of Kilimanjaro, noted that the men of the Wa-Taveita (mainly Masai in race and religion, though now speaking a Bantu language) could pray most earnestly and touchingly to Esai, the Power of the] which their children were sick.

When one of their number gives birth to a child, the Masai women gather together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called a 'purifier of a hut,' or simply a 'purifier.' The woman bathes the animal by herself and eat all the meat, and no man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is
at that stage in their development spent much time in translating and teaching the book of Genesis to the Massai, it is probable that the ancestors of the Massai in their northern home were in contact with the Christian Gallas or Abyssinians, and from them imbibed those ideas of Adam and Eve and the other traditions regarding the great Patriarchs and the Melchisedek legends enshrined in the first chapter of Genesis; or the ideas may even have percolated through N.E. Africa in pre-Christian days, when the Jews and Idumeans were conscious of a good deal of W. Arabia and of Ethiopia.

The stories transcribed by Merker are not only reminiscent of the Jewish myths of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Esau, Jacob, Joseph, and Abraham, but even extend to a personality like Moses, actually bearing the name of Musanna (or Marummi). 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 Massai religion must be taken in the past tense. Year by year old beliefs and traditions are fading away, and the young are shifting from the one absolute materialisation (with the white man as their wondrous-working divinity) or adherents of the various Christian missions, to which they are proving useful and influential converts.

LETTRENA.—In addition to the works of Hollis and Merker quoted throughout, see J. L. Krapf, Vocabulary of the Gagundu Tupah, or Language of the Wa-Ungu. Station, Tabora, 1904 (Price is not quoted); J. E. Erhardt, Vocabulary of the Gagundu Tupah, as spoken by the Meinj Tribe in W. Africa, Basel, 1897; J. Taylor Thompson, Through Masai Land, London, 1886; H. H. Johnston, The Kilimanjaro Expedition, d. 1896, The Upanda Protectorate, Finschhinde, The East of the Mount, d. 1901.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

MASBOTHANS.—According to Eus. H.E. vi. xxii. 5 f., Hegesippus had written of the Hemerobaptists and the Masbottaens (Masbobotana) as two distinct sects in the circumcision among the children of Israel. The brief characterization of the Masbottaens given by the ancient heresiologists are based simply upon their etymologies of the name, which they connect either with the word 'sabbath' or with μαξα, 'will,' 'purpose.' Among modern scholars A. Hilgenfeld has advanced the conjecture that the Masbottaens were the followers of the early heretic Thebathias, also mentioned by Hegesippus, but in all likelihood the name is a pagan eponym 'baptists.' In glossaries of the Palestinian Aramæans the only word given for 'baptism' is masbò-thá, and, as we know that among the Mandaeans on the Euphrates the regular term for ceremonial immersion in running water was κολασα (see art. MANDÆANS, p. 357), we can hardly doubt that Masbobotana signifies people in whose religious practice such immersion formed an outstanding element. Thus the Gr. term 'Hemerobaptists' 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 there were among the Jews various parties which advocated the practice of immersion, each, however, after its own particular form: there were, e.g., the Bnei-Ezra, the bathers 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 parties that can be reconciled.

The designation 'Masbottaens,' however, would also suit the Elkesaites, and, in fact, pointedly suggests that sect, as the Elkesaitic tradition contains the name Zebaid, formed from the same verbal root as κολασα (cf. art. ELKESAITES, vol. v. p. 265). By the time of Hegesippus the Elkesaites 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 their existence. On these grounds, accordingly, it would seem very probable that those who had become known to him as the sect of the Masbottaens were none other than the Elkesaites. LITERATURE.—A. Hilgenfeld, Die Ketzerausbruchte des Urchristentums, Leipzig, 1854; W. Brandt, Die samenldische Religion, d. 1889, p. 150; Ekklesi, d. 1912, p. 217. On the Jewish Hemerobaptists and 'bathers of the early morning': Brandt, Die judischen Ketten, Giesenh., 1911, pp. 65-83, 92f.

W. BRANDT.

MASK.—A mask may be defined as a molded or carved 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—and the head of a fox. A division is made by W. H. Dall into 'mask proper,' 'masket,' resembling mask but worn not upon the face but above or below the face, and 'mascot,' the latter not intended to be worn. 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, incidentally noting details of form and manufacture and variations of general type. It may be noted at once that both in form and in use there is the usual similarity between the most widely separated races. The mask is in most cases ethnologically independent in origin.

1. 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 spirits and demons, or various animals and natural objects. Robertson 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.' In the form of a 'masket' 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 tiger, he becomes that tiger. In the drama of the Pueblo Indians the actor is supposed to be transformed into the deity represented. The wearer of a mask in the dances of primitive peoples is 'assimilated to the real nature of the being represented'-possessed by him. But neither this belief nor the desire to be enveloped with sanctity can be regarded as the original intention of the mask. Dall considers the original mask of the North American Indian.


to have been a shield held in the hand to protect the face from missiles, and later worn on the face, affecting the human visage in a terrifying 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 explanation. The Australian does not have the mask, but in their ceremonies they disguise the face by painting, or with down and blood. Previous to the invention of the Attic dramatic mask, the Dionysian mummers painted their faces with wine, possibly to simulate the effects of intemperance. As in the case of the ancient Roman kings and generals, whose faces were painted with vermillion on state occasions to resemble Jupiter. But this idea is clearly secondary. Again, 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 fair analogy to the blackened face of the modern peasant mummer, as contrasted with the wooden masks of the N. American savages. We may conclude that the ideas of assimilation, whether magical or religious, of terror, of protection, and even of disguise are secondary, and that the primary purpose of the mask is dramatic; the mask is a concrete result of the imitative instinct.

The various purposes, therefore, to which the mask is applied have no necessary development from one another, but are natural implications to particular purposes of the original mimetic instinct.

2. War masks. These are not of frequent use. In Central and West Africa warriors used hideous 'masks' of zebra-hide. The natives of Yoruba were masked representing lions, tigers, and so forth, to terrify the enemy. In medieval Europe and Japan soldiers were helms painted with frightful masks. 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 neutralize the activity of an evil spirit, a man was masked to represent an evil spirit itself. The Greek myth of the Gorgon's head was inspired by similar ideas, with which a primitive custom may be compared: in Timon of Athens, 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 is 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 evil spirits. The people of China and Celebes, when 'driving out devils,' blacken their faces or wear masks. Possibly the masked Perchens of Central Europe had originally a similar function.

There may have been a mimic struggle between the Beasts and Man, the Ugly masks, symbolizing a struggle for the crop; masked mummers at sam- sawing festivals represent evil spirits.

4. The mask of justice. Officers of justice or terrorism assume the personality of a supernatural

inspectors, the Venoms of mediaeval 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 the assumption of a terrifying aspect, or the imposing of the name of a god. This, like all their proceedings, is carried out with mummery, and the mask is employed along with other disguise or impersonation.

The Simulungu and the Bokwe wear masks, the collectors wear masks. The Kukui, Egbu, and Egunyan are other instances of these W. African societies; their masks are based on various ideas connected with the tutelary spirits of the society. The Igbo 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 Egunyan 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 Nambo of the Banks' Islands is a secret society whose name means 'ghost.' 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 a personification of justice—judge, policeman, and executioner in one. The remarkable head-dresses worn by the operators are technically mask-like structures, representing some spiritual force in the semblance of a cassowary.

The operators are two Duk-duk representing the male and Tubuan the female cassowary. The mask worn by each is a 'huge hat-like exrinisher' of grass or palm-fibre, 6 ft. high. 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 flashy. The extraordinary belief is held that the Tubuan mask gives birth to the novices when initiated into the society; and two female masks are kept from year to year for the purpose of annually bestowing its spirit; the heads acting seem to be lost or merged in the mask. No one is supposed to know who the actors are. The male masks appear to be burned after the ceremony. The committees of adults who supervise the making of young men are frequently dressed in disguise and wear masks. In Torres Straits on these occasions a man represents the deity Agrad; he is painted all over and wears a leaf petticoat and a turtle-shell mask. Several masked mygwar (devils) frighten the novices, who are well beaten, and are told the dreadful names of the masks.

A wolf society among the Nutka holds initiation meetings; men wearing wolf-masks carry off the novices.

1 See Webster, op. cit.
2 A. Bastian, Die deutsche Expedition an der Lempa-kuiste, Jena, 1874, t. 128.
The divine mask. — The shaman of N.W. America, e.g., among the Makahs, has one mask for every performance. In a spirit séance, he puts on a mask and summons the spirit with his rattle. The Eskimo shamans, in making their masks, give expression to their ideas of the spirits represented. Their masks are a creative, and not a mimic, art. The shaman is said to be able to see through the animal-mask to the manlike face behind. In the ritual of ancient Mexico the priest wore a mask representing the god. On the other hand, priestesses in Nigeria may not wear or touch a mask.

From a similar point of view the protected of a guardian spirit wears a mask, when dancing, to represent that spirit and identify himself with it. The Monomono 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 resembling his totem animal, and the belief is that the wearer becomes the totem-animal.

The image of a god may wear a mask; the Mexicans having the face of certain idols masks of a human face cut off from the skull and preserved. They also used elaborate masks with pyrites for the eyes, and obsidian and turquoise mosaic in back of the face. The god 'Our Mother' wore a two-faced mask, and her priest donned a replica of this.

The death mask. — In connection with the dead the mask has been exploited along interesting lines, assisting among other things the art of portrait sculpture. Besides the practice of embalming or otherwise preserving the heads of dead friends or enemies, several peoples have made masks of these. Such a mask has once been mentioned as placed upon the face of a Mexican idol, and there is a fine example in the Christy collection in the British Museum. In New Britain and elsewhere in Melanesia and New Guinea, such masks (skull masks) were worn in sacred dances. The Mexicans also placed painted masks or masks of gold or turquoise mosaic on the faces of their dead. The Alteata of the Western Highlands covered the faces of the dead with masks. The meaning of the last practice is obscure, but the Alteata think that it is intended to protect the dead against the glances of evil spirits. Their practice of wearing masks in certain religions dances, so as not to behold the idol round which they revolve and whose glance means death, may be compared. Similarly, among the Guaymis of Panama, during the initiation of young men, the women who attend upon them wear masks. Bantu girls at puberty wear straw masks, and Lillooet girls (British Columbia) wear goat-skin masks at the same time. In Mexico, when the king was ill, the images of the gods were masked, possibly to prevent them from drawing away the soul. Some idea of disguising a person dangerous or in danger may be connected with this, and hence the mask is merely a veil. In Siam and Cambodia masks of gold were placed on the faces of dead kings. The Shans have the same custom, using masks of silver or gold. These are the next seem to have been used upon a portrait. The Egyptian mummy had an artificial face forming part of the portrait superstructure over the corpse. Death-masks proper, of gold, silver, bronze, and terra-cotta, have been found in Medinet Habu, Thebes, Ephesus, the Crimea, Italy, France, the Danube valley, and Britain.

The most conspicuous and complete examples are supplied by Mycenae and Rome. In the famous shaft-graves opened at Mycenae 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 upon the face of the dead. The masks of the man were of thicker plate, and had no eye-holes. The hands and feet of the children were also wrought in gold leaf. This suggests that the informing idea was similar to that of swelling the dead, painting the face, and otherwise decorating, while protecting, the corpse. The Roman nobles kept wax portrait-masks of their ancestors in the atrium. The dead nobles lay in state for seven days, during which the emblamer (pellinctor) took a mould of the face, which he then cast in wax, and painted with the natural colours. The mask was placed on the dead man's face, or, in case of putrefaction, on an effigy. After the burial the mask was hung in the temple, possibly fixed on a bust, and under it was a titulus giving the name and exploits of the man represented. These imagines were connected by lines giving the genealogical succession, and termed stemmata. The tax imaginum gave a man the right of having his imagos carried in 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 Pugin's time the wax masks were giving way to clipiato imaginum, i.e. medallions of metal.

Since Roman times the method of securing a portrait by taking a death mask has been continued in the case of great personages. This is the 'death-mask' of sculpture.

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 'masque' 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 mediaval gilds. Frazer describes the institution as 'a religious drama' like that of ancient Greece. Various purposes other than that of entertainment are fulfilled by the performances; various, too, are the characters represented, according to the constitution of the society, whether totemic or consecrated to guardian spirits or otherwise. But the presence of their masks is a common feature.
function is pantomime, and the mask is the means of impersonation. The masks are made of various woods; they are mostly of 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 masks were masks of both sexes; the Swiss masks are two-faced, enabling the actor suddenly 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. Sometimes their use is declared, and there are elaborate rules. No uninitiated person may see them being made. Little masks are worn on the fingers. The masks represent human persons—mythical, sometimes hideous—or animals. Ancestors, spirits, suffix (tutelary spirits), natural objects (e.g., the sun-mask of the Kwakiutl, the round with seal’s whiskers, and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan), animals, and birds form the subjects of a remarkably varied collection. The Tsimshians have a mask representing the thunder-bird, and at the performance mock lightning is produced and water is poured from the roof. The masks resemble 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 men to wear them, and are compared with civilized prejudices against the actor’s profession. The dances are pantomimic representations of the myths stored by the society, and may thus be compared with the magical pantomimics of the Australians, intended to encourage the natural processes which they represent, and, on the other hand, with the medieval ‘morality,’ which was an object-lesson in good and evil. The dances have a sort of mysterious glamour over the performance and at the same time allows the actor to remain unknown. Apart from entertainment, 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 dramas of the Pueblo Indians is remarkable; it has features resembling those of the morality and the Greek drama. Divine beings are the characters representing the old-inhabitants in the village square, and have (at least as a secondary object) the intention of preventing rain, good crops, or prosperity in general.

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 being represented in masks by good artists.

The drama of ancient Athens, both tragic and comic, employed the mask, which had been used in the old Bacchic; they were masks of both sexes; the actors of the comic use them unabbreviated. The dramatic use of masks was first established by Thespis, who previously had painted his face with white lead or purplum. Linen masks unpainted were then adopted; Chaucer improved them; Phrynieus 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 superhuman proportions of the actors. The obeks (eyecap), a cone-shaped prolongation of the upper part of the forehead, added size and dignity to 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 the facial mask aimed at was to be well emphasized 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 finer shades of emotion may have been avoided. The mask prevented any considerable evolution of the psychological drama. ‘It would be difficult to imagine the part of Hamlet played in a mask.’ Pollux enumerates twenty-four styles of tragic masks. The tyrant’s mask had thick black hair and beard and wore a crown. The lover’s face was pale. The comic mask was, in the Old Comedy, the portrait of a real person; when 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 makers refused to supply a mask, such was the fear inspired by the demagogue. 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 Roscius, who is said to have introduced them on his own account, being ugly and affected with a squint; but they had always been worn in masques and masquerades, 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 mask. He writes:

5. Ibid. pp. 282, 284.
8. Ibid. p. 294. Skiod connects the terms ‘mumming,’ ‘mummer,’ with the Low German, Namme (made of sound, sounds, used by nurses to frighten or amuse children, while pretending to cover the face.
9. Ibid. p. 408.
Academy sought to draw down blessings on the community by mimicking certain powerful superhuman beings and in their assumed character working those benedictions which were in the capacity of mere men; they would have confused themselves powerless to effect. 1

The mimetic magical ceremonies of the Central American Indians were another piece of evidence in favour of this view; but it seems more probable that the native mimetic instinct expressed itself first with no particular purpose, being later applied to various magical or religious aims. It is impossible to prove that the earliest masks or even face-paints represented anything but fanciful characters of merely dramatic import. 2 The instinctive delight in personal disguise is a universal element in all the applications of the mask, and as an adjunct to a temple of Baal (2 K 3:24), in the custom of civilized peoples of wearing a mask on the upper part of the face at fancy-dress balls, which reproduces the barbaric entertainments of lower cultures. The burlgar's mask is another modern reproduction of the idea of disguise, but employed for utilitarian purposes.

The swinging mask. — Cases have been cited of the mask being separated from its wearer and becoming a sort of idol. The ancient Italian oscilles are an interesting parallel. These were miniature masks in wax, marble, or terracotta, and apparently wool, which were hung up on the houses and temples during festivals, and allowed to swing in the wind. 3 The intention may have been magical, to make the crops or vines grow, by disseminating magical force, by swinging high, or by the virtue of movement.

Masks in metaphor and history. — Many obvious metaphors have been inspired by the mask, which need not be recapitulated. In history the Faux Visages, a section of the Gibelline faction in the 13th cent., otherwise the Massariati, are curiously repeated in name by the False Faces, secret society of the Iroquois. 4 'The man in the iron-mask' is a historic mystery illustrating the permanent fascination of this element of applied psychology.

Literature. — This is fully given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY

MASS. — See Eucharist.

MASSÈBHÂH. — In the OT massêbhâh (מַשֶׁבָּח) denotes a standing-stone, stèle, obelisk, or pillar, sometimes conceived as being an abode of spirit or deity. The name is derived from 77 (P.H. 1880). A stone pillar or monument. Aram. 272; Syr. prop. name Nosib; Palmyrene (אכש) 22. The massêbhâh is referred to as a heathen symbol of the Canaanites (Ex 23:24; Deut. 7:19). Massêbhath and debeth are so frequent that it could be said that they might be found upon every high hill, and under every green tree (2 K 17:20). The word massêbhâh is used to describe sacred stones in connection with an altar (Ex 23:24; Ev. of Moses, Hos 3:12; Is 30:21; without condemnation mentioned, the articles being considered usual in Hebrew worship). The strong pillars of Tyre doomed to destruction are called massêbhath by Ezekiel (29:1), and massêbhath (בֹּשֶׁבָה) uses the same term for the Egyptian obelisks at Heliopolis. The use of the massêbhâh is strictly forbidden to Israelites by the

Deuteronomy 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. The earlier writers, especially E and Hosen, see no harm in these stones; but the teaching of the other prophets, with the massêbhâh, representing them as making altars (cf. LXX Ex 24, substituting פָּרֹת, 'stones,' for מַשֶׁבָּח). Hebrew monotheism, when fully developed, disdained sun and moon of their ancient divinity (Gn 1:18): 'The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye build unto me?' (Is 57:11). At such a period in Hebrew thought there was no longer any superstition for stones, caimns, cromlechs, or menhirs.

Stones are used with no occult associations. Samuel commemorates a victory by setting a stone, which he called Eben-ezer (1 Sam 7:10); the Temple has two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, set up in the porch (1 K 7:18); inscriptions are recorded on stone (Is 28:25; Ex 32:14); the bound stone is marked by a stone (2 Sam 23:17). Absalom in his lifetime set a pillar, called a 'shilshol,' to perpetuate the memory of his intimacy with the massêbhâh, representing them as making altars (2 Sam 19:22). In temple building (1 K 7:18) an agreement between Jacob and Laban (Gen 31:48) as to the boundary of the land by a stone and pillar (Génôf, 'consecrated stones,' of which the Latin words came to mean 'graves') is not without meaning (see stone). When men sought an enduring memorial, 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 protection. Nothing more is indicated in this few instances.

Jacob set up a stone for a massêbhath, poured oil upon the top of it, and called it Beth-el (Gen 33:19). This stone is found associated with altars and debeth figures in religious centres. Jacob's ceremony implies more than it states. Jehovah sets up a stone saying, 'This stone shall be a witness against thee,' (Deut. 27:13) and the New Testament uses the word in a metaphorical sense (Acts 7:45). The use of unknown stones for an altar (Ex 20:24; 27:2, Jos 24:26) befriends the feeling that the chisel would offend the masses.

Semitic and other parallels show that such instances are surviving specimens of an elaborate system of stone-worship. The massêbhâh is found in the cognate languages, and denotes 'consecrated,' 'holy,' 'divine dedication' (Lampridios). Among the primitive Arabs the massêkh serves as an altar, the victim's blood is smeared over it; hence the name ghârîyy. It is, however, more than an altar, 'a sacred head' (J. Wellhausen, Resta arâa. Hadentoums, Berlin, 1887, p. 99). Herodotus iii. 3 describes the Arabs making a covenant.

An umpire draws blood upon a sharp stone from the head of each of the two persons making the contract, and with part of their garments he smears the blood on seven stones placed between them, invoking God and Allah. Herodotus might have added that the parties tasted each other's blood (W. R. Smith, Kingfish and Marriage, London, 1867, p. 365). 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, Excavations of Gezer, London, 1912). Phoenician colonists spread the practice, and Ptolemaic temples confirm the sanctity of the stone column, and the Greek name Baños, appears to be derived from Beth-el. Thopaoutai, in the 4th century B.C., describes the superstitious Greek passing the anointed stones in the streets, taking up his phial and pouring the anointing oil over them falling on his knees to adore, and going his way (Polyb. ii. 16).

Traces of like practices are recorded down to the present day. A full description of a shrine of the pre-Islamic stone-worship in a Turkish village of Macedon is given by A. J. Evans in his Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult (JHS xl. 1901 29 ff.). It is due to prophetic intolerance of the irrational and immoral that so slight traces of lithoboly remain in the OT.
'What mean ye by these stones?' asked the Hebrews; ratio in obscuro, answered Tacitus. To seek one principle consistently applied is as hopeless in custom as in a language. Feeling, variable and incertant as it is, can be sanctified and consecrated. Mounds have inspired awe and affection—e.g., Olympus, Fujiyama, Hermon, Horeb, Sinai—and it has been suggested that the sacred pillar is little a model of the Holy Hill. Myths have been borrowed and treasured; and if the host of heaven received adoration, any fragment coming 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 [Ac 19:4]; Sarithone in Damascus, quoted by Photius [A.D. 869], Biblioth. 345b, 28; 348a, 28; the Ka-ba at Mecca, as E. Burton thinks [Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, London, 1892, ii. 300 f.], retaining its sanctity in spite of lapse). Moreover, the shadow of a pillar is a clue to the moon and the sun and the regulation of the calendar. The structures at Stonehenge 'had for the most part an astronomical use in connexion with religious ceremonial' (N. Lockyer, Nature, lxviii. [1905-06] 153; see also series of Notes on Stonehenge, in S. W., ii. 47, 54, 101, 124). The same conclusion is maintained with regard to the standing-stones of Stoneh ors in Orkney by M. Spence (Scottish Review, xxxi. [1880] 40-417). The late Hebrew term נמחיב, rendered uniformly 'sun-images' in RV (Ezek 6:14, Lv 26:9, Is 14:27, 2 Ch 14:1 [cf. 14:9] 34-7), probably represents the קסבב with solar associations. Palestine had a human past before the Hebrews entered it. The stone-tables (holly-pine) occurring in hundreds suggested imitation; the menhirs to the east of the Jordan served as prototypes of the קסבב. Of the more obvious influences specified by the Biblical writers the contemplation of the dead has always been the strongest inspiration.

Cup-markings on the קסבב or on adjoining altars are not infrequent (cf. art. CUP- AND RING-MAKINGS). On an altar they are suggested to receive the blood of the victim; on a tombstone they would serve for food and drink offered to the dead, although a plain Turk explained the hollows on tombstones as meant to gather water for the birds. On other stones they are on the sides, not on the upper surface of the stone; and they may be arranged in the shape of a horse-shoe. Cup-markings are held to be inconsistent with the purpose of the Nesher; all qualification of the cupping showed that the cup and pillar had not originated at the same period (PEFS, xxxv. [1904] 112 f.). The cupped stone is cited to explain Zec 3:9: 'Behold the stone that I have set before Joshua; upon one stone are seven eyes; behold, I will engrave the engraving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.'

An article by B. D. Eerdmaans (in JBL, xxx. [1911] 109-113), entitled 'The Sepulchral Monument "Kasbbeh"', has revived discussion on the meaning of the pillars. "The kasbbeh is easily explained as a house for the soul. Therefore the name of the deceased person is inscribed upon it; and the monument itself was called אמאבכ, the male form was chosen for the graves of men, the female form for the graves of women (p. 110).

This result has, with some reservations, been approved by E. Sellin, who adds corroboration and, in consequence, suggests striking interpretations of Is 62:9 and 51:4 (OLZ, xi. [1912] 119 ff., 371 ff., 568 f.). The views of Eerdmaans and Sellin are strongly opposed by M. R. Young, who argues that the kasbbeh is an urban type of Goddess (JBL, xxx. [1911] 486 f.). This indication of sex is a welcome improvement on the sugestio contaminata which prevailed for some time. In spite of Herodotus, ii. 16, and similar testimony in Lucian, and the phallic columns at Gezer and Petra, it appears that this was a subsidiary and occasional interpretation of the standing-stones. The feeling that the pillar or pillar image was so placed for the soul is supported by the Jewish custom in Oriental cemeteries (כֶּסֶבּ, as they are called) of giving every individual a stone. The inscription name indicates the sex, apparent from a special shape of the stone. The tombstone of a Rabbi or of a person who died of cholera has a distinctive shape.

MASTER AND SERVANT. — See EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYMENT.

MATERIALISM. — Materialism is one of several types of metaphysical theory concerning the nature and number of the ultimate realities to be assumed in order to explain the universe. Dualism (q.v.) asserts that two independent principles must be presupposed, viz., mind and matter. Monism (q.v.)—in the qualitative sense—regards these two principles as aspects of one ultimate. Monism—in the quantitative sense—is opposed to dualism in regarding one principle as sufficient. There are two kinds of such monistic theory: spiritualism, which affirms mind or spirit to be the only ultimate reality, and materialism, which makes the same assertion of matter. Thus, according to the doctrine of materialism, extended, insensible, eternally self-existent matter is the one fundamental constituent of the universe; mind or consciousness is but a mode or a property of such matter, and psychical processes are reducible to physical. More precisely, there are three kinds of metaphysical materialism, thus described by Külpe (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 equative . . . which looks upon mental processes as really material in character.'

I. 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 was abhorred by all philosophers of the Hellenistic period, and the two or three leading systems were of an illogical and quantitative (of size, form, arrangement), banished final cause or intelligent purpose from the world, denied the immortality of the 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 it in 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 P. Guesdon; it, however, deprived it of metaphysical significance by reconciling it with belief in God as Creator of the universe. T. Hobbes, at the same time, taught a similar view, so that, though the tone of 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 in the universe. Gradually, 248 ff., 460 ff., 1900-1901.

D. M. KAY.
MATERIALISM

Mental development depend on the body. P. B. D. Holbach's *Systeme de la nature* (London, 1770), which rejects every form of spiritualism and supernaturalism, marks the culmination of this movement of thought.

Near to our own time materialism appeared as a reaction from post-Kantian idealism, with renewed energy in Germany, K. C. Vogt, J. Moleschott, and J. Blumenhau his leading exponents at the beginning of the 19th century. Their writings, though erasing—for the first time, perhaps, in the history of materialism—some sense of the need of an epistemological foundation for a metaphysic which resolves mental process into material, reveal great crudity of thought and knowledge in this connexion, 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 prophecy with which science is flushed with many successes, over-hastily exaggerated its own scope and functions a generation ago, accounts for the materialistic colouring which many generalizations are given 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 implication or consequence of scientific truth rightly so called. J. Huxley, who on an occasion could teach materialism of the most dogmatic kind, and in another mood would capitalize 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 to-day, perhaps, only in the literature of secularist 'free' thought. Even the monism of E. Hoeckel, 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 outbursts of materialistic metaphysic have coincided with epochs of remarkable progress of physical science. The emergence of this tendency to regard the world as fundamentally material, at successive epochs in the history of thought, is evidence that materialism strongly compensates 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 assumed theory of knowledge whence they derive their plausibility examined.

The reason why, as H. Holmgren says (*Problems of Philosophy*, New York, 1905, p. 140), 'ever and again essays are made in the materialistic 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 so much greater, and so much more easy to obtain, than our knowledge of mind. Psychology is a comparatively young science, so far as it embraces psychic phenomena 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 forthcoming and established is rarely open to the investigator of physical phenomena, so that he proceeds in abstraction from essential elements involved in every 'objective fact' that he examines and classifies. Psychology, again, more immediately involves metaphysics, which for the most 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 external 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 individual minds 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 minds only in connexion with bodies or material substrata, and, so far 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 mind. Science teaches us also of the past history of a material world which existed for ages before organic beings, which alone experience enables us certainly to endow with minds, could exist upon it. Yet more impressive is the array of facts demonstrated and explained by physiology, comparative anatomy and psychology, and pathology as to the concomitance of psychic processes with physical, their dependence on material 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 not merely a product of matter or material process. The progress of science would seem, as Huxley put it, to have meant the extension of mechanical law and the realm of materialism, and the conception of spirit and spontaneity from the universe, and to afford as good ground for asserting mental phenomena to be 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 counterexample can be made, for instance, out of the fact, if it be a fact, that some mental events no correlated material changes within the brain have been discovered; for future research may possibly discover them, and 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, is unlike other activities or properties of matter. Heat, light, sound, and electricity are qualitative phenomena, and the changes that are properties of matter or of other possessing some of the characteristics of matter. It is a baseless dogma that the effect must resemble the cause, so long as we refer to physical phenomena 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 nothing of the sort—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 still be maintained as belonging to a class of resolution into physical antecedents. Perhaps the most that can be urged, from this epistemological standpoint, is opposition to materialism, is that the adoption of it as the usual theoretical technique of science is abso-

The argument should suffice to dispose of the dogmatic certainty of materialism, though not necessarily of the possibility of its (indemonstrable) truth. That material change, while ever pursuing the same path as materialism, should have other than a physical epi-phenomena, the connexion 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 

The scientist, leaving himself out of the question, can discover himself at the end; he is thus led to think that his own mind, which has largely shaped his phenomena and made them what they are for him, is but an illusion, an effect, an epi-

3. Refutation of materialism.—But there are more telling arguments against a materialistic metaphysics, and these are to be mentioned when we emerge only when the question of the episte-

When science boasts of the objectivity of its knowledge, it does not merely imply possession of knowledge concerning facts such as is universal, or capable of being common to all subjects—which is a perfectly legitimate contention; but it further calls out of sight altogether, as convenient or essential to its own practical procedure, all refer-

The materialism which science studies are not inde-

they are the sum of objective elements common to many individual experiences. Consciousness of an object which is not owned, a thing which is nobody's, a pheno-

Knowledge, moreover, as distinguished from pure positivistic action, such a thing in reality, reveals the work of sub-

Materialism also involves the old and obsolete assumption that the so-called secondary characters of matter (colour, tone, odour, etc.) are fundament-

Materialism, as the phenomena per se, however convenient and harmless it may be for purposes of ordinary discourse and practical investigation and description, is epistemologically false, or, rather, nonsensical. Yet it is precisely by the ejection of this colloquial fiction into an epistemological principle that materialism and all kinds of thought obtain a fixed founda-

Experience—the only ultimate datum, the one thing which cannot be doubted or explained away without involving the assertion of its reality—is always essentially a duality in unity, subject-

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 sometimes come to look upon what they have agreed to leave out of sight (it being none of their business), as if they come to be talked of as if they were really subject-

Their independence, their priority, their exclusive reality become to be affirmed. The scientist, leaving himself out of the question, can discover himself at the end; he is thus led to think that his own mind, which has largely shaped his phenomena and made them what they are for him, is but an illusion, an effect, an epi-

Materialism, as the phenomena per se, he can proceed to lay before us an array of imposing facts and arguments which, from the standpoint of science, are as irrefutable as they are im-

But, once the epistemological opposition that objects, 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 do the arguments in question lose all 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 knowledge 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, however, is not to be identified with the material, as if these were convertible terms. Matter is a conceptual abstraction from experience, and so cannot be taken for the ground or basis upon which observations are made. Atoms, again, are only figurative ideas; and that they have to be endowed with the very attributes which, in gross matter, were invented to explain, if not indeed to explain, the phenomena of observation, is a sufficient warning against adoption of the naive realistic view that they are corporeal or material particles.
ently 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 may be due to our mode of perceiving them 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 instance, is gained only through the perceived 'size' of a body, and this 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 anything at all which Berkeley (or any other) denies outside our minds and the direct action of God upon them which causes the sensations whence our idea of extension (or any other quality of matter) is derived, we are content to regard something as not matter as it is perceived. There may be what J. S. Mill called a 'permanent possibility of sensation' independent of us, whose case is not perceived; but, if there be, it is an entity wholly different 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 to the God who made us and created the physical universe (pluralism); but we cannot ascribe them to matter as perceived. Either of the views just mentioned would explain our experience; and, unless we ascribe our sensations to the influence of other spiritual existences endowed with 'being for self,' we cannot but assume, with Berkeley, that the nonmoral matter, the substratum of sensations, the substance which constitutes the permanent possibility of sensation, is but a medium or means existing solely for our sakes, and one which, from a theist's point of view, must seem superfluous. The concept of matter, then, is built on the basis of a view of a preexistent and manifestly conceptual construction to explain the origin of sense-impressions. It thus seeks to derive the underived from the derived.

There are several other inconsistencies involved in the dualistic doctrine, one or two of which may briefly be mentioned. Materialism implies that everything which happens and 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 of every organ and every function, as well as of every individual organism and every species, to account for the emergence, and still more for the development, of mind. Materialism, once conceived as a thoroughgoing type, regards consciousness as the product or effect of matter, while cherishing the principle of ex nihilo nihil fit in its application to what physicists call 'energy.' This is often held—though doubtless quite erroneously—to assert that not only is there quantitative equivalence between the energy which, in any physical change, disappears in one form and that which is equivalent to it, but also that the sum-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 with their assertion that mental phenomena are caused by matter. For in every such production of consciousness there is a disappearance of physical energy, unless energy is also attributable to consciousness. The last view is so objectionable on many grounds to materialists, partly because it opens the possibility that mind can predominate over matter, if they have avoided working it out. Lastly, it is generally admitted that materialism cannot explain even the simplest type of conscious process. The difficulty 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: hylomorphism. It is not surprising, under the pressure of all these difficulties and in the light of the self-criticism to which the doctrine has of late been subjected, that materialism should at the present time be a practically abandoned philosophical theory. Useful as a method, it is wanting as a metaphysic; and representatives of natural science with something in common, as mathematical physics asserts for its necessary postulate—living. Thus J. Tyndall was willing to endow primordial matter with 'the promise and potency of life'; and W. K. Clifford, in his mind-burst hypothesis, and Haeckel, in his imaginative theory of atoms indwelt by rudimentary souls, go yet further, and couple hylomorphism with pan-soulism.

Hylomorphism 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 (Parsius, Leibniz, Br. Bernhard, London, 1897, p. 304).
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 the Cusanian idealistic physics, 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 equilibriums; or, to change a 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—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 natural science are not materialistic but spiritualistic.


F. R. TENNANT.

MATERIALISM (Chinese).—Chinese religion and philosophy have been declared by many writers to be materialistic, and hence the tendency 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 material world, 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 a cosmological materialism, to be distinguished from 1st ethical materialism, which sees the aim of life in egotism, pleasure, and sensuality. Both are to be found in China, but it is not at the root of her great religious systems, although materialistic tendencies may be found occasionally. Nor does a materialist think of imputing materialism to the Buddhist faith, which teaches that the visible world is nothing but a semblance, a vision without any reality. Taoism takes a similar view: there exists no life except Tao, the Absolute, a supernatural, 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 following remark to the spirit, "keep aloof from them." 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 of polytheism. Probably he had 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.), hold that there is no materialism, 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 even concedes priority. Out of their combination the world was evolved. Matter splits into the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth); reason is the life-spirit, which also contains the virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge).

Another kind of dualism, savouring much of materialism, was in vogue in ancient China, and seems to have been known as the Huang Hsi's philosophy. At the earlier stages of civilization, religion, philosophy, and sciences are usually not yet separated. So it was in China, where we meet with the dualistic theory of yin and yang in Confucianism as well as in Taoist works. It was the first germ of a natural philosophy universally accepted by the Chinese irrespective of their religious convictions or philosophical ideas. In the commentary to the Yi King ascribed to T'ao-se, the grandson of Confucius (5th cent. B.C.), we read that the origin of existence is due to the cosmic dual forces yin and yang, which are the bright, male, generative principle; yang the dark, female, receptive principle; yin the heaven, yang the earth. Most Chinese critics look upon these principles as material substances—an interpretation open to doubt. But we have another telling the Taoist writer Lieh-tse of the same time, saying that he at least considered the yin and the yang to be substances. The evolution theory, though not quite scientific, reminds us of that of modern naturalists.

The sage of old held that the Yang and the Yin govern heaven and earth. Now, form being born out of the formless, heaven and earth take the same course: there was a great evolution, a great inception, a great beginning, and a great homogeneity. During the great evolution, Vapours were still imperceptible, in the great inception Vapours originate, in the great beginning Forms appear, and during the great homogeneity Substances are perceived. Light and light matter becomes the heaven above, the turbid and heavy matter forms the earth below. (Lieh-tse, L. 37.)

No divine being intervenes in the creation of the world, and yet we are not justified in calling Lieh-tse a materialist, for, notwithstanding this materialistic theory, the highest principle remains Tao, a spiritual being which alone is endowed with reality; the world with all its changes is imaginary.

At an early age the Chinese had further developed this dualistic theory of yin and yang by enlarging on the working of the five elements which were conceived as physical and as metaphysical essences as well. They were believed to predetermine and vanquish one another in regular turns, thus bringing about the four seasons: in spring the element wood reigns supreme, in summer fire is the master, in autumn metal and in winter water; to earth there is no corresponding season. The elements have their seat in different directions: wood in the east, fire in the south, earth in the centre, metal in the west, and water in the north. They are ruled by five deities, the genie of the seasons and the four quarters.

Whereas this attempt at natural philosophy is nothing but a medley of heathen and less fanciful, though the old dualistic theory was transformed into a consistent materialistic system by the sceptic Wang Chung (1st cent. A.D.). From various attendances it would appear that he thought of yang as a fiery and aggressive element. The former produced the sun, the moon, and the other stars of heaven, while from water and its sediments earth, the oceans, and the atmosphere were developed. Both fluids are in constant movement and are unfettered in the pursuit of any intelligence or subservient to the purpose of any spiritus rector; it is spontaneous and regulated solely by its own inherent natural laws; heaven and earth do not act on purpose, but are endowed with consciousness. Wang Chung rejects all anthropomorphisms which have clustered
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 heavenly fluid, returning to its 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 influence 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, and they have never concurred. 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 century B.C., the materialistic doctrine formulated by Yang Chu, the philosopher of egoism and pessimism. He maintains that in human life happiness is far exceeded by misfortune, and that this is the result of the baddness of the human soul itself. 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 in the service of comestible or useless aims 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 with death everything ends. In consequence of the vehement impositions of Mencius this doctrine has never got a hold on the Chinese mind.

Both Yang Chu and Wang Ch'ung have been long 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 various philosophic systems of India, e.g., Samvat Chaturth, (1) and Exposition of the Six Systems. (2) The systems are arranged in the order of their increasing orthodoxy, from the author's point of view: the first, for which, 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. (3)

As regards the sources that would give us direct

1. For the Mahabharata see E. W. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, New York, 1901, and the works on materialism in general, as The Natyacaryamati, (Mahabharata), 1. 6 (Fr. L. D. Barret, Temple Classics Series, London, 1905, p. 185).

2. For the Mahabharata see E. W. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, New York, 1901, and the works on materialism in general, as The Natyacaryamati, (Mahabharata), 1. 6 (Fr. L. D. Barret, Temple Classics Series, London, 1905, p. 185).

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 systematic, in the exact sense of the word, existed. There have been 'materialists' who have entertained some very well-defined theories, 'spiritualists,' whether Brahman, Buddhists, or Jains, give different names, and whose opinions are, perhaps artificially, grouped in the works of which we have spoken. The most characteristic name is Nāstikas, literally 'deniers,' 'misbelievers,' those who say na asti, (x). The most famous are (a) Chārāvakas (difficult to interpret; Chārāvaka is said to be the founder of the sect; he is undoubtedly the author of the Brāhmaṇḍa). (b) Lokāyata, 'worldly,' spread throughout the world. (c) The term, which, according to T. W. Rhys Davids, denotes primarily the knowledge of nature, and whose adherents are said to be the materialists of the Nāstikas, as the first two: (d) the Bābhāsaptas, disciples of Bṛhaspati (the head of the Vedic gods and the lord of wisdom).

2. In the Buddhist system, the doctrine of materialism is attributed to 'Ajita of the garment of hair,' one of the scholars and famous ascetics of the time of Buddha. He said:

'There is no such thing as sins or sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good and evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the next. There is neither father nor mother, nor beings springing from life with its own being. People are in the world no recluses or Brahmans... who, having understood and realized, by themselves and their friends, the next, make their wisdom known to others. A human being is built up of the four elements. When he dies, the matter in him returns and relates to the earth, the soil to the water, the bone to the fire, the windy to the air, and his existence, the next, becomes the drink of the ocean or the ocean of the sea.'

The four bearers, on the lion as a fifth, take his dead body away; till they reach the burning-ground man atter forth edics, but there his bones are bleached, and his offerings end in ashes. It is a doctrine of fools, this talk of gift. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, without profit to the hearer or the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, and after death they are not. (4)

It will be seen (1) that these formulæ show a really authentic character. They are quite independent of Buddhism, for the Buddhists do not believe much more than Ajita in the use of sacrifice and offering. Perhaps they come from the Agnikus or Jattus (ascetics who give up all things, who have braided hair), who entered in large numbers

1. Citations in the summaries mentioned in note 1 and 2 on the previous column; and also in the Buddhist sonnets (see p. 394, n. 4). See also art. LOKATAYA.


3. See also the art. LOKATAYA.

4. Dīgha Nāgārjuna, 1. 55; Samvat Chaturth, 3. 207; Mahāyāna Nirvāna, 1. 51, and also in the Sankrati sources. This passage is often translated. The version reproduced above is that of Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, 1. 75. The book should be drawn to those of F. Burnouf (La Litté de la bonne loi, Paris, 1880), P. Grimaldi (Sept Sutras gédas, do. 1876), and O. Franke (Dīghakāya in Ausdruck und Bedeutung, 1. 1913). The sacred writings of the Jains contain the same evidence, and confirm the Buddhist tradition (see H. Jacob, Jaina Sutras, ii. pp. 333, 341; 280 Mr. (1890))

A more complete study would describe the philosophy of Pārāsara Kasṣapa, another materialist content, (4) who denies responsibility, and teaches what is called the 'theory of non-action': 'If with a discus an edge sharp as a razor he should make all living beings with one cut, one piece of flesh, there would be no guilt to blame for, not by increase of guilt would essence be destroyed. The discussion is conducted by Makkhali, who denies liberty: There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human nature, or the connection; and they, by their nature, come and goes very near the well-known point of view of the materialists, namely, the question of the weakening of human activity (aṇupata). It was Buddha who said that fate (dāna) is only the sum of our former actions.
MATHURA

into the primitive community, and for whom the time of novitiate was shortened because they believed in the retribution of actions.

(5) Ajita does not believe in life after death or rebirth; he believes only in the four elements—earth, water, heat, wind, conceived in a materialistic sense; he therefore denies the fifth element, consciousness or cognition (vijñāna), which, under different names and in different manners, constitutes the orthodox or spiritualistic systems, the essential of what the West calls the soul. 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 the juice of the sugar-cane,' arises quite naturally from this ancient theory of Ajita.

(6) Ajita denies the fruit of good and bad actions, and, consequently, morality. He is a Nāstika, a 'denier.' He certainly denies sacrifice, supernatural births, etc., but, of all these denials, the denial of the renunciation of good and bad actions is the most monstrous. The Buddhist works teach that false opinion (mithyādṛṣṭi) consists essentially in this denial, which destroys the roots of merit and causes a man to commit all kinds of sin.

Ajita's doctrine of 'unbelievers,' 'deniers,' 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 the senses. How can the body reappear after it has been reduced to ashes?'

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.

(1) The only means of knowledge (pramāṇa) is the immediate evidence of the senses. All orthodox Indian schools are wrong in appealing to induction (anumāṇa) or to authority (the word of a competent person, of an omniscient being, guru, 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 what these so-called scholars call the traces of the Buddha.' 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 sides of the fingers 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.'

(8) Denying induction, these philosophers without philosophy are forced to deny causality. The name Svabhāvikas is given to the scholars who

Among the questions which the Buddha refused to examine (see A. B. Bierbrodt, pp. 214, 273), there is one: 'Is the vital principle (jīva) the same thing as the body (kāraṇa)?' The Buddha condemns the two opposite opinions and constructs a middle way.

In order to exhaust the Pāli material on the question of materialism, we must read also the Pāñjika-Buddhārtha (see the tr. in Rhys Davids, op. cit. II. 347, in which there is a discussion materialistic and non-materialistic, another world, gods, etc., but also on the existence of the soul.


believe that things, the colour of the lotus and the sharpness of thorns, are not produced by causes; they are because they are.

LITERATURE.—A. M. Pizzagalli, Nāstika, Cārvaka & Lokātākāra, contributo alla storia del materialismo nell'India antica, Pisa, 1907; 'Balla Sette degli Svabhāvākārā' in Rassegna Littorale bollomondo di scienze e lettere, xvi. (1924) 104; L. Skuel, 'Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire du materialisme indien', Museum, ii. (1903) 277. Besides these special works see J. B. Coleridge, Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus, London, 1858; A. Barth, Die Religion der Hindus, do. 1905, Index; F. Max Müller, The Wes System of Indian Philosophy, do. 1866, pp. 94-104.

MATHURA (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 (1445 sq. m.) lies to the north of the Agra District, and includes many places sacred to the worship of Kṛṣṇa, the most notable being the small towns of Brindāban, Gobardhan, Gokul, and Mathura (q.v.). Mathura town or city stands on the right bank of the Jumna, on the main road from Agra to Delhi, in 27° 39' N., 77° 41' E. (pop. in 1901, 60,042). The city, which is of immemorial antiquity, was first by early Hindu writers in the country of the Shā大夫 (f.), and was visited by Ptolemy (c. A.D. 140) to be one of the three cities of the Kasaipairi. He calls it Madura (Μαδύνα), 'the city of the gods' (VII. 1. 30). Arrian writes the name as Mathus (A. H. I., 5. 5), and Pliny (HN. VI. 19) uses the same spelling.

An alternative Hindu literary name was Madhūprā, now represented by the village Maholi, which is so close to the city as almost to form one of its suburbs (Gawae,ā, B. A. E., 407). In Kāśī, which destroyed the temples, changed the name to Islāmābad or Islāmāpur (10. pp. 35), but the new name never became current (see N. C., 4th ser., ii. (1902) 236). The city was plundered by Mahāmān of Ghazni in A.D. 1018-19 and again by Abū Saīd Sūrānī in 1275. The greater part of the District came under British rule in 1803.

Mathūrā, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, is second only to Benares in sanctity. The city and the western half of the District, known as the Brāj-mandar, are now associated almost exclusively with the legend and cult of the cow-herd demi-god Kṛṣṇa, but the locality as a whole was sacred to Jains and Buddhists as it was to Brāhmanical Hindus. The literature concerning the religious history and antiquities of Mathurā is extensive, and new objects of interest 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 Muḥāmadan capitals of Agra and Delhi, was specially exposed for centuries to iconoclastic attacks. Hardly any ancient Hindu importance is now standing, and the valuable sculptures which make the district famous among archaeologists are mostly discovered by excavation. The sculptures and remains of buildings in an extremely fragmentary state are found in the city and for many miles around.

1 On the Svabhāvākārā or Svabhāvikas see O. Strauss, Ethische Probleme aus den Mahāyāna-Texten, xv. (1904) 242; Buddhacharitra, ii. 48 (SE, xiv. (1904) 90), and F. Formichi, Angyogita pada deśa pada, do. 900, do. 1891, 328; Madhyamakārtha, p. 336, tr. in Museum, xii. (1911) 258 ff.; Bodhisattvāvadāra, Calcutta, 1911, p. 541 (xi. 117); Gangadhar, Indische Texte, 1. 1905, xvii. (1907) 209; Saddhabhāvāna-samākhya, in Museum, ix. (1907) 339; Madhyamakārtha, Petrograd, 1906, p. 369; Madhyamakārtha, do. 1909, p. 339.

2 On the Svabhāvakārā or Svabhāvikas see Museum, ix. (1906) 395.

3 On the Svabhāvakārā or Svabhāvikas see Museum, ix. (1906) 395.
The objects connected with the Jain cult have been discovered for the most part in the Kankali or Jain Tīlā (mound) to the S.W. of the city, which was the site of two Jain temples, one Digambara and the other Svetāmbara, as well as of a remarkable stūpa, the only Jain monument of the kind about which details are known. In its earliest form it dated from remote antiquity, possibly as early as the 4th century B.C. The Jain faith was vigorous in the Kushan period early in the Christian era, and the images found came down to the 11th century. At the present day Jainism is unpopular in the Matrucheta 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 Huvška Kushan, probably early in the 2nd cent. after Christ. In Fa-Hian's time (A.D. 405) there were twenty Buddhist monasteries with some 6000 monks in the neighborhood of Mathurā. Fa-Hian travelled, more than two centuries later, the number of monks had diminished. The Muhammadan attacks from A.D. 1018 onwards wiped out the Buddhist asceticism in the region. From inscriptions indicating that the popular Buddhism of Mathurā included a sensual erotic element, which probably has contributed to the subsequent development of the Radha and Kṛṣṇa worship now specially associated with the Mathurā region. Nāga worship was much practised during the Kushan period.

Brāhmaṇical Hinduism appears to be the most ancient of the Mathurā religions. The Greek writers call the chief local god by the name of Heracles, and the sculpture representing the fight of Herakles with the Nemean lion is one of the most famous of Mathurā antiquities.

The temple of Kesava Deva at the Kotra on the western side of the city, rebuilt early in the 17th. cent., was described by J. B. Tavernier (c. A.D. 1650; Travels in India, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, ii. 240) as 'one of the most magnificent buildings in all India.' Amrakub destroyed it in 1669, and built a mosque on the site. All the old Hindu temples in the city were destroyed by the Muhammadans at one time or another.

Archaeological evidence shows that the cultus of Kṛṣṇa was well established as early as the 4th and 5th cent. after Christ (Buitrari inscr. of Skandagupta, c. A.D. 456; sculptures at Mandor in Mathurā, c. A.D. 450-65, p. 140). In 1445 the Vaśāsna cultus of Mathurā in its present form was not developed until the close of the 18th. cent. under the influence of the Bengali Gosains of Brindānā. The history and character of the cultus are well described by Guvrā, to whose book the reader is referred. The great temple of Vīgān under the name of Rāng Jī, built between 1845 and 1851 by local merchant princes, is remarkable for its special features. It is 4½ miles across.

The Notorious erotic sect of Vaśāsna founded by Vallabhachārya (g.n.) (born A.D. 1479) has its headquarters in the town of Gokul, one of the Christian missions (Baptist, Church Missionary, and Methodist Episcopal) is established in the city.


See also the Travels of Fa-Hian and Hsin Tsang, the Chinese pilgrims, in any of the Jain, Buddhist, or Hindu traditions, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

MATRUCHETA—Matrucheta is the name of a Buddhist author, identified as Vinita, historian of Buddhism, Taranatha, with Asvaghosa, concerning whom and the identification itself see art. ASVAGHOASA and the works there mentioned. It may be pointed out that the identification is made only by Taranatha, while a much older writer, the Chinese traveller I-tsang (2nd half of 7th cent. A.D.), plainly distinguishes the two authors; farther, the accusations of works seem not to betray either in the Chinese tradition or in the Tibetan historiography, the inscription on the Mañjūśrī Lion Capital [Bp. Ind. x. (1870-73) 125-147] in Tibet, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, Allahabad, 1890, p. 84, n. 10. See also the Travels of Fa-Hian and Hsin Tsang, the Chinese pilgrims, in any of the Jain, Buddhist, or Hindu traditions, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911.

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had said: 'The bird, transported with joy at sight of me, unconsciously utters its melodious notes. On account of this good deed, after my Departure (Nirvāṇa) this bird shall be born in human form, and named Mātrūṣa; and he shall praise me with transport in the estimation of the wise.' (Record, tr. Takakusu, p. 156 f.). We recognize here one of the prophecies (āyākaṇga, nivakṣṇa) narrated in connexion with many Buddhist divinities and others, in the Jatakas. We also have another interpretation of the name of Prakṛt form, Mātrūṣa = mām atichitta, 'transported with joy (at sight of me).'
However this may be, we have in Mātrūṣa's own work (Varṇaṇārasayana, vv. 1-3 and 80 f.) arguments both to the previous heretical poems and to the supposed prophecy of Buddha.

The remainder of Mātrūṣa's career may be recorded in the words of Tānānta (tr. Schiefer, P.):

'At the time when Mātrūṣa was converted to the Buddha-dogma, the number of heretics and Brāhmaṇas in the Viharas of the four quarters, who had entered the order, was very great. It was thought that, if the greatest ornament of the Brāhmaṇas, Dharma, had shaken of his own system like the dust of his shoes and turned to the Buddha-dogma, that Buddhist dogma must be in truth a great marvel. Consequently there were at least more than a thousand Brāhmaṇa monasteries and an equal number from the heretics. The Āchārya, being full of great service to religion, collected on his daily penamala his daily alms food for the sustenance of the two orders of Brāhmaṇas. He also entered a ten-day fast and lent all the two orders of monks and the two orders of priests the totality of food, whereafter he entered a fast of two hundred and fifty days in contemplation and two hundred and fifty days in studying, leaving them to their uninterrupted occupation.

The hymns composed by him are also spread abroad in all lands: and finally the scholars and scribes of India have discovered and faith in Buddhism grew mightily among all the people in the land, greater service was, through the hymns, rendered to the spread of the dogma. Towards the end of his life he received a letter from the king of a certain country, and did not answer it. But after composing thirty-four he died. According to some biographies, it is related that, having reflected that the Bodhisattva had given his body to a tigress and so forth, he had thought he could do the same, as it was no uncommon act. Seeing, accordingly, a hungry tigress attended by her young, he essayed to surrender his body, but at first could hardly accomplish it. But, when a still 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, and then went into a weakened frame a little strength, and then surrendered his own body. Others assert that the personification which was an Āchārya Parabuddhabhavaktu, who came after Mātrūṣa. The latter composed the abstract of the Prakṛt form and many other Śravakas, and brought many observations to the Brāhmaṇas of both the Great and the Little Vehicle; as he (Mātrūṣa) did not confine himself to the Mahāyāna, and the Brāhmaṇas were very devoted to him, he is greatly renowned as a general hero of the orthodox.

The testimony of I-taing, earlier by some 900 years, is not less emphatic (p. 167 f.):

'He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred dokas, 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 convey 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 Bodhisattas Advata and Vatsambhada admired him greatly.

Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātrūṣa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten paragraphs (śīla).

This composition is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools. There are many who have written commentaries on them, nor are the imitations of them few. Bodhisattva Gāñga (Dignaga) himself composed an imitation. He added one verse to each of the one hundred and fifty verses, as if they became thirteen verses each, and called them "Mixed" hymns. A celebrated priest of the Deer Park, Śravastī, composed one verse to each of Gāñga's verses, and consequently they amounted to four hundred and fifty verses (dōkas), called the "Doubly Mixed" hymns.

Mātrūṣa's poetry includes Nāgaraṇī and Asvaghosa among those who imitated Mātrūṣa. 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-taing 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 three forms. In either case, it is useless to base 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 Yāstikā of the Vātsya of Asvaghosa, and of the whole Epistle to King Kaniska.

The former, the 'Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated,' is represented with obvious correctness as the earliest of the author's Buddhist compositions. Abjuring his previous heretical poems, he celebrates with great verve and abundance of poetic imagery the peerless excellences of Buddha and his doctrine. The hymn consists of four hundred verses, divided into twelve chapters with separate titles.

The 'Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Verses' is quite similar in style and matter, as may be seen from the fragments already published, extending to about half of the poem. The so-called version (saunagata) with one hundred and fifty additional verses by Dignaga, constituting the 'mixed' (mudraka) hymn, quite corresponds to the description of I-taing quoted above. The origin of Sakyadeva is not known. Concerning the minor hymns nothing need be said.

There are also two short tracts in verse, entitled respectively Chaturuparaya-yāktha and Kāliyugapurāṇakaṇṭha, 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 Mātrūṣa's writings is the 'Epistle to King Kaniska' (Mahāyānakarikā). Beginning with excuses for not accepting the great king's invitation and for boldness in offering advice, he proceeds to counsel the young sovereign as to his moral policy, concluding twenty out of eighty-five verses containing a pathetic appeal on behalf of dumb animals and depressing the chase. The latter topic was familiar on Buddhist lips, as we may see from the Edita 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 Mātrūṣa's compositions.

The statement that Mātrūṣa set the type for all later hymnologists is certainly so far true that all subsequent stotras 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 Buddhachārīتا. Concerning the other writers who have been identified with him, Arya-Sūtra, Tiratnandana, and Dhamika-Suṣūnā, reference may be made to the literature given below.'
In metaphysics, matter is one of the ultimate principles or 'substances' 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 [q.v.]). In this sense matter is the reality, unknowable in itself, which underlies the properties of all particular things, and which properties inhore, or by which, as impressions made on our senses, they are catted. 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, minimized the importance of the conception of substance. Locke found the concept obscure and of little use; Berkeley dismissed matter as an abstraction and a superfluity; and Hume similarly banished spirituality. Kant retained the conception in the sense of the permanent in all change. Modern phenomenology, in so far as it preserves at all the concept of substance, and consequently of matter, regards it as denoting an unknown extant 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, after subtraction of all their particular and diverse characteristics. In 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, figure, and solidity, or impermeability; and these were supposed to inhore 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 idea that we have of them were not supposed to be copies of anything existing independently of the mind. 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 in so far as it tends to resolve the secondary qualities into quantitative relations, and to describe them in terms of analogies with the primary.

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 gross matter, especially in the gaseous form, that next to the inert and immovable the properties of matter in terms of its atomic constitution. The happy guess of Democritus, scarcely 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 seems to have thrown up the idea of atomic hypothesis, was that chemical elements combine with one another in definite and invariable proportions by weight. This would naturally ensure if combination were the union of one or more atoms of another, the atoms of each element being precisely alike in 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; and without such hypothesis its facts and laws would be unintelligible.

But the notion of simple, impenetrable, hard elements, 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 Boscovich, 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, but in such a way that no force, however great, can bring the points into coincidence. Thus extension and impenetrability were eliminated from the properties of the atom; but Boscovich's theory was not generally accepted because of the scientific prejudice against '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 ethereal 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 besetting the idea of action at a distance, or between isolated points. The ether had been postulated to explain the phenomena of light, and, later, those of electricity and magnetism. It was supposed to explain the constitution and properties of matter. It has 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 charge. Inasmuch as the ether is non-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 Boscovich in that it offers a plenum instead of isolating and empty space; this plenum provides for action and reaction without the aid of the notion, distasteful to physicists, 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 movements, 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 involved in the motion of a structureless primordial 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 world only as it has been first artificially.
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 professes to deal with the real or sensible material world and the ideal things of mathematics becomes more and more abstract, into 'pure' physics; but then it is no longer a science of the real, but only of the ideal or conceptual. Conceptual or pure science applies to the real world, indeed, but only partially or approximately. It is not only its subject describes the world in one aspect only, and leaves 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 nons-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 a mechanical philosophy, has but essentially terms incapable of division, pressible, frictionless, inextensible, and structureless, in no respect from empty space. The one property in virtue of which it has been argued that no other differs from it is the property of mass. But, as Ward has maintained (Naturalism and Agnosticism, vol. 1. lect. v.), inertia, in the qualitative sense, does not suffice to supply determinate limits 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 molar bodies that, as both Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin recognized, the kinetic theory of matter fails to explain. This theory is the subject of investigation, and, therefore, belongs to the realm of symbolic description, not to that of explanation or interpretation. Science, indeed, in its higher or more abstract reaches, falls so far short of furnishing, as it was once jubilantly asserted to furnish, 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 masses. It abstracts from the qualitative properties and changes of matter, because these are not amenable to scientific method, and replaces them by hypothetically representative movements of ideal 'molecules'. But, as a philosophy for 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, simply irresolvable, kinds of matter. Matter was the primary concept of the physicist, and electricity was described more or less in terms of it. Matter was held to be strictly 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 connexion with, the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, that the atoms are not simple, but that portions of them can be split off and exist separately, and that they do, as is called by J. J. Thomson 'corpuscles', are identical, from whatever different kinds of atoms they may have been broken off, and possess the same mass or inertia. Thus it has become necessary to regard the atoms as containing quantitatively the two terms of their differences, as built up of parts or corpuscles 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 or corpuscles) associated with an equal number of positive units of electricity.

The full importance of the discovery and isolation of electrons has not yet been realized; it is that of introducing a new mode of dealing with matter, because they serve to explain the cause of the excitation of the ether-waves which produce light, and also render comprehensible other phenomena not belonging to the theory of matter. 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 of a new kind of radiation and other radio-active substances have led not only to the proof that the chemical elements are transmutable — helium, e.g., is produced by the breaking up of radium — but also to the revelation of single atoms.

'Single atoms of Helium, shot off by Radium as rays, 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 loose corpuscles cut of the molecules it encounters. Rutherford has shown that the corpuscles are particles of the helium atom struck by the slow throw of the needle of the instrument. Secondly, the ion acts as a nucleus for the attraction of other rays of the same kind, and, in this way, C. T. R. Wilson has made visible as a line of cloud the track of each particle' (W. G. D. and G. A. Whetham, Science and the Human Mind, London, 1914, p. 253). 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 betake ourselves if we are to hold up further 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 they proceed from an artificial definition of matter derived simply to make abstract science a possibility.

'The bodies we deal with in abstract dynamics are just as completely known to us as the properties of matter to which we explicitly assign to them' (J. Clerk Maxwell, in Nature, xx. (1878) 214).

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 inerina. Whether any matter is wholly inert is a question; that everything is inert must be denied. The concept of matter is no less for a materialistic metaphysic.

For other philosophical questions connected with matter see art. Materialism.


F. R. T. N. T. N.

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 described him as 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 Athanasian Creed and the Thirty-nine Articles, which much of his teaching appeared to vitiate. Described as a leader of the Broad 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 divine family, an institution that was to him God (whom he feels about us is far more important than what we feel about God). His view of Christ as 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 change in 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 common notions of the so-called 'New Theism' of the age, seemed to Maurice tinged with materialism. He was especially repelled by all sects, because he found in himself tendencies to fall into what he believed to be their errors. His controversial bitterness was often directed in reality against the power 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.

The contradictions between politics showed the same characteristic. Growing up in the Tory reaction that followed the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, he was naturally disinherited by the briliances and bigoted reaction. Rome 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 sacramentality. For a time he hesitated. At Cambridge, where he was a distinguished career, he refused to take a degree, because this would have involved a profession of Churchmanship. He wrote a novel, the Athenaeum, and engaged in various literary enterprises. Then he decided to offer himself for ordination, and, as a preparation for this, 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 those 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 as a protest against the social and 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 divine power works. The Church is a spiritual kingdom, asserting human brotherhood, and protesting against human self-assertion and individualism, which would, if uncontrolled, destroy society. The author sometimes seems intensely Evangelical, sometimes a pronounced 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 1846 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 theologies. The Beliefs 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 his great ambition of discovering 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 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 the condition 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 against the abuse of the propertied classes and their representatives. Moreover, the co-operative schemes at which he worked were regarded as an attack on capitalism, on the leading political economists, and on what was con-


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sidered as the due subordination of the working classes. The 'respectable' press, secular, religious, influenced against Maurice, and at length the Council of King's College appointed a committee to inves- tigate the matter. But there was nothing in the Christian Socialism of Maurice inconsistent with his duties or his position as a Divinity professor.

The attack was then shifted from charges of socialism to charges of theological heresy. In 1853 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 conventional and orthodox 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. 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 seemed 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 fatal to what passed as Christianity, but it succeeded in using the orthodox language that it was difficult to see how Maurice could be convicted of heresy. He must, therefore, be ejected from his professorship without the formulation 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 Maurice; the majority seems to have been actuated by a sense of the High, the Low, and the Moderate. Some High Churchmen had been 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 worshipping 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 views. The Broad Churchmen alone protested against the expulsions, and even they were puzzled as to how one who was so much in agreement with their hostility to the prevalent doctrines of the religious world could yet enthusiastically accept much that seemed to them superstitions and out of date. Nevertheless, the Broad Churchmen stood by Maurice, though he vigorously repudiated Broad Churchman- ship. 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 peaceful parties, and few were disposed to forgive his errors, 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 agree in grateful remembrance of Maurice, and appear to ignore the great gulf which separates his views from their own. The fervent sincerity and piety of the Theological Essays are unmistakable, through the mechanical hand to the truth, tantalizing and obscure. More popular are The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament (1853) and The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament (1856). The latter is a development of a literal interpretation of truth, and especially of God's character, by a direct intercourse of the divine with the human. God literally spoke to the hearts of the old heroes, and He speaks no less directly to men's hearts in all ages. This conviction attracted Maurice especially to the Johannine books, on all five of which he wrote valuable commentaries, in which, however, he left the doctrine of the Incarnation uninvolved. His last book, The Criticism of Criticism, was published soon after the death of J. F. W. Herbart, with whom he had been in friendly relations. Maurice's attitude towards the Bible was in some respects vague. Without claiming for it infallibility, he was 'inclined by any criticism of its contents, and disposed to re-interpret it rather than reject it; and he would not follow the party against Cowl and Essays and Reviews; but he disliked the critical spirit, and had little sympathy with plain speaking which hurt pious souls, except when it was in defence of some spiritual truth. Nevertheless, he was always ready to scandalize the religious world in cases where the traditional views seemed to him profoundly irreligious. Thus his Manuel's Hampton Lectures (1859) practically declared that man could have no knowledge of God, except what was given him by the Bible. Such orthodox agnosticism was horrible to one who believed in a Light that lightens every man. Manuel taught, in effect, that Spirit was not at all prepared to assume that words like 'fatherhood,' 'righteousness,' and 'justice' meant, when applied to God, all and more than what they imply in human relationships. To Maurice this was atheism; and in his book What is Revolution? (1859) he poured out the vials of his wrath upon the Hampton lecturer. There followed a very bitter controversy, in which Maurice for a time received little support. Gradually, however, the more spiritu- ally-minded men of all classes rallied to his side. Maurice's later years were spent in comparative quiet. The number of his actual disciples remained small, but his influence increased. The breadth of his personality exercised a wide influence. It was also noticed that this mystic had proved singularly right in many of his ideas of practical reform. His Working Men's College and College for Women were imitated by more or less modifications in numbers of institutions all over the country. His co-operative schemes, though unsuccessful, helped to pave the way for a great movement, conducted on less idealistic principles. Christian Socialism, under that or other names, became a great force; and meanwhile the more obvious features of the popular theology passed into the background, when they were not driven out of the conventional religion. Accordingly, though Maurice in books and sermons continually reiterated his old teaching, he aroused little fresh opposition. He continued to protest against popular doctrines, orthodox or liberal, but he gave little to add to his old arguments. In 1866 he was appointed to the professorship of casiology, moral theology, and moral philosophy at Cambridge, and threw himself heartily into the duties of that position. Experts are divided as to the value of his contributions to metaphysics and to philosophy. For all departments of thought and life he claimed a theological basis, in a Father revealed in a Son through the operation of a Spirit, and witnessed by a Catholic Church, with Bible and sacraments.

Those to whom these things were either incredible or so far disconnected with philosophy and reason as to regard them as a somewhat overburdened mystic, however much they might reverence his character, learning, and ability.

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J. E. SYMES.
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 farmer's religion, and it may be considered the culmination of all pre-Christian animism, and its most important development prior to the great organized faiths. In the form of holiday customs its semblance survives abundantly throughout Europe, and is a little of its belief is latent beneath Christianity to-day.

We shall discuss its meaning below. This is perhaps less complex than has been supposed; 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.

1. 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. 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 the home to the village, and to each house, the blessings which the tree-spirit has in its power to bestow.

They had 'originally a serious and, so to speak, monumental 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 personification of the season at which his time of flowering is strikingly manifest.'

The custom of setting up a May Tree or May Pole has been widely spread in Europe. A typical case is that of Swabia; on the first day of May the first tree 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 making, people saw no reason for setting a fresh tree every year and preferred to let the same one be permanent, only decking it with fresh flowers on May Day.

Instead of a tree or a branch, a branch decked with flowers, or simply green branches, are frequently employed. English children use two hoops of osier or hazel, crossing at right angles, and twine flowers round them; or a pole is carried with a bunch of flowers fixed on the top. In modern English 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 twine round it, to be untwined when the dancers return by the three categories to which the terms May, midsomer, and harvest belong.

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 May Queen'; in May the child may hang a 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.' In China and Japan the 'May Pole' is a Manju, in Carinthia (Carniola) a Rumania a boy covered with green branches; at the end of the procession an effigy of him is flung into the river.

Here is what Frazer terms the double or bilingual representation of the tree-spirit by a tree and doll or a living person. Instances of the single representation by a living person are numerous, such as the Little Leaf Man of Thuringia, the English Jack-in-the-Green, usually a chimney-sweep, who wore a framework covered with green leaves and flowers. But the innumerable May Kings and May Queens. These still, in many cases, remain to announce the coming of spring, as well as to wish the people good luck.

Often the symbol of this is that of a wedded pair, king and queen, lord and lady, bridegroom and bride. Trees, Frazer notes, are sometimes married to each other. In some cases one party is a 'forsaken sleeper,' who is awakened by a kiss or the like. In a few cases there is an indirect representation of a marriage between the May couple. The folk-drama of the marriage of Zeus and Hera in ancient Greece may be similar to the above, and certainly that of the Queen of Dionysus was identical. According to Frazer, the principle is that marriage promotes fertility.

One aspect of these customs is that the symbolic figure is supposed to ensure fertility to women and cattle as well as to vegetation and the crops. This is brought out in German and English folk-custom. The European customs are certainly to be correlated with those of other peoples whose chief object is to promote the growth of the young crops or of the seed. In N. Morocco, for instance, during May or at any time in spring, the women engaged to weed fields make a doll. A visitor or a stray horse runs away with it. A popular pursuit follows, and, if a man from another village succeeds in carrying it home, the village where it was made must buy it back, usually with a feast. The doll is termed Mota, and is dressed up as a girl.

Another element besides that of the spirit of vegetation is detected here by Westermarck.

The doll Mota is obviously a personification of the wheat, vital energy; she is regarded as the bride of the field, and the ceremony itself I have heard called "the wedding of the wheat." Considering how commonly violent movements, contests, and racing are found as rites of purification, I venture to believe that the ceremony of Mota is originally meant to serve a similar purpose, that it is essentially a magical means of cleaning the corn, which is added to the more realistic method employed by the women on the field. At the same time, however, there may be also an idea of distributing barley over the fields by racing about with the doll. Sometimes a large wooden spoon is used for the frame of the doll.

The two polar ideas of Moroccan magical belief are I-lus, evil magic, and bara per, holiness or good magic, each being a force, no two forces being equally employed. English children use two hoops of osier or hazel, crossing at right angles, and twine flowers round them; or a pole is carried with a bunch of flowers fixed on the top. In modern English 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 twine round it, to be untwined when the dancers return.

The negative aspect of agricultural ritual, viz. the imposition of tabus, has traces in European custom, especially in the prohibition of unlicked acts or times. Tabus is best exemplified, however, in lower cultures. The Dayaks of Borneo, for instance, consider the whole period of farming and all its operations to be subject to supernatural influences, while planting and especially critical times. The most elaborate tabus are imposed, and omens are constantly taken. Merriam and Fanshaw follow the period of tabus.

The idea underlying the various restrictions is that men must not give time and attention to anything but the care of the crops. 

2 9b. II. 59, 82, 94.
3 9b. II. 88.
4 9b. II. 94.
5 A. Westermarck, Ceremonies and Beliefs, 1913, p. 20.
6 9B, p. 22.
If the Christian Lent was developed out of a period of agricultural taboo, there is complete continuity between the old and new faiths. The question of date may here be noticed. European folk-custom has a large body of similar restricted periods, observed before and during Lent. Such as the Death of the Carnival, the Burial of Shrove Tuesday, Carrying out Death, Sawing the Old Woman, followed by a dramatic advent of Spring, Summer, or Life. The former generally takes place on Shrove Tuesday 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 now is likely 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 Day, 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 the death and revival of the spirit of vegetation in spring.

There is, as already noted, a natural identification of season or date with the spirit. The death is represented frequently by killing, and, as 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 Days as late as the 19th 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 fires were lit not on the first but on the 2nd of May. O.S. They were called somerfires. The belief was that on or about the 2nd the witches were abroad in all their force, casting ill on cattle and stealing cows' milk. To counteract their evil power people placed the rowan-tree and woodbine, chiefly of rowan, were placed across the byres doors, and fires were kindled by every farmer and cottar. Old thistle, or straw, or turf was piled up and set on fire on a little hill, or hill of five. Some of those present kept constantly tossing up the blazing mass, and others seized portions of it on pitch-forks or thistle-stalks and, holding them as high as they could, they would throw them on the fire. "Fire burn the witches." In some districts a large round cake of oat or barley meal was rolled through the ashes. 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 burn the witches." In Ireland, Scotland, and Bohemia bonfires were lighted on the first day of May; and in the last-named country the 'burning of the witches' is prominent.

Bathing, washing the face with dew, and drenching effigies and mummers are common customs on May Day. The European May customs are also among some peoples, celebrated at Whitehart. This date is especially marked in Russia, but also occurs in the Altmark, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany, Denmark, and Austria-Hungary. They are celebrated elsewhere at Whit-holiday, 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. Upon Midsummer Poles, garlands, arbour, and jumping over bonfires are in great evidence. It is curious that parts of Bohemia have the same date, while in Russia both Whitma and Midsummer are celebrated similarly. The same ideas and practices are applicable to May Day and Midsummer Day, but a Pyrenean custom suggests a special causal connection. Here a tall tree is cut down on May Day and kept until Midsummer Eve, when it is ceremonially burned.

Similarly 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 Midsummer day, and corn sheaves and the like at harvest; the preponderance 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 baraka.

2. Midsummer. Turning now 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 which are 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, Kupalo, is made of straw, and dressed in woman's clothes, with a necklace and a floral crown. Then a tree is tipped, and, after being decked with ribbons, is set up on some chosen spot. Near this tree, to which they give the name of Marena (Winter or Dead), 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 ornaments, 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 Greek, with 'Garden': 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 called Erna or Fennari. On Midsummer Day the young couple go in a 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' clasp hands across the fire. The two 'gossips,' suggests Frazer, may correspond to the Lord and Lady of the May, and, ultimately represent in flesh and blood the reproductive spirit of vegetation.

In Morocco smouldering fires are made on Midsummer Day or the evening before.

In the Moroccan custom the smoke is more 1 GB, pt. viii., Bolder the Beautiful, i. 172.
2 GB, pt. i., The Magic Art, i. 141.
3 Westermarck, p. 79.
4 GB, pt. i., The Magic Art, ii. 65, pt. viii., Bolder the Beautiful, i. 172.
6 GB, pt. viii., Bolder the Beautiful, i. 157, 159, pt. i., The Magic Art, ii. 65.
7 Westermarck, p. 79.
important than the blaze; the practical point is
fumigation of man, cattle, trees, and various
belongings.

It is also noteworthy that in Morocco at midsummer magic formulas are active in certain species of vegetation. Fumigation by burning certain kinds of plants and the mere application of leaves and branches promote fertility, act as charms against the evil eye, and ensure general well-being. There is also a custom of eating, in a quasi-sacramental manner, special foods, in which there is borax. 2

And it is probably no corner of Europe in which it has not been the custom to kindle bonfires at Midsummer-tide. Besides the leapsing through the fire, there are customs of throwing blazing ditches through the air and of rolling burning wheels downhill. 3 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. 4

Frazer derives these customs of modern Europe, especially those of N. France, from the sacrificial rites of the Celts of ancient Gaul, as typified in the druidical sacrifices, and mythically in the death of Balder. 5 The main interpretations of these fires-rituals have been put forward. Mannhardt, originally followed by Frazer, explained them as sun-chambers. 6

At the 'great turning-point in the sun's career,' the summer solstice, primitive man 'fancied that he could help the sun in its declining course—could prop its falling steps and reinstate the sinking fire.' 7 The wheel and disk are suggestive shapes. Frazer also noted the purificatory aspect of these customs. 8 Fire is a cleanser, and is frequently used for the purpose of the need-fire. Westermarck emphasized this aspect.

Their primary object in many or most cases is to serve as a protection against evil forces that are active at Midsummer. 9

In the Moroccan customs cleansing by fumigation is the chief idea, although there is also the ascription of positive virtue to the smoke. Westermarck finds no evidence for the sun-charm theory. 10 Later Frazer regarded the two views as being mutually exclusive, but admitted the purificatory theory as being the more probable. 11

Traces exist of what has been interpreted as human sacrifice by drowning on this date. Various similar customs have been interpreted as rain-chambers. 12 In Morocco, however, midsummer ceremonial bathing is connected with the idea of securing health by cleansing, and the same idea is attached to the European custom of rolling in dew. 13 Various kinds of divination, as is natural on special dates introductory of a new season (as Midsummer is often regarded), are practised. Mock fights, 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 produce by homeopathic magic movement in the weather, or in the growth, of the crops. 14 Magic plants are gathered at midsummer

(see art. DEW); such are fern-bloom, fern-seed, mistletoe, and St. John's work. 15

For the special harvest-rites see art. HARVEST.

3. Basis of agricultural rituals.—The general theory of agricultural ritual propounded by Frazer can be connected with such primitive magical rites as the Australian nachkings for developing the growth of food-plants and animals. But in many European cases it seems that the main object is to purify the sphere in which the corn grows, and many rites are connected with a spirit of vegetation but with vaguely-imagined evils, often in the form of witches. 2 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 bear in mind 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 damns (q.v.) or unconscious imitations—e.g., jumping to make the corn grow; in the same way imitative explanations might be made of such necessary processes as weed-burning. When established, these ex post facto explanations, magical, psychological, or theological, obviously tend to usurp precedence.

LITERATURE.—This is very extensive, but the main critical works are cited in the text.

A. E. CHAWLEY.

MÁYÁ.—Máyá, illusion, appearance, is a term in the philosophy of the Vedanta applied to the illusion of the multiplicity of the empirical universe, produced by ignorance. In reality there is only One, the brahman-ätman. It is not till a somewhat late period that the word assumes the technical meaning of the cosmic illusion, although this development of its sense is not an unnatural one. The word máyá is not uncommon even in the Rigveda, where it has the meanings 'supernatural power,' 'cunning,' 'mysterious will-power.' Siva usually explains it by grāhā, 'mental power,' or pujā, 'cunning,' 'guile,' 'deception.' Indra, e.g., is said to assume many forms māyābhīt, 'by magic wiles, or mysterious powers;' as the possessor of this power, he is called māyān.

The term of the use of the Rigveda has been thoroughly analysed by A. Bergaigne (Religion édifiante, Paris, 1878-83, ill. 59-68; cf. A. Hillebrandt, MA YÁ, WZKM, iii. 1891, p. 371). Other terms, or such derivatives as māyān, māyāpān, are applied to the wiles of the demons conquered by Agni (v. ii. 9, etc.) and Sāman (vi. i. 6, and especially by Indra, whether alone (t. xxii. 4, etc.) or accompanied by Viśvā (vii. iii. 4). By overcoming the māyā of the demons Indra won the Śoma (vii. viii. 8). Men of evil craftsmanship are māyān (t. xxxix. 2 or dūrmāyān (t. xxx. 10); the sorcerers uses māyā (vii. iv. 24); but the māyān cannot overcome 'the primal firm ordnances of the gods' (n. vi. 1). The Aivina conquers the māyā of the evil Dāsya (t. xxii. 9).

On the other hand, the terms are applied to good deities. Through māyān Mitra and Varuna send rain and guard their law breakers (t. ii. 5, 7); through māyā the thunderbolts are thrown at the demon Ajar. The Manu employs it (v. ixxi. 6), and are māyān (v. ixxvi. 7), or somā (t. ixxviii. 1), etc. Māyā is known to Indra by Trāṣṭrap (v. iii. 9), the Aivāyas (v. xxxii. 10), and Varuna and Mitra (t. i. 9, etc.); and it is a characteristic of Varuna (v. viii. 14, etc.); while it is the Sibhas attained divine dignity (iv. i. 1). It was also employed by Agni (t. vii. 7) and Soma (t. xxxvii. 17), and in the different times the gods are united (t. xxxv. 5). It was a mark of the Aivānas (t. ixxviii. 6, etc.), and even earthly sacrificers are māyān (t. xxxi. 9).

Through māyā the Indra triumphs over the demons, by the māyā of the Śiva (v. xxv. 7, 16), by the māyā of the Āva (v. xxx. 7, 17), and by the māya of the Sāman (v. xxxv. 7). Sun and moon succeed each other in virtue of māyā.

1 Westermarck, p. 98, et al. 92
3 Westermarck, p. 98, et al.
4 Ibid. i. 295 f., 1. 81, 179, 201, 287, 174.
5 P. 257.
7 Ibid. i. 259 f.
8 Ibid. 1. 160.
9 Ibid. 1. 259 f., 81, 377, 174.
10 Ibid. i. 81, 377, 174.
11 Westermarck, Ceremonies and Beliefs in Morocco, p. 80.
12 Ibid. i. 301, 99; G. P. pt. iv. Adonis, Attis, Osiris, i. 257.
13 Westermarck, Ceremonies and Beliefs, p. 85 S. 1.; G. P. pt. viii., Baudette, i. 206, i. 74.
With the knowledge of self phenomena become known as phases of it; they are potentially real to a certain extent, but ignorance of the ātmā regards them as independent of the ātmā. We have not quite reached the stage of the later Vedānta, which regards phenomena as 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 conjures up the illusion of phenomena for the delusion of the self. In the Upanisads along with pantheistic compromise which grants that the world does exist, but holds that the sole reality of the ātmā is not in the least degree affected, for all is the ātmā. This view pervades the Chhandogya Upaniṣad, e.g.:

‘The ātmā is above and below, behind and in front. The ātmā is all the world’ (vii. xxv. 2).

As time went on, māyā gained an ever-increasing independence as the substance prakṛti (nature), which was at first subordinate to the ātmā. In post-Upanisadic literature the term appears frequently in a non-philosophical sense; a man who ‘wastes his life’ is called ‘the illusionist’ (it may be a misprint or garbling of a term which means a man who craftsily seeks to gain money through māyā; and the ātmā, lit. without māyā, means honestly). In those cases (for further references see Bühnling-Böcher, loc. cit.) the original meaning of māyā persists.

In the philosophical sections of the Maññadhāra the term is used in its philosophical sense. Thus Vaiśṇava, speaking as the supreme god, says: ‘Entering into my own nature (prakṛti), I arise through māyā’ (vi. xxviii. 61); this explains the famous avatāra of the deity, ‘Māyārṇava’ is one of the thousand names of Viṣṇu (xii. xvii. 121). (On the question of māyā see Evans, J. E., 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 Saṅkhya (g.v.) philosophy. Vedānta is the system of ādīśvāt (non-duality); the phenomenal world does not exist; it is only māyā, arising from avidyā, that makes us erroneously think it to be real; māyā is overcome when he who ignorantly believed himself to be an individual realizes that in actuality he is one with the ātmā; then only is salvation (mokṣa, lit. ‘liberation’) finally won. In the Saṅkhya, on the contrary, the phenomenal world is real; the Vedāntic ātmā is ignored (Saṅkhya is atheistic); the soul (cit, lit. ‘thought’) is involved in the woe of life because of avidyā (failure to distinguish between matter and soul), due to avidyā, etc.; salvation is gained by the complete isolation (kaivalya) of the soul from matter; and the soul then exists as an eternal, but unconscious, individuality. (On the distinctions between Vedānta and Saṅkhya see especially Max Müller, Six Systems, p. 279 ff.)

One of the most important of the early works on Vedānta is the Kāraṇa of Gadapāda (8th cent. A.D.), one of whose pupils was a teacher of Śaṅkara. He is an uncompromising expounder 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 ātmā 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 ātmā is mistaken for the variety of experience (jīva). When the rope is recognised, the illusion of the snake at once vanishes. The true knowledge of the ātmā is attained, the illusion which makes us think of it as a 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, for while the universe creates the "atman", the "atman" would be either from the existent or from the non-existent; but the former is impossible, for it would be producing what already existent, and the latter is 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.

Gaudapada's monism assumed its final form in the "Six Principles of Reality" (b. probably A.D. 788). Saivkara is well aware of the difficulties in the way of reconciling the various views of the Upanisads, and is further perplexed by the fact that as "drift" ("revolution") 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. Saivkara, in writing "as a person of no existence at all, as a person of no existence at all, and as a person of the self. It is through "nitya" that plurality is perceived where there is only the "atman." Multiplicity is only a matter of name and form, which are the creations of ignorance, being no different from it, through the power of illusion ("nityabhakti"). The highest One manifests himself in various ways by "svayam" as a magician assumes various forms by his will. Saivkara further defines two kinds of existence, empirical and metaphysical, for the first time emphasizing clearly a distinction which seems, however, to be known even in the Upanisads. The phenomenal universe is a fact of consciousness, and therefore has a sort of existence; all experience is true so long as the knowledge of the "atman" is not attained, just as the experiences in a dream are real to the sleeper, until he awakes.

"Therefore before the consciousness of identity with "brahman" is aroused, all worldly actions are justified." (On Vedanta-sutras, i. 12.)

In spite of the discussion that has raged round it, as Saivkara's time, the doctrine of "nitya" as enunciated by him still holds the field in India to-day, and, as one of the fundamental doctrines of his Adwaitist school, pervades the philosophy of the great mass of thinkers in India.


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 Yucatan, was inhabited in ancient times, as it is to the present day, by a number of different tribes, speaking allied idioms and forming a linguistic family usually designated as "Mixe-Chichimec." From the name of its most conspicuous member, the people of Yucatan. This population is to be regarded as the second of the great culture-nations of Mexico and Central America. The Mayas in material and intellectual civilization and in some ways surpassing them, but, unfortunately, much less known than the Mexicans, as regards the special traits of their civilization, their history, and the elements of art, which is found in the ancient monuments in Central America—Palenque in Chiapas, Menche Timamit on the Usumacinta river, Quirigua in Guatemala, Copan in Honduras, Uxmal and Chich'en Itzak in Yucatan—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 living forms of animals and men, and, in a whole, their civilization and their religion were closely allied to those of the Mexicans.

In their religious practices they were not so summary as the Mexicans, human sacrifices being much less numerous and in many cases being replaced by the killing of dogs. They resembled the Mexicans in their methods of prayer and sacrifices, fasting, and torture, and in piercing their ears and tongues and drawing streams 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 coal.

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-ids, and the like. This feast was called Oca, 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 had a great fire-ceremony, performed by the old men and directed to the chac and to the old god Itzamna, who may be considered the god of life and the god of fire. This ceremony was called tupp-kok, '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, calves, were not so easily captured, so they made imitations of their hearts from copal, which was their incense, and threw these into the fire. The hearts having been consumed, the priests extinguished the fire, and threw water from their jugs 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 near the religious buildings, which have been regarded as an image of the clouds. The priests anointed the lowest step with mud and the upper ones with blue colour, invoking the chac and Itzamna. This was, no doubt, another ceremony for bringing rain.

In April the cacao planters, who were also the great merchants, cacao being the staple merchan-
disc of ancient Central America, celebrated a great feast to the black god Ekchua, the god of the caravans and the merchants, to the chac, and to Hobail, the god of the bee-hives. They killed a dog of the spotted colour of the cacau-pod and offered plus a dog of the wild fowl, and kindled incense. In the month of May there was another great feast, called Pacumuch, celebrated to Cit chac coh, the god of war. It began with a five night's sacrifice in the temple of the god of war, and during this time the war-chief, called nacon, and elected for four years by the members of the tribe, was seated on a throne in the temple of the god of war and venerated as a deity with incense-burning. The people performed a dance called hollok-ooh, '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 cause of incense—intended to produce rain for the crops. A great banquet of meat and general drunkenness followed. The same banquets and drinking-bouts were repeated in the course of the festival. The three towns vied with all the smaller villages. These feasts were called Zabacil thun, 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 Yucatecas at the time of the conquest. The twentieth (mitul) in question was called Pop, 'straw-mat,' meaning 'dominion,' 'ruler.' 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 instructors of the different branches of the people's life, 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 burned, by anointing them with blue colour. This feast was called Popcuc. In the month of September the bee-keepers had a special feast at which they brought offerings of incense and honey to their god Hobail. In the month of October, called Xul by the Yucatecas, there was a great ceremony in the village of Mani, dedicated to the god Kukulkán, the 'feathered snake,' the Yucatec translation of the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, who was venerated as a culture-hero in Yucatán. The discovery of the pyramid on the Yucatan peninsula, Mayapan, and Chichén Itzá, 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 Incolli, ceremonies being performed to promote the growth of the youth and to strengthen them. Contrary to the custom of the Mexican Aztecs, the ceremonies were performed in secret, but it is not certain that this was not also the case in the days of the old native mythology. The amusing part of these ceremonies is that all the people spent the whole night wearing only a loincloth. They dance and sing throughout the year, and this is not considered as a sin. The dance is a later form of "Mózáruban," within a mountain named "Hueitla" (so also Corem, Perú, l. 844). The name "Mózáruban" is incorrect; but it more properly means "Land of the Many Gates" (T. Noldeke, GTRF II. 1900, 178, n. 1). The Aztecs, the Arab, and the Tartar, the Arab, the Tartar, and the Tartar (on odone) or Tabasaran (Bont. x. 17, xiii. 15, xx. 27), is the land of the Tartars of Philemy (O. 842). The name "Tabasaran" is the same as Diodorus (n. i. 8.2) and Athenaeus (464 l.; Maria, Berinba, p. 190). F. Windischmann's identification of Mazendarán with Media (Scorstz, Stud. Berlin, 1928, p. 239) was wrong.
view when he says that ‘these demons were, no doubt, merely holsters,’ while M. N. Dhalia (Zoroastrians, pp. 169-170, 1814, pp. 8, 24, 190) sees in them the nomads of Mazandaran and Gilan, ‘who poured down in great numbers and pillaged the possessions of the Iranians. A number of the Avesta texts are called daevos, giving no information as to their nature or habitat (Y. vii. 17, 32; Vend. ix. 13, x. 16, xviii. 9f.). We have, however, more precise indications as to their location in the account of the threefold sacrifice by the hero Spentzas on Mount Harz to gain the victory over ‘two-thirds of the Mazaiiany demons’ (Y. vii. 22, ix. 4, xv. 8, xix. 26), for Haratsa (or, as it is also called in the Avesta, Haras Berczai, ‘lofty Haras’) is generally—and probably correctly—identified with Alburz, though construed in a mythological, rather than a geographical, sense (e.g., Spiegel, Erân. Altnerthm., i. 201, 465, 522; Darmesteter, i. 101, n. 28; K. Geldner, Gãr., p. 45; in the Greek, Ostr. deza, Kultur, pp. 42-45), and the ‘peak’ (šéka, Y. xv. 7; cf. xii. 23; Bund. v. 4; Ys. xii. 3) of Haras is probably Mt. Damâvand (Geiger, loc. cit.). The identification of the deza (from which Mazaiiana is derived) with Mazandaran is also made by Neric-sangh (c. a.d. 1290), who, in his Skr. paraphrase of the Ysana, renders ‘Mazaiiana’ by ‘Mâjandârâsîya’ or ‘Mâjandârâsîsha’ (Y. vii. 11, xxi. 1, xlvii. 32).

Closely associated with the Mazaiiana daevos are the Varenyan daevos and dagezants, or adherents of the Ido demon (Y. xxvii. 1; Y. vi. 22, xiii. 137, xv. 8, xix. 30; Y. x. 97, xii. 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 ‘continual earthquakes and non-Aryan over-lords’ (Vend. i. 17). It was ‘four-eared’ (sôthru-gosha, i.e., four-square or quadrangular); cf. Darmesteter, i. 14, n. 33, and was the birthplace of the hero Tharaetsar or Faridân, who overcame Ahi Dahaka (Vend. i. 17; Y. vi. 33)—a tale which was discussed at length in the lost Sáthar Natsh of the Avesta (Dinkart, ix. xxi. 17-24; cf. also viii. 9, ix. xxii. 4). 2

The location of Varena is a matter of dispute. It was certainly near Tabaristan (Spiegel, i. 545), but is hardly to be identified with the modern village of Verok, south of Sarî, as argued by Spiegel (i. 72, n. 2, 645) and F. Justi (Handb. der Zend.-sprachl. Forsch., 1864, p. 270 [with earlier literature], Gãr. ii. 404). Uncertainly equal is the view of C. de Herlee (Avesta trad., Liège, 1875-77, i. 87, n. 2) that it was the modern Kirman. A. V. W. Jackson (Gãr. ii. 663) and Dhalla (loc. cit.) identify it with Gilan, and Darmesteter (i. 14, n. 38) with Tabaristan or Dailam. Tabaristan was formerly preferred by Geiger (Jâstirn. Kultur, pp. 127 L, 184); his later view (Gãr. ii. 391), identical with the Capellan Gates, seems scarcely an improvement. Neric-sangh was ignorant of the meaning of the term, for he renders Varenya by sihrâmakara, ‘confusing,’ and kama, ‘love’ (on Y. vi. 19); cf. Geiger, Gãr. ii. 391), confounding the epithet of the later Pahlavi Varenda, the demon of lust (Jackson, i. 660, 665; Darmesteter, i. 373, n. 33; L. C. Casartelli, Philosophy of the Mazaiyan Religion under the Sassanids, Bombay, 1859, pp. 91, 106). On the whole, Gilan appears to be the most probable identification.

It would seem that the term of Haohyamanga refers to an early invasion of Mazandaran and Gilian by Iranians, and their conquest of it, at least in part. This is borne out by the local tradition of the early 12th cent., for Ibn Isfandiyâr, who, in his Kitâb, i. 121, two pious men who came from Mazandaran to receive the faith from Frashâhshah, the father-in-law of Zaráhushdâr (Dinkart, i. xxi. 17-24).

In the Pahlavi texts the most interesting passage in the present connexion is found in the Shâhân-gândanig Vîêtar (xvi. 28-36), which records a belief closely similar to the frequent Gnostic concept of the entanglement of man, combined with a touch of the Iranian heresy of Zarvanism.

‘The rain was the seed of the Mazârdanis for the reason that when the Mazârdanis are born, whose light is swallowed by them, and, in order to pass it from them through a new regulation, discrimination, and retention of the light of Time, the twelve goddesses give their daughters to Time’ (to the house-attending males Mazârdanis, so that while the last of these Mazârdanis, from seeing them, is well suited to them, and seed is discharged from them, the light which is within the seed is poured out to the earth. Trees, shrubs, and grains have grown thereof, and the light which is within the Mazârdanis is discharged in the seed’.

In the Shâhân-nâmeh Mazârdan is described with little geographical accuracy (Nûdeke, i. 178), and the Kârgassârs (‘Vulture-heads’), who are frequently mentioned as inhabiting the country, like the Sagars (‘Dog-heads’), Bazgûsh (‘Goat-ears’), and Narmpâl (‘Strap-foot’), 1 the influence of pseudo-Caliththèmes upon Firdausî (Nûdeke, i. 146, n. 3). In his proper shape the king of Mazârdan had a bear’s head (Warner, i. 75). The land itself was

1 The home of warlock-drills and under spells Which none hath power to loose;
To go or en’ of thing of going thither Is hold unloose, which doth;

Nevertheless, it was invaded unsuccessfully by Kâ Khâd and successfully by Rusym (ib. 30-41, 42-44, 51-78), one of the greatest events of the latter being the slaying of the ‘White Virgin,’ whom Warner (ii. 27 f.) holds to be a personification of the Mazârdanis, rendered pale by the unhealthy climate of this. This ‘White Div’ was

‘mountain-tall,
With shoulders, breast, and neck ten cords across’ (ib. 69).

The magic exercised by the ‘White Div’ against Kâ Khâd reads like a description of a severe hailstorm (ib. 40); the only other point worth noting is that his blood cured falling sickness (ib. 69).

Even in the Arab period Mazârdan remained imperfectly Islamizd. As late as the 10th cent., many of the inhabitants of Dailam and Gilian 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 (Mas’dî, Frairies d’or, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1851-77, i. 5). It was a

1 The rodical signs, appointed as celestial leaders by Ahura Mazda (Dinkart, i. 101), were called ‘Ages, along the Chai, Hâmî (Strak, pp. 607 f., 214; cf. W. Tomaszek, in Fäsiy-Wissowa, i. 137, 142), 192.

2 In a Turfán fragment Ahi Dahaka, who was imprisoned in Damâvand, is called ‘Mâmûn’ (ibid., 116). The text has been found in a number of copies, but in both cases the accompanying names are illegible (C. Salemann, Manichaic Studies, i. 52). From it we learn: 1 From it we learn: 1
centre of the Hurramite and Zaidite sects of Muhammadanism (4; 188, 187, 117; cf. also Ibn Isafandiyar, pp. 155, 188-193).

The Zaidites call for no special remark, but the Hurramites may be briefly described, as being one of the many attempts at religious sectarianism in W. Asia.

The exact meaning of the name is not absolutely certain. It is generally translated as from Pers. 'szur, 'cheerful' (i.e., Euphratean'; so T. Haarbrücker, in German translation). To his tr. and *Bhārakhsīnī* (Religionspartiheiten und Philosophenschulen, Halle, 1881, p. 351, not noted, but it has also been derived from the town of Hurram near Ardabil, and even from a name of one of the Hurramite leaders of the 17th c. of Mas'udī, as 'the teaching hurram (ed. cf. C. Scheffer, Christliche Perser, Paris, 1888-84, i. 170-171, where the remaining passages of Naṣīr-al-Ḍulî's Nīṣābūrī's *Isfarsī* cf. also S. H. Ribāt, *Gīrī fī h. 922*), *All Ibn Sam, Ibn al-Dīn, Ibn al-Fatāṭā Fīzmā, and a volume of miscellaneous extractes*). Muhammad Ibn-al-Hazān Ibn Isafandiyar, *His story Fīzmā* (ed. cf. R. G. Glügel, *Bābāt, sein Abstammung und erste Anfänge*, 1341, 1432-34, E. G. Browne, *Islamic History of Persia from the Earliest Times till Ferdowsī*, London, 1902, pp. 325-336. Much earlier literature on the history of the country has been lost, e.g., *All Ibn Muhammad al-Malādīn* H. Ribāt, *Gīrī fī h. 921* (1901) 146 f. (with copious references to earlier literature).

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MAZDAK.—See OMAZAD.

MAZDAK.—I. History.—Mazādak, son of Bāmdār, a Persian (probably a native of Susiana), was the leader of a communistic sect which towards the end of the 5th c. A.D. became a formidable power in the Sassanian empire. According to some accounts, the original founder of this sect was a certain Zarābnd, son of Khurrawagān, on whose behalf Mazādak is said to have carried on propaganda among the populace, but in any case it was under Mazādak that the sect first began to exercise influence. His temporary success was largely due to the state of anarchy then prevailing in Persia. The emperor Kavad, 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 emasculated his revolutionaries. The governing classes were strong enough to depose Kavad in favour of his brother Jāmāb; but after his restoration, which took place a few years later, the power of the Mazādakites continued to increase, though Kavad does not seem to have supported them very actively. In the concluding years of his reign a bitter struggle was waged between the courtiers, which the Mazādakites endeavoured to secure for one of Kavad's sons who was devoted to their cause, while the Zoroastrian priests, in agreement with the emperor himself, regarded

The nalatan tongue,' and Bābāk's own tongue 'was cramped by outlandish speech' (see, further, Browne, *loc. cit.*).

To this information al-Isfarsī adds that the Māzyārīyān 'appealed to the religion of the Muḥāmmārid, and he says:

'Since the Kitāb yāvūz in these mountains (of Tābaristān) agree upon every kind of depravity with women and flute-playing, etc., and therein (i.e. at night) the men and the women agree together. Then the lamp and fire are extinguished, and every one of them rises up to one of the women who chances to sit within the tent. Then, no one of them ever knew that in the ignorance they had a king named Shahrīsab, whom they despised more than the prophets; and when they mourn for the dead, in his name they pay tears and lamentations, (even) their grief for him.'

It is clear that the Bābākīyān were only a later phase of the sect founded by Mazādak, but in a degenerate form, marred by the cruelty which characterized the career of Bābāk, who is said to have slain at least 255,600 persons during his years of power.

LITERATUR.—F. Spiegel, *Relatio I* (1769); 1771, 1776; 1783, 1784; 1790; 1793; 1794; 1795; 1796; 1797; 1798; 1799; 1800; 1801; 1802; 1803; 1804; 1805; 1806; 1807; 1808; 1809; 1810; 1811; 1812; 1813; 1814; 1815; 1816; 1817; 1818; 1819; 1820; 1821; 1822; 1823; 1824; 1825; 1826; 1827; 1828; 1829; 1830; 1831; 1832; 1833; 1834; 1835; 1836; 1837; 1838; 1839; 1840; 1841; 1842; 1843; 1844; 1845; 1846; 1847; 1848; 1849; 1850; 1851; 1852; 1853; 1854; 1855; 1856; 1857; 1858; 1859; 1860; 1861; 1862; 1863; 1864; 1865; 1866; 1867; 1868; 1869; 1870; 1871; 1872; 1873; 1874; 1875; 1876; 1877; 1878; 1879; 1880; 1881; 1882; 1883; 1884; 1885; 1886; 1887; 1888; 1889; 1890; 1891; 1892; 1893; 1894; 1895; 1896; 1897; 1898; 1899; 1900; 1901; 1902; 1903; 1904; 1905; 1906; 1907; 1908; 1909; 1910; 1911; 1912; 1913; 1914; 1915; 1916; 1917; 1918; 1919; 1920; 1921; 1922; 1923; 1924; 1925; 1926; 1927; 1928; 1929; 1930; 1931; 1932; 1933; 1934; 1935; 1936; 1937; 1938; 1939; 1940; 1941; 1942; 1943; 1944; 1945; 1946; 1947; 1948; 1949; 1950; 1951; 1952; 1953; 1954; 1955; 1956; 1957; 1958; 1959; 1960; 1961; 1962; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1966; 1967; 1968; 1969; 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022; 2023; 2024.
prince Khusrav as the presumptive heir to the throne. The course of the events which culminated in the massacre of Mazdak together with many thousands of his followers is uncertain. According to the narrative of a Persian official who was converted to Christianity and became the name of Timotheus (Ioannes Malalas, in PG xvii. 654; Theophanes, ib. viii. 395), Kawdistan pretended to yield to the Mazdakites, and, having appointed a day for his abdication, caused his soldiers to cut down the Mazdakites and assembled with their wives and children in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon to witness the ceremony; he then gave orders that the surviving members of the sect should be seized and burned, and that their property should be confiscated. Most Muham- madan writers place this massacre in the reign of Khusrav, but the truth appears to be that, although it was carried out under Khusrav’s direction and probably at his instigation, it preceded his accession (A.D. 631) by two or three years. Noldeke assigns it to the end of 632 or the beginning of 633 (Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit des Khusrav, p. 355). The ruthless energy displayed by Khusrav in this occasion earned for him, it is said, the title of Anushakurban (Anushahrwan, Nushairwan), i.e. he of immortal spirit, and the further measures which took place to exterminate the Mazdakites and the whole of their movement, so that henceforward the Mazdakites vanish from history. That they were entirely exterminated is scarcely credible. There is some ground for the suggestion that Mazdak’s ideas maintained themselves in secret and found expression in various Anioman sects which arose in Persia during the Muhammadan period (for an account of one of these see art. MAZANDARAN).

2. Doctrine.—It must be remembered that the whole of the information about Mazdak is derived from hostile sources. The epiphany written by an intolerant sacerdotal caste over heretics who had brought it to the verge of destruction may fairly be summed up in the words ‘de mortuis nil nisi malum’; and, unfortunately, we have nothing from the Mazdakite side to set against the biased narrative of our Zoroastrian and Christian authorities. On the other hand, we cannot suppose that the Persians, altogether obscure the essential character of Mazdakism, however they may have misunderstood or misrepresented it in detail. Its socialistic basis is well described in the following passages from a letter of the Emperor Constantine the Great (Leyden ed., 1879-1901, i. 893. 11 f., translated by Noldeke, op. cit. p. 154):

‘Among the commands which he (Mazdak) laid upon the people and earnestly enjoined was this, that they should possess their property and families in common; it was, he said, an act of piety that was agreeable to God and would bring the most excellent reward hereafter; even if he had had no religious commandments upon them, yet the good works with which God was well pleased consisted in such cooperation.’

In another passage (Tabari, i. 893. 19 f., Noldeke, op. cit. p. 141) we read:

‘They [the Mazdakites] asserted that God placed the means of subsistence (ardiz) in the world in order that His servants might share them in common, but men had wronged one another in that respect. The Mazdakites said that they would take from the rich and give to the poor, and give back to those who had little their due portion at the expense of those who had much; and they declared that he who possessed more than his share of wealth, women, and property had no better right to it than any one else. The nobler seized this opportunity, and in large numbers because so powerful that they used to enter a man’s house and forcibly deprive him of his dwelling, his livestock, and his property, since it was impossible for him to resist such violence. It came to such a pass that the father did not know his son nor the son his father.

While the principle that every man is entitled to possess an equal amount of property involves logically the removal of class distinctions, and the abolition of marriage, it may be asked from what point of view the principle itself was regarded by Mazdak, whether these results of its application formed part of his programme, and how far they were achieved by his followers. To take the last question first, Khusrav, in his speech to the priests and nobles after his coronation (Tabari, i. 896. 15 f., 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 he made for the purpose of compensating the sufferers, establishing the position of children of doubtful origin, etc., show that the social revolution must have caused many, and probably a large number of the upper classes bore the brunt of it. Our authorities give great prominence to this aspect of Mazdakism; they are, however, still not 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 social movements of our 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 Bundeskunde, Feb. 1879, p. 284 f.). This character is preserved in the hostile Zoroastrian tradition. Mazdak’s asceticism—he is said to have forbidden the slaughter of cattle for food—gave a religious scope to the social destruction under which the ‘ungodly fasting Ashenaqma’ (Pahlavi commentary on Vendidad, iv. 49; SBE iv. 2 [1890] 48). The passages from Tabari translated above, and still more the epic narrative of Fir dazu (Shah-nameh, ed. Farnier Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 1611 f.), which reflects the sentiments of the priesthood, bring out quite clearly the fact that Mazdak identified his doctrines of equality and fraternity with the religion of Zoroaster in its original uncorrupted form.

‘I will 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 him (den)

(Shah-nameh, p. 1613, line 11 f.).’

‘Five things turn a man from righteousness:
The sage cannot add to these five:
Jealousy, anger, vengeance, need,
And the fifth one that masters him is covetousness.
If thou prevail against these five demons,
The way of the Almighty will be made manifest to thee.
Because of these five, we possess wealth,
Which have destroyed the good religion in the world.
Women and wealth must be in common.
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 (den) is always turning the wise.
Therefore these two things must be made common property
(Shah-nameh, p. 1614, line 7 f.).’

Without claiming that Mazdak was animated 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 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 Zoroastrianism, and no reliance can be placed on the statements of Shahrazd and later writers who credit him with cosmopolitan speculations closely akin to those of Mani.

LITERATURE.—The principal references to Mazdak which occur in Greek are by Paphlagon, Ambrose, and Augus-.

The text is collected by T. Noldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Leyden, 1879, at the beginning of the fourth exordium. ‘Tober Mazdak and the Mazdakites, p. 455 f., which

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MEAN.—The historic varieties of significance associated with this term are all evolved from the general idea of that which comes between something, or in the ‘middle’. Hence the term has an implication of double relationship to two other terms, the primus medius (primus in meaning, medius in space) and the things which are in between two other things in reference to space or time.

As subst. and as adj. ‘mean’ entered Mid. Eng. from late Lat. mediae aequalis, mediae proportione, Med. Fr. moyen. The orig. mediae aequales (like Eng. ‘middle’ through its A.S. original) is connected with one of the most widely spread roots in human language. Both as subst. and as adj., ‘mean’, in the sense of ‘lowest’ or ‘least’, is to be distinguished from subst. ‘mean’ of A.S. origin (A.Eng. mean, O.E.Eng. mene, Mod. Ger. gemein, akin to commune), which, originally signifying ‘general’ or ‘concerning all’, is the indirect aorist subjunctive of that meaning. ‘Midden’ or ‘moderate’ and then of ‘low’ in rank or quality, ethically inferior or ignoble, esp. ‘avaricious’ or ‘pampered’.

That the mean has given an ethical application by Aristotle (Eth. Nic., iii. 7, 1115b-1115b) in which a doctrine of virtue it holds the central place. Virtue consists in reasonable moderation, involving the avoidance, on the one side, of excess, and, on the other side, of defect; in this sense virtue holds an intermediate position and may be said to be a mean. Here the mean is not quantitative, and the notion of ‘equal distance’ from the extreme is not applicable. Even the idea or action may err by excess or by defect; between these opposed extremes (e.g., ἐρωτηματικός and ἡλικία) stands that degree of activity which characterizes virtuous conduct (in this instance, moderation). Aristotle, Eth. Nic., iii. 7, 1115b-1115b.

Its ‘distance’ from the extremes will depend on the nature of the agent in relation to that of the moral case before him, and is therefore to be determined, not by any abstract considerations, but by the rational judgment of the man of insight (φύσις) [Eth. Nic., ii. 6, 1107b].

This conception involves that of an adaptation or harmony of opposites. This idea, similar to the harmony of parts displayed in a work of art; in fact, it expresses the moral aspect of virtue. Aristotle is aware that, in the strictly ethical sense, there is no such thing as a mean. ‘In every case there is an extreme’ (I. 6. 11, 1106a 22; 17, 1107b 6; Stewart, Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, ii. 206). But, in laying stress on the aesthetic aspect, Aristotle is true to the Greek genius. The traditional direct view of life made it natural that ‘moderation’, ‘measures’, and kindred conceptions should be appropriated to express excellence in life and action.

The term ‘mean’ is used (more inadequately rendered ‘temperance’), closely related to the traditional maxim μετέξωσις ὑπάρ. Its opposite is ὑπάρχησις. In Homer the object of moral condemnation is of the nature of excess, ‘going too far’; above all, ‘wickedness’ is ὑπάρχησις. In the case of the strong it is the insensibility of brutality, especially in reference to the weak and the helpless: in the low and the weak it is the reverse, a want of sense in the presence of something stronger.2 When a man thinks of doing such things, he tells such men that they are not reasonable and unwise witnesses feel ἐπαινέσει, righteous indignation.

There is an application of the Aristotelian principle of the mean in the general theory of knowledge, not, indeed, expressed there by Aristotle, but implicit in much of his thinking, as in that of Plato; it was made by Hegel into the first principle of thought and being in the applications of dialectics. The ‘mean’ of thought as a dialectically progressive movement through its opposites—to the history of human thought and endeavour; it is this that gives to his reflections of history all their strength and value, notwithstanding the exceedingly rigid formalism with which the principle is applied by him in certain cases. We can only, in reality, find the nature of these and antitheses (in pairs) from the opposition of the higher truth springs; we can only find conflicting υπαρχειν, streams of tendency, movements of thought.

A movement involving truth mingled with error is found in conflict with another movement, involving different truths mingled with different errors. What is required is a point of view above both the conflicting principles, from which we can 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 courses pursued by 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 that the conflict is the means of attaining them.


MEAN (Chinese).—Outside of Greece, the theory of the mean received formal attention only in China, where produced the classic chuâng yung, commonly known as ‘The Doctrine of the Mean’, though more exactly rendered ‘Equilibrium and Harmony’ (see above, p. 90), the authorship of which is attributed to the grandson of Confucius, Tzu-sâ, who flourished in the 6th cent. 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. 1-2). The terms chuâng (‘equilibrium’) and yung (‘harmony’) are respectively absent of stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, and the state in which those feelings have been stilled, and they set in their due degree (I. 4).

Therefore, let the states of filial piety and harmony exist in perfection, and all things 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. f.]; yet some error by exceeding it, and some by falling short of it (iv. 1) —only the sage is in perfect harmony with it (xi. 5).

Yet the ‘path is not far from man’ (xiii. 1); but, even if ‘common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice’ (xii. 2). One is not far from the path when he ‘cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on
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 embrace it; and were he to speak of it in
minuteness, nothing in the world would be found
able to split it (xiii. 2). 'The superior man manly
what is proper to the station in which he is; he
does not desire to go beyond this . . . The superior
man can find himself in no situation in which he is
not right, if he has done anything, he blames only
himself (xiv. 1 f., 5). He advances in regular
order from stage to stage (xiv. 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 station, 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 pro-
duce satiety; while showing a simple negligence,yet
to have his accomplishments recognized; while
seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating' (xxviii. 11).
Among the many virtues of Confucius, special men-
ion is made of the fact that he never swerved from
the mean (xxxi. 1).
The remainder of the Chung Yung is devoted to
filiation of filial piety, and to the duties of the
age, the obligation of absolute sincerity, the
path of the mean, the character of the ideal
ruler—all of which depend on the cultivation of
Chung Yung.
The mean is mentioned a number of times in the
other Chinese Classics; e.g., the Y i King says
(xxii. 3) that the ruler should 'be sincere and pur-
sue the path of the Mean'; but these texts add
nothing to the main discussion in the Chung Yung.

LITERATURE.—The Chung Yung is most conveniently ed. and
tr. by Ch. T. Chao, Hongkong and London, 1891-5, i. 242-336 (cf. also his Predecessors to this vol., pp.
59-60), and again tr. by him in S.B.I. (1888) 296-326.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

MECCA.—Mecca (Arabic Makkah) is a city in
Central Arabia, famous as the birthplace of Islam,
and, except for a short period at the commence-
ment of the system, at all times its chief sanctuary.
A variety of the name, Bakkah, occurs once in the
Coran (iii. 90), 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, and the name of Pre-Islamic
Mecca (vi. 72) is derived from a different root.
The 'Chronicles of Mecca,' of which the earliest extant
is by Azaqi († 240 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 centuries the days
of paganism were regarded with a sort of horror,
which prevented the preservation of precise in-
formation concerning them.
The references to the city in the Qur'an throw little light on its early history. A sara incorpo-
rated near the end of the collection (xiv) reminds
the Prophet of the Owners of the Elephant, who
were tempted by birds (adidin), which flung at them stones of siyil. The tradition interprets
this as an expedition by Abyssinians against the
Meccan sanctuary, miraculously frustrated, but it is
possible that this story is an invention of exe-
gesists, who coupled the sara ev. with ev. which
decidedly deals with Meccah, and is itself a frag-
ment, scarcely to be construed in its present form.
In it the Qurash (the tribe in possession of the
Makkan sanctuary) are advised to attack the Lord
of this House, who has given them food after
hunger and safety after fear. These two pheno-
mena, 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 'the House,' or the 'Sanctuary,' or the Ka'bah (a word said to mean no more than
'house,' or perhaps the Ethiopic word for 'double,'
as in two-storied), or 'the place of prostration, the
Sanctuary.' In lii. 90 it is called 'the first house
established for mankind, blessed and a guidance to
the worlds, containing manifest signs, the station
of Abraham, and whoever enters it is secure.'
This would by itself imply that the Ka'bah was
the first house ever built, as a model for all others,
and that Abraham took refuge there and made it
his abode. Elsewhere (xiv. 40) Abraham states
that he had settled his family by it (or in it) in
spite of the sterility of the valley, in order that
they might pray there regularly; and he prays
that the town (and not the house only) might be
secure. In xxii. 27 he is represented as doing in
his time much as was afterward done by Muham-
mad: he was told to purify the house for
those that perform the four ceremonies called
maqaf, standing, inclination, and prostration.
In li. 118f. Ishmael is represented as having
with Abraham; they laid the foundations of the house, and were told to:
and purify it as before, the ceremony called 'siraf' being
substituted for 'standing.' What may be inferred
from these texts is perhaps that prior to Muham-
mad's time the Ka'bah was a sanctuary which
enjoyed some popularity in part of Arabia, and that
the right of sanctuary had to some extent been
associated with the settlement of Mecca and with its
inhabitants. The biography of the Prophet
certainly implies that the Meccans were
the strongest opposition to bloodshed, and possessed
little aptitude for warfare. The association of
Mecca with Abraham is unlikely to have been
earlier than the Prophet, except so far as the
N. Arabian tribes were known by monotheists on
the authority of Genesis, to be descended from the
patriarch. It seems clear, however, that the
Ka'bah was only one of many sanctuaries which
were visited, and, if the word sara, which is used
for 'pilgrimage,' be explicable from the Hebrew
sara, 'draw round,' the Arabian month which is
called after it is likely to mean 'month of going-
round,' i.e. the round of the sanctuaries, as opposed
to the preceding 'month of squatting' at home.
The word technically used of going round the
Ka'bah, sara, seems also to be properly used of
going a round, as, e.g., is done by a sentinel, and
this ceremony may be due to a conflict of thought.
The pilgrimage which became stereotyped in Islam
involves visits to places which are likely to have
been seats of distinct sanctuaries, some at a consid-
erable distance from Mecca.
The difficult sara ev. speaks of 'winter and summer
journeying,' which is traditionally interpreted
of Meccan caravans, and in the biography of the Prophet these play an important part
by Muslim archaeologists suppose that the Qurash,
owing to their character as 'Allah's people,'
joyed immunity from attack, and so had special
facilities for the carrying trade. It is not easy to
reconcile this with the primitive condition of the
raids very clearly prevailed in Mecca at the rise of Islam,
and the complete ignorance which the Qur'an
assumes for its inhabitants. If there be any truth
in this carrying trade, it is likely to have been on
a small scale.
In the Qur'an Mecca is sometimes called 'the
Mother of the villages,' i.e. the chief village; else-
where the number of the villages is given as two,
which the commentators suppose to mean Mecca.
MECCA

and Ta'if; it is more probable that only Mecca is meant. Of walls we first hear in the reign of Mu'ātdhir (A.D. 908-332), and these did not surround the settlement, which was naturally protected by mountains, but merely blocked the passes. Sooneck Hurgonje 1 is probably right in thinking that the community first gathered round the well Zamzam, which furnishes a constant supply of water. The Arabic tradition gives in the names of the tribes which formed the community, but scarcely hints at any sort of municipal organization or government. Still more 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 camels, but other forms of wealth were probably known; visitors to the shrine have at all times paid 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 the central idea that money was often afforded a considerable revenue. The 'Abbasid caliphs expected the governor of Mecca to make the pilgrimage-tax his chief source of revenue; besides this visitors' fee, they had to pay for admission to the sanctuary and pilgrims' food and lodging to pay import duty. Attempts were made by pious sovereigns to abolish these dues, but they had a tendency to revive, and their analogues doubtless existed in the period before the rise of Islam.

Prior to the rise of Islam it would appear that some notions of Christianity had penetrated to Mecca, and the biographies of the Prophet profess 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 innovators and dissentients, so long as the local beliefs and practices were not assaulted; 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 involved the abolition of the ceremonies of which the Ka'bah formed the centre. His rejection by the Jews of Medina (q.v.) caused him to contemplate the return to the religion in which he had been brought up, 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 a rival, 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 increased the influence of the island tribes, who were the chief Muslims. 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 least as the centre of his state and government. There is no doubt that there were jealousies between the two places before the Prophet's death. None of his successors (except perhaps 'Abd al-Malik) had any right to inherit the occupation of the caliphate (which lasted some ten years) seems to have regarded Mecca as a suitable metropolis for political purposes, but its position as the central sanctuary has rarely been endangered. Certain fanatical sects, such as the Carmatians and Wahhabis (q.v.), have at times done damage to its monuments, and

the substitution of Baghdad or Jerusalem form it is said to have been considered by 'Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs, although they recognized in time that such experiments would have been fatal to Islam or to their thrones.

For the history of Mecca since its adoption of Islam we possess a series of Chronicles, of which those published by F. Wustenfeld 2 cover the first three centuries from the Hijra to the death of 'Umar. H. St. J. Hurgonje 2 has added the substance of certain unpublished records which carry the history up to our time. Regular government was then introduced, perhaps for the first time, a prefect appointed by the sovereign responsible for the maintenance of order. This personage was leader of the ceremonies at the time of the pilgrimage, unless the sovereign either came himself or sent a special representative. The governments of the three towns, Mecca, Ta'if, and Medina were at times united in the same person, at times distinct; the first was much the most important of the three. In 'Abbasid times it is of pilgrimage often afforded a considerable revenue. The 'Abbasid caliphs expected the governor of Mecca to make the pilgrimage-tax his chief source of revenue; besides this visitors' fee, they had to pay for admission to the sanctuary and pilgrims' food and lodging to pay import duty. Attempts were made by pious sovereigns to abolish these dues, but they had a tendency to revive, and their analogues doubtless existed in the period before the rise of Islam.

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1 Mekd, The Hague, 1889, i. 5.
in the neighbourhood by the Egyptian Sultan Jaqmac (1483-58). On the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516 the allegiance of the Sharifs was transferred to the Sultan of Constantinople. The new rulers interfered 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 the independency of the Sharifs' suzerainty also led to the adoption by the Sharifs of an intolerant attitude towards the Shiites of Persia, who could only with difficulty and at some risk obtain permission to proceed to the pilgrimage. In the 17th cent., owing to the decline of the Ottoman power, the Sharifs, who were almost always involved in family quarrels, became somewhat less dependent upon Constantinople, and could even at times defy the representative of the metropolitans at Jeddah. Both the sacred cities were threatened by the rise of the Wahhabite movement towards the end of the 18th cent., 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 the Wahhabites. The mosque was then abandoned, and remained unoccupied according to their ideas. The Sharifs, however, after a short time re-installed on his professing to adopt the Wahhabite tenets; and for some years Turkish subjects were excluded from the pilgrimage. In 1813 an expedition sent by Mikhamid ibn 'Ali, founder of the khaedivial family in Egypt, succeeded in recovering the sacred cities, and a Turkish Pasha was installed in Mecca, where, however, the rule of the Sharifs was nominal. After a time the Ottoman power was again represented by the governor of Jeddah.

The meaning and the limits of the sanctuary (karaa) were extended by Islam. 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. Az representing a place where murder is forbidden, it is right in asserting that at this time the dwellings of the citizens surrounded the Ka'bah, leaving only a small area (finada) the growth of the Muslim community required the destruction of these dwellings; and, operations of this kind were undertaken by the second and third Khalifs. The area was further enlarged by the pretender 'Abdallah b. Zubair, but the actual mosque surrounding the Ka'bah was first built by the Umayyad al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, (A.D. 705-715), who erected a colonnade with marble pillars and other luxurious decorations. Further additions to the area were made by the 'Abbásid Manṣūr (755), 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, Mahdi, 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 (866), who also introduced luxurious ornamentation. The frequent repairs required by the mosque were 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'tamid considerable extensions and restorations were again carried out in the years 894-904, and the like was recorded for the year 918 under Mu'tadid. Under this Khalif serious mischief was wrought by the Camaftsl, who massacred the pilgrims, and for a series of years practically put a stop to the institution; their atrocities culminated with the siege in 917 of the Bani Hanafites, which they were conveyed to their headquarters in Hajar, whence

(continued on next page)
houses in Mecca; according to modern travellers, this question is purely academic, since the inhabi-
tants are entirely gain their living by letting their houses to pilgrims.

The place of Mecca in the Muslim religion is otherwise not free from anomalies. On the one hand, it is clear that the standard of morality and piety practised by the devout Muslims has at no time 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 in the spiritual budgets that 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 Ṭalib al-Makkī († 386 A.H.) is right, pious men in early times who went thither on pilgrimage used to transact business with and another outside the sacred area, devoting the former exclusively to religious exercises. The resulting danger was one of the reasons why continuous residence in the city was prohibited. 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 urged, according to the Qurān, the house is a place of returning, i.e., one to be visited, not made a place of residence (II. 119).

The various sovereigns who have been protectors or 'servants' of the sanctuaries have ordinarily been lavish in marks of their favour and somewhat jealous of munificence exercised by rival potentates; among the public works executed by these benefactors the greatest amount of space appears to be devoted to the Chroniques of the aqueducts, one of which conveys water from Mt. Arafat to Mecca, utilizing a channel originally constructed by order of Zubayda, wife of Harūn al-Rashid, occupied fourteen years (965–979 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 almshouses 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 Hargroene, is the same: most of the houses that have any value have been at some 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 engy (on which see ERE vii. 577 ff.), 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 news 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 novov 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 Chaîelle, indeed, attributes the introduction of the religion into Mecca in recent times to the influence of the Sa’dis.

1 La conférence nouvelle rend à la Meccan le rôle de foyer du musulman, que lui avait fait perdre le caser sacerdotale (Les Congrès musulmans du Hadjey, Paris, 1807, p. 19).
2 Ibn al-‘āmil al-Makkī, Cairo, 1905, I. 119.
3 Ibn al-‘āmil al-Makkī, Cairo, 1906, I. 100.

The author of a dialogue on Islamic revival be-

tween Muslims of various nationalities recently placed the scene in Mecca. Yet the cosmopolitan character of the pilgrimage among the followers of the early Islamic conquests has to render this sanctuary the place where it was easiest to address the Muslim world as a whole. Decades of settlement of succession to the Khalifate were issued and deposited here by Harūn al-Rashid. If a man wished to procure a copy of a rare work, he would have a crier advertise the want among the pilgrims.

In spite of the rule which forbids access to Mecca on the part of non-Muslims, many Europeans have undertaken the pilgrimage, some indeed having adopted Islam for the purpose of carrying out this project. In Christians at Mecca (London, 1890) Augustus Lalli gives accounts of sixteen such visitors, beginning with Ludovico Varthema, a gentleman of the city of Rome, who reached the forbidden city in 1503. Since the publication of Lalli’s collection, several other pilgrimages have been added to the list: Hadji Khan and W. Sparrow, With the Pilgrims to Mecca, 1902, London, 1903; and A. J. F. Wavell, A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca, do. 1912. Among the reports of these pilgrimages that by R. F. Burton (Pilgrimage to El-Medina and Mecca, London, 1855–56) is classical; it adds, however, very little topographi-

cal information to that which had been given to the world by J. C. Burckhardt (Travels in Arabia, London, 1829). Of the others the account of the city by Snouck Hargroene (op. cit., 1885) is the most important. In several cases the travelers were so fully occupied with the task of preserving their lives that they had no leisure to make observations of value; and in not a few instances the veracity of the narrators has been questioned, not without cause. Besides these accounts by Europeans there are many in existence by Muslims, some of whom have employed the French language. It is asserted that the number of the former who have succeeded in witnessing the pilgrimage and returning to tell the tale is small compared with that of those who have sacrificed their lives in the attempt; and those who have accomplished the task safely have in most cases done so by the exercise of great cunning and ingenuity. The plan of H. Maltzan (Wallfahrt nach Mecca, Leipzig, 1885), who, in order to pass for a Muslim, borrowed the personality of an Algerian, the latter undertaking to remain in hiding for the necessary period, may be commended, both for boldness and for astuteness; it was not, however, free from danger.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLISOUTH.

MEDALS.—See Coins and Medals.

MEDIAN RELIGION.—The religion of the ancient Medes is one of the most difficult and disputable questions of ancient Iranian history. The statements of the earlier classical authorities are not easy to reconcile with the Iranian Avesta, and fresh elements of difficulty have been introduced by the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions.

The actual facts are these. As far back as the 14th cent. B.C. the cuneiform documents of Bogaz-Keui show that there was an Aryan, but not as yet Iranian, religion, and that the gods Mithra, Varuna, and the like were worshipped there (Divine History ed. E. Meyer, SBAW, 1906, pp. 14–19). By the 9th cent. B.C. this Aryan population had become Iranian.
and was settled east of the Zagros mountains, where it was known to the Assyrians as Mada, or Meda, by the name of Amadã, like Amardi for Mardi. From this time forward the name of the kings and chiefs of Media and the neighboring districts mentioned on the Assyrian monuments are Medes, and in a list of Medes princes conquered by Sargon in 714-713 B.C. we find the name of Mazdau, proving that Zoroaster's god Mazda, 'the Wise,' was already worshipped (cf. also F. Hommel, FSBA, 1899, p. 132). The name of Magi mentioned, is also found in the tablets from Assur-bani-pal's library at Nineveh. On the other hand, Istnavek, or Astyages, the last king of Ecbatana, is termed in the inscriptions, not 'King of Media, but 'King of the Unnamed Mada' or 'Horda,' an archaic title given by the Babylonians in early times to the northern barbarians, but applied in the Assyrian age to the Cimmerians and Scyths (qq.v.). The similarity of the name of MEDIA, and the question whether the Medes of the classical writers who were conquered by Cyrus were not really Scythians whose religious beliefs and practices have been transferred to their Median subjects or neighbours.

Like the Medes, the Persians also were Iranians. But here again the inscriptions make it doubtful whether Cyrus and Cambyses, the founders of the Median empire, were of pure Iranian stock, and whether the religion of Cyrus, at all events, was not the polytheism of Susa (cf. art. Armenia, vol. i, p. 70). Both he and his son conformed to the ancient worship of Babylonia. Gaumátas, or the Medes, was expressly stated by Darius (525 B.C. [Pers. text] l. 83 ff.) to have destroyed the ayadana, or 'prayer-chapels,' of Persia, a word which is translated 'temples of the gods' in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription. These Darius claims to have restored, along with other possessions of the Persian and Median peoples, through the help of the great god ARA MAZDA, the creator of the earth and heavens, who in the Persian version of the Behistun inscription (iii. 77, 79) is specially called 'the god of the Aryans.' In the eyes of Darius he occupied much the same place as that occupied by Jahweh in the OT. He was the national god of the Persians and Medes and supreme over all other gods. The existence of the latter, however, was admitted: at Behistun Darius says that he was assisted not only by Aarma-mada, but also by the other gods, all of which were opposed. The right to the rights of law of Aarma-mada was 'the Lie' (drauga), the Achaemenian equivalent of the Zoroastrian Angra Mainyu (Ahirman, 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, 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. This, Herodotus says (v. 140), was a Magian custom.

The date of Zoroaster (Zaratustra) is uncertain, but modern scholarship is inclined to assign it to the 6th cent. B.C.; and Jackson (at least) seems to be right in concluding that he arose in Media rather than in Persia, the tradition which makes him a Persian being late.

Zoroaster is unknown to both Herodotus and Ctesias, with the earliest mention of him occurring in a fragment, questionably ascribed to Xenophon of Lydia and in Plato (Alcibiades I), who says Zoroaster makes the Magi a Median tribe (i. 101), but 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 reverence for 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 Gāthā) and there was neither altar, fire, nor legislation (i. 132). The Greek historian adds (i. 131) 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 to Zeus (Ahriman-Mazda) 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 Anahita, and presumably also of Mithra, is referred to in two inscriptions of Artaxerxes Menander (Sisica a, 41, Hasm. 51) was borrowed at a later date from 'the Arabians and Assyrians' (Herod. i. 131).

On the other hand, the burning of the Hellena by Xerxes (Herod. vii. 35) is inconsistent with the belief that water was divine, and in Herodotus's account of Magian religion Avestan Mazdaism is continuous by its absence. So, too, is any reference to the doctrine of the dualism. 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, who had reduced the Median forms of theology among the Persian people, their influence would have been momentarily checked by the overthrow of Darius and his party, who perhaps would have stood in much the same relation to the Median aristocracy as the Pharisées did to the Sadducees. Meanwhile the reformer Zarathushtra had appeared in Media, where he built upon existing religious beliefs and practices, and attracted the Magi to his side. The result in the course of centuries was the Mazdeism of the Avesta.


MEDIATION.—Mediation is a word of extreme vagueness, but is here considered only in its technical or quasi-technical applications in religion. In a sense all we are and have is mediated in some vague way. 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 what

3 This is the general view, but J. H. Moulton (Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913, pp. 225-230) doubts whether it is correct. He holds that the Medes were the aboriginal inhabitants, and that the Magi (q.v.) were their priests. If this be granted, the Medes were neither Iranians nor Semites. He directly states that the Medes 'belonged to neither of the two great races which divided Xerxes Asia, between them was a wide and in more detail, a similar view.

4 For a somewhat definitive exposition of the Magophonia, see art. Festivals and Fasts (Iranian), vol. v, p. 874.

5 See also P. F. de Lagarde, or P. Foucart, Revue de l'histoire de la littérature, 1877, and J. M. de Parisis et d'Alibert, Le Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1882.

6 See, however, Moulton, p. 212.
what we think of as intellectual, moral, and religious convictions. The greatest part of what comes under these headings is not original achievement of our own, but inheritance or education; it comes to us in somewhat similar terms. It may be possible to make our own what is thus mediated to us, and to become possessors, as it were, in our own right of what we have inherited or been taught; but, to begin with, every creation born in Christ is the mediation of something out of the whole capital with which he adventures upon independent life.

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: Tit 2:9, Heb 9:12, 12 ff. 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 re-establish it. In 1 Timothy 2:5 the work is explicitly connected with the redemption of death of Christ; there is one mediator between God and man, Himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all. The same idea is expressed in the three passages in Hebrews: there Jesus is spoken of as the mediator of a new or a better covenant. The covenant is the religious constitution under which God and man 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 anointed because of its ineffective character, and in place of it, through the incarnation of Jesus, by means of, and at the cost of, His incarnation and sacrifice—comes the Christian relation of man 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 specifically Christian, 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 man who are estranged from each other, and makes peace. This specifically Christian use of the term, however, is only the mediation of its use in ordinary relations. In ancient as in modern times a state or a person could offer to mediate between two other States or persons at war. The substantive mediator is used with such terms as διαλλάγης, διατηρής, and is defined by Suidas as μαρτυροῦς, ‘peacemaker.’ The verb μαρτυρέω, which occurs once in the NT without an object (He 6:7), though some here would supply τηρεώ, ‘His promise’ is else usually transitive: μαρτυρέω τού διαλλάσσων εὐφράξως (Polby. XI. XXIV. 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 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 we can know, there was no trace whatever in the Phariseism in which Paul was reared of any such idea as that the Messiah was participant in the creation of the world. Paul, through this may be discredited as a 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 so much a theological Messiah with whom Jesus is identified by Paul, but a supernatural being of another sort—the Logos of popular Greek philosophy, of whom many things were predicated as Paul predicates of Christ in connection with which 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 of the current philosophy, which did mediate somewhere between God and the universe, was the philosophic solution of a difficulty which he had never felt; namely, how the transcendent God was to come into any relation to a material world. Paul was not troubled by any more than the OT prophets or Jesus Himself, nor does he ever bring his experience 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. He now believed that there was a correspondence between the reality of the new world and the believer's interest in it. It must be subservient. He could say, 'All things are yours' (I Co 3:23); 'All things work together for good to those who love God, to them that are called according to his purpose' (Ro 8:28). And 'all things here' must be taken without restriction. It means not only all that happens, but all that is. Creation must in 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, p. 388), if it is to 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? The difficulty of comprehending what is meant by the creation of the world through Christ is only one aspect of the difficulty of apprehending Christ's pre-existence, and that again is only one aspect of the omnipotence and insuperable difficulty of defining 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 we may prove 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 agency 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 particular application when he comes to explain the redemption. On the contrary, he starts with Christ and with the experience of redemption which, as a matter of fact, is mediated through Him. 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 fall of knowledge in the world if we are to see it as 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 content of Paul's 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 perception, 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 we are not so, no one with roots in nature would understand Christ when he appeared. The ultimate task of Christian philosophy is to discover spiritual law in the natural world. That 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 soul of all my moral being.'

4. Mediation in the Fourth Gospel. Without using words like προσφέρει and προσφέρεται 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, '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' and 'eternal 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 him who is drawn by the Father (6). It is as though there were two powers in the world antecedent to the historical Jesus which had Him in view, which prepared men to understand Him, and to welcome His mediation when He came. In the constitution of nature, in the impression which it makes as a whole on the spirit of man, in human life itself with its various experiences of success and failure, of wronging others and being wronged, of forgiving others and being forgiven by them, there is a sum or complex of forces which bears witness to Christ and constitutes a providential drawing of men by the Father to the Son. But it is only when we receive the Son and believe in Him that we truly come to the Father. The earlier stases 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. It is, of any mediation through persons or facts which have their place in the past. But this immediate experience of religion, as a religion, is some kind of 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 prompts them to appreciate it. It is constituted through Him. Instead, 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 lived in time. We are in Him that is true, and he that believeth hath the witness in him (Jn 20:31).

In the prologue the idea of mediation is even more explicit than in the body of the Gospel, and it is wider in its range. The first three verses are now exercised by the Son in Paul, and it is difficult to think otherwise than that the author has identified Jesus with the Logos of the current philosophy, and that he is speaking of Him in terms whose antecedents are philosophical rather than evangelical. The very ambiguity of the term Logos (ratio, oratio) may have commended it to Him. It suited him equally well to have Jews feel that in Christ they had God's last word to man, and to have Greeks feel that in Christ they were in contact with the reason of the world, the rational principle or truth in which all things lived, and moved, and had their being. The one knew no logic other than, he would have held, were meditated to men through Jesus. It is by no means clear, however, that the prologue makes the Logos, as distinct from the historical Jesus, the mediator either of a universal revelation of God, or of a particular revelation of God to Israel. The interest of the Evangelist in such speculative ideas is perhaps less than has been assumed. The traditional and somewhat gnarled interpretation of the prologue, according to which the Incarnation does not appear until v.4—an interpretation which has so commended the passage to those 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.1, and the history of Christianity up to the time of the writer is summarized in v.4. Revelation in its full and specifically Christian sense, the mediation to men of that 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 redemption through revelation (we are saved from sin and death because through Jesus we have 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 apologist seems 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 question to the Christian religion is whether this specific, self-conscious 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 never King of the creation of 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 to any extent owe to Him either the knowledge of God or reconciliation to God, or were those supreme spiritual blessings immediately open to them, in independence of Him? The questions have been answered 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 cited for the negative. Much more uncompromising representatives of this side are J. Weiss and W. Heitmüller. The former, in his dissertation (Göttingen, 1914, p. 364), in discussing the relations of faith in Christ and faith in God (in Paul), explicitly renounces the idea of a necessary mediator of salvation. Christ was there, as a matter of fact, and therefore Paul cannot place Him in a position in his religion somehow; but Weiss, with a sense of his own daring, declares that there was no necessity 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 forecloses any such appeal. In Heitmüller’s Jesus (Tübingen, 1913) the denial is even vehemence:

* It is quite beyond doubt that according to the preaching of Jesus we have to do in religion only with an immediate relation of man to God: between God and man nothing stands between them, not even Jesus. Religious significance in the proper sense Jesus in any case does not claim (p. 75).

But Harnack’s position becomes an embarrassment when he deals explicitly with some words of Jesus. He admits that they disclose not merely a prophetic but a superprophetic consciousness—e.g., the well-known passage Mt 11:7. To be the bearer of a unique revelation, the Son simpliciter must terrifies us to think of it. It is not a divine self-consciousness, but it is almost more than human. It might impel us to ask whether it was compatible with soundness of mind to ascribe to Jesus the point at which the form of Jesus becomes mysterious to us, almost uncanny (p. 71). Further on, he speaks of the riddle as insoluble (p. 89), but apparently he thinks that he has reduced it to less disgusting proportions when he writes (p. 126) 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 man, is in harmony with Jesus’ consciousness of Himself, is argued in the present writer’s Jesus and the Gospel (London, 1908, p. 156ff.) on the self-revelation of Jesus. The present covers both the Johannine idea of the mediation of the knowledge of God (as in Mt 11:7) and the Pauline idea of the mediation of redemption (as in Mk 10:45). 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 1:20 (’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 trenched upon by, another), as well as of Jn 14:6. What is in view in these passages is the idea that Christ in His work of mediation may have rivals or competitors, powers which in independence of Him prepare 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 is inseparable from and declared by Him. Spiritual beings, whatever their name or degree—principalities, powers, dominions—owe their own being to Him, and have their functions,

1 "Wir müssen es aus sprechen..." echterweise muss man sagen." (ibid.)
whatever they are, in a world which He has reconcile
to God.

The effectiveness of His mediation with regard to
t nature (being) as well as redemption is strongly
asserted both in Col 1st and in 1st. Probably in
both these passages, as well as in 1 Th 2t, there is
reference to the idea of the world which it is diffi-
cult for us to define. For ancient thought gen-
gally, and therefore for ancient religion, the world
was full of invisible powers of a personal or quasi-
personal sort, and these easily asserted a place for
themselves in the scheme of things. They came be-
tween 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 controversy 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
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All that is to be said is that do not know any-
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Him.

For statements on opposite sides of this ques-
tion see Calvin's Institutio, III. x. 20-27; West-
minster Confession, ch. xxi. 2; Thomas Aquinas,
Summa theol. II, II. 3; J. H. M. Rath, Outlines of
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9. Meditation in the OT.—If we look back from
the NT to the OT, we find much everywhere
what can be described in terms of mediation, though
muσηντες occurs only once in LXX (Job 9), where
according to T. K. Cheyne (EB, col. 3098), it
answers to v72, 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 διαργυστηριον,
defined by Aristotle as διο δαιον, and often found
in Greek as a synonym of μεσοντης; but it is hardly
the equivalent of the NT μεσοντης, whether we regard
revelation or reconciliation as that which comes
to men through Him. If we confine our attention to
the relations of God and man, in which the term
mediation is properly applied, both aspects of it
prevade the OT. Revelation, or the knowledge of
God, is mediated to men through the prophet. It
is through the prophet to whom it is mediated in
the prophet himself; for the purposes of religion
he obtains it immediately. He stands in God's
counsel 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 24); they have, without knowing
it, what the NT calls (1 Co 12) the gift of
'discernment of spirits.' As revelation is mediated
through the prophet, so in the largest sense is re-
cognition through the priest. The Levitical system
may have been very imperfect as it was destined, in-
deed, 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
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try of intercession mediates for man to God, as
well as the ministry of sacrifice, to which the latter
is added; and in both, though of course it is diffi-
cult for us to define. For ancient thought gen-
gally, and therefore for ancient religion, the world
was full of invisible powers of a personal or quasi-
personal sort, and these easily asserted a place for
themselves in the scheme of things. They came be-
tween 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 controversy 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 do not know any-
thing about it; but whatever the saints may do for
us, it is not found on Jesus, as it was on the
mediators who might bring us to God apart from
Him.

For statements on opposite sides of this ques-
tion see Calvin's Institutio, III. x. 20-27; West-
minster Confession, ch. xxi. 2; Thomas Aquinas,
Summa theol. II, II. 3; J. H. M. Rath, Outlines of
Polemik, Leipzig, 1900, p. 294.
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 meditation between God and sinful men is summed up and exhausted in Him. He is Himself our Peace. But all meditation, if the spirit is to rise properly, the religious sensation of the absolute 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.

3. Subordinate sense of meditation (the means of grace).—Meditation in a subordinate sense is the subject of the whole doctrine of the means (media) 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 the ordinance 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 experimental and argumentative forms.

Comparative religion offers examples of meditations which are less analogous to those here considered. Wherever there are religious institutions and customs, they are mediatorial. It is through them that the spirit of a religion is conveyed to those who are brought up within its pale. Sometimes there are what is called 'developmental coincidences' between other religions and Christianity where there is no real interdependence. Thus Mithra was called Mithras in the first instance, dwelling in the nether world, midway between heaven and hell. But the local meaning deepened into a moral one. Mithra became 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 addressed as great Mithra, messenger of the gods, mediator of the religion of the elect (P. Cumont, Les Mystères de Mithra, Brussels, 1913, pp. 129, 130, 146). Similar phenomena are abundant in the religions of India. But we nowhere 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.

In the case of meditation involves that of the nature of Christianity, and especially raises the question whether Christ has a necessary place in the Christian religion, and, if so, what place in it. It is, and what it implies as to Christ Himself (Christology), the literature is really co-extensive with the subject. The conclusions of main aspects of the subject are to be found in J. Butler, Analogy of Religion, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1900, pp. 117, 118, 172. Besides the works mentioned in the article, all modern writings on NT theology 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 (Q. 2, 103). The name usually given to the city whither Muhammad fled from Mecca, sometimes interpreted as 'the Prophet's City.' Its proper name was Yathrib (18, xxxvii, 13). It is also called the 'City of Stephanus Byzantinus (c.e.) and the Agora of Potenly (vi. vii, 31), apparently identical in origin with the Egyptian Agorak (indeed a form of Athrib is mentioned). Another name which is sometimes cited is to be compared with the Hebrew Tob (Jg 11, etc.), and perhaps with the Greek θεραία, meaning 'fragrant' or 'good.' Many more names are collected by Samhadi (893 A.H.) in his monograph on Medina (Khalīgat al-wujūf, Cairo, 1350), but these are mostly honorific epithets; one, however, which he quotes from the OT is Salqah, which should rather be Salkah (Jos 19, etc.); but this identification is certainly erroneous.

Since Stephanus Byzantinus gives the relative adjective of Yathrib as 'Agorak, it must have been the home of several persons who bore the names of its pre-Islamic history are mainly fabulous, though they must contain a little fact as well.

The settlement, which is often called 'between the two lakes,' i.e., the Harlem formations, was at the commencement of Islam a joint home of the early Jews. The former were grouped in two tribes, the Ans and the Khazraj, whereas the latter three tribal names are handed down—Qaimqa, Qaraita, 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 supposed to have had a dialect (or jargon) of their own, some fragments of which are preserved in the Qur'an (iv. 48), but are exceedingly puzzling. This fact would seem to militate 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 lawyers were indebted to, and to the extent 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 state 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 Ans and the Khazraj there was a long-standing feud, which led to the parties summoning the Prophet in the same 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 strife. He called his new companions Anṣār, 'Helpers,' a name which, according to the Qur'an (ii. 45, lxi. 14), originally belonged to the Medeness, and doubtless is a popular etymology of Nazarene.

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
towm grew vastly in magnitude and importance during his despotism. Neither be nor his immediate successors had power to make any other form of art, and, though building must have gone on for the housing of the increasing population, it was, like the Prophet's mosque and domes, a purely decorative kind. There are traditions, probably deserving credit, that the building was completed during this period; but reconstruction on a considerable scale appears to have taken place first in the time of the Umayyads, the dynasty of the Khawālijīs. In the year 884, the Caliph Amr b. Abi-l-Aswad, who had given orders for the reconstruction of the building and the houses of the Prophet's wives, and the inclusion of the whole area in a new mosque covering 200 × 200 cubits. According to Tabari (Chronicles, Leyden, 1879–1901, i. 1184), the Caliph demanded and obtained assistance from the Byzantine emperor, both in materials and in workmen. The new mosque was elaborately decorated, and rewards were offered to the artists, who, however, according to Samhādī's authorities, were at times guilty of profanity. The whole was under the direction of Omar b. Abi-l-Aswad, who introduced the mihrab and four minarets. In 160 A.H. further additions were made by order of the Khayr al-Mahdi, and his successors continued to repair and decorate it. The whole building burnt down in the year 654 A.H. and restored chiefly by the Egyptian Sultan, whose successors continued to adorn and enlarge it. It was again burned down in 896 A.H., and rebuilt by order of Qalībān with great magnificence. This was in the time of the local historian Samhādī, who was absent at the time of the fire, but lost much of his property owing to it. Qalībān's is the existing mosque. Architectural details connected with the various buildings are given by R. F. Burton (Pilgrimage to El-Medina and Mecca, London, 1855–55, vol. i. ch. xvii.), who also adds some details for the period since Samhādī. Apparently a certain amount of destruction was effected by the Wahhabis, who also plundered the treasures; but, when they had been forced to evacuate the place in 1815, the damage was made good.

Visitation of Medina is not incumbent on Muslims, but it is regarded as a devout act. The Prophet having said: 'Whoever performs the pilgrimage and visits me, God will not let him be mutilated by me' (quoted by Hariri, Maqāna 301). The visit is, of course, to the Prophet's grave, which is the object of interest in the sanctuary; for the Sunnis those of his first two successors and his daughter, who lie beside him, are also of importance. For a description of the tomb itself, which is screened off, but can be viewed from the road, see Burton (Travels, ii. p. 430).

MEDITATION.—See DEVOTION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE.

MEDITATION (Buddhist).—See BOHESATTVA, vol. ii. p. 762 ff., DHYANA.

MEEKNESS. 1. OT conception. The Hebrew word for meekness (nag) 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 the facts of experience with the principle that righteousness 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 suffering of the righteous and the success of the wicked are only temporary. In the end divine justice and the works of God (who are thus identified with the righteous), while the transient prosperity of evil-doers will end in calamity and downfall. Numerous exegetes, Christian teachers derive the conception of meekness from the OT, but enlarge and spiritualize its meaning and application. The deep significance attached to this con-
cept in the NT lies in its identification of the loftiest ideal with the profoundest reality. The meek man is thus defined as one who not only "resists evil" (Mt 5), but as one who "resists not evil" (Mt 5).

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. He believes that the rights of others make the rights of all others his own. Accordingly, Jesus calls upon His disciples to surrender even the most obvious rights of property (Mt 5). But the ground of such surrender is not the denial of individual 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).

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 means of the later forms of opposition, 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 is the basis of a group of all oppositions by depriving others of the very power of setting up interests in opposition to His own.

3. Philosophical conception. — (1) Its place in the history of ethics. — While other ethical systems have in many cases 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 pleasure 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 consciousness that is not momentary. Eudemonism (q.v.) seeks to repair this defect by setting up the happiness of the life as a whole as the summum bonum, but a fatal limitation of this view is that the happiness of life as a whole is incalculable. The balance of pleasures and of pains cannot be adjusted, and the values of competing pleasures cannot be quantitatively determined though they may be qualitatively distinguished. The same criticism applies to Utilitarianism (q.v.), for the greatest happiness of the greatest number is still less calculable than the happiness of the individual life as a whole. A further criticism applies to all three forms of Hedonistic ethics — the criticism that, if happiness alone is found, this radical defect can be met only by a radical change of ethical ideal. What the nature of the new standard is to be will depend upon the point of view taken. If this be the standpoint of Christian ethics, then the ultimate moral standard cannot be lower than the attainment of perfection; and an essential factor in the rule of conduct by which this ideal is to be realized is the quality of the manner in which the tasks are accomplished. True humbleness, reverence, consideration for others, self-respect without vanity, reverence, and perfect humility — for all these qualities are characteristic of the true meekman beside faith as the alone lead, according to Christian ethics, to the realization of moral perfection, and at the same time to the attainment of real temporal prosperity. In NT phraseology the meek are most truly happy (Mt 5) and blessed (Mt 5). The meek are, therefore, not only non-resistors (Mt 5), but also the inheritors of the earth.

But how is such a quality of character, which has its distinguishing features in an undertone of self-assertion, actually to achieve the conquests and acquire the possessions which are thus ascribed to it? The NT answer is twofold. On the one hand, it is to be achieved by the medium of the meekness of Christ; on the other, it is to be achieved by the meekness of the meek themselves.

(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 unwarlike or "meek" man will become predominant to make way for the survival of the fittest. There are some, therefore, who maintain that by supporting such institutions as hospitals, almshouses, and sanatoria we are retarding the process of evolution. It is evident that such a view degenerates and criminals, consumptives and lunatics, and, worst of all, taxing the sane, healthy, and law-abiding citizens for their support.

But this view fails to recognize 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 money, and efficiency for other pursuits that is entailed in our care for the aged and diseased is negligible when compared with the moral gain of the meekness indicated in the NT.

MEGARICS (Megarenses). — Platonists of the Megarian school of Megara are generally regarded as the founders of the Megarian school, though it would be more correct to keep the name for his successors a generation or two later. Platonists himself was an Eleatic and also an "associate" (tropos) of Socrates. The account of his philosophy given by E. Zeller (Philosophie der Griechen, n. 1, Leipzig, 1889, p. 244 f.) is vitiated by his adoption of Schleiermacher's identification of the Megarics with the "friends of the forms" (phlogos) of Plato's Sophist. It is quite impossible to reconcile the few facts we know about the teaching of the Megarics with the theory of plurality of forms, and Proclus, in his commentary on Plato's Parmenides (p. 149 ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1839-37), states quite distinctly that the "friends of the forms" were those who believe in the intrinsic nature of reality, 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 Megarian doctrine is that of Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd cent. A.D.), and some extracts from whose History of Philosophy are preserved in the Paraphrase of Eusebius (xiv. 17). Its Eleatic origin is at once apparent from these, and Aristotle expressly says that it was the first doctrine of Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, and Melinus, and later of Stilpo and the Megarics. In the first place, they made it their business to "throw" (exoáthelw, a metaphor from wrestling) all sensation and appearance, and to trust in reasoning alone. The method which they thus adopted was elaborated by Zeno, a method which was known as "dialectic" by its adherents and as "eristic" by its critics. It consisted in showing that all contradictory but equally cogent conclusions must be rejected with regard to everything without exception, and that there was no true at all in any of the appearances presented to our senses. That is
what Plato calls ἀριστολογία, and we still possess a curious fragment of speech generally known as the Dialektes (the name is without authority), which applies the method to certain ethical antinomies. It is most natural to regard this work as a predilection of Megara, and we know it was so held by Epicurus, who along with special tenacity to their native dialect.

The effect of this criticism is to leave us without anything but the One or the Whole (τὸ έν, τὸ ολό), and to deprive the Many and the Parts of all claim to participate in the whole.

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 had been a continuous, corporeal plenusa, whether finite (Parmenides) or infinite (Melissus), but Euclides took the step of identifying it with the Good, which was 'called by many names, such as God, and Mind (nous),' in a 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 incompatibility of the criticism of the One and the Absolute.'

The philosophy of Euclides had a very great influence on Plato, who had taken refuge with him at Megara after the death of Socrates, and it is to this influence that we may more probably ascribe the unique position assigned to the Good in the Republic. It was impossible, however, for Plato to acquiesce permanently in an Aristotelian doctrine of any kind; for that excluded from reality what was most interesting in the Soul, and especially the chief Soul of all, namely God. The Parmenides and the Sophist 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-Socrates of Megara, and from this time forward we may discern the beginnings of a distinct Megaric 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 no 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 Megaric attack, which was led by Eubulides. Aristotle's own logical theory was to a large extent abstracted from his own work, and the line was never given to his course on fallacies, the Sophists Enchechi, bears witness to it; for, since the time of Plato's Sophist, the old term had been revived as a name for thinkers of the class known later as Megarics. The fallacies exposed by Aristotle are, in fact, for the most part, Meagric arguments, and that is the explanation of the sense in which the words 'sofism' and 'sofist' have been used from that time to the present day. Many of these sofismes are well known, such as the Liar (μάχαιρα), the Veiled Man (μάκενος), or the Heap (σαρκόνιον). As an extreme specimen, we may take the argument of the Horns. 'What you have not lost, you have not.' Some of the arguments are more serious, however, and raise the problem of continuity.

The conclusion of Zeno is that of the school of the Eleatics, the rvntis acei (αριστολογία, referred to by Horace (Epist. II. i. 45). The most important of all is the problem of view, however, was the so-called of the Horns. What you have not lost, you have not. Therefore you have horns.' Some of the arguments are more serious, however, and raise the problem of possibility altogether. The argument may be stated thus: 'Nothing impossible can proceed from anything possible. But it is impossible that anything in the past should be other than it is. If it had been possible before it was the past, then it must have proceeded from a possibility. Therefore it was not possible that it should be other than it is. Therefore it is impossible that anything should happen.' Chrysippus confessed that he could not solve this, and Epicurus still based himself with it.

The ultimate foundation of the Megaric school as a philosophical sect was the work of Stilpo of Megara, who for some time after the death of Aristotle (322 B.C.) was the most important philosophical personality in Greece. When Poseidon took Megara in 397 B.C. he tried to induce Stilpo to return with him to Alexandria, but the invitation was declined. From the few facts that are told of him it is plain that he revived the positive side of the doctrine of Euclides and insisted on the necessity of reality for appearances. He makes the idea of man is to speak of nobody; for it is not to speak of A any more than of B. In the same way, he refused to admit that a cabbage shown to him was a cabbage. There was a certain sense ten thousand years ago. As he further denied the real existence of forms or species (εἴδη), whether in the Aristotelian or in the Platonic sense, it followed that everything was mere appearance. But when distinguished from all his predecessors, so far as we know, and what made Megaricism a reality for the first time, was the ethical principle which he deduced from this apparently barren Absolutism. It was the only ethical principle that such a doctrine can yield, that of quietism and insensitivity. Plato's nephew Socrates had already maintained that pleasure and pain were the same as the real world of things, and that good men at impartiality (ἀσκολεία), and the word 'apathy' (ἀπαθία) occurs in the Platonic Definitions (413 A), which belong to the early Academy. In his Ethics (1194, 24) Aristotle alludes to those who define the various forms of goodness as ἴδια and ἴδια. But it was Stilpo who made the doctrine live. Thales, who was his fellow-citizen and a little later in date, holds him up as the great example of indifference to the vicissitudes of fortune. It was significant of the influence of Aristotle in his influence in this direction by the Cynics; for the doctrine follows quite naturally from his denial of reality to the world of sense, which he certainly derived from a very different source. As Zeno of Citium was a disciple of Stilpo, we may certainly regard him as a spiritual ancestor of Stoicism.

The same tendency was represented by the school of Eretria, whose chief representative was Menedemos (c. 350-278 B.C.), and which regarded itself as an offshoot of the school of Eleus, which looked upon Pheno as its founder. We know little about it, but its existence bears witness to the growth of the quietist ideal and its intimate connexion with a metaphysical theory which rejects the appearances of the world and holds fast to the one conceived as absolute.

LITRAER—There is little literature dealing with the Megarics outside the general literature of ancient philosophy, and it is difficult to determine whether they may be regarded as anticipated. It will be sufficient to mention the work of C. Mallet, Histoire de l'étude de l'antiquité d'Eire, 1840, and E. Meir. RABBI MEIR. —Rabbi Meir, a Jewish sage who flourished in Palestine in the 2nd cent., belonged to the fourth generation of the Tannaim (Rabbis of the age of the Mishnah); he was one of the foremost disciples of Rabbi Aqiba, and helped, with
them, to give a new impulse 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 great was the estimation in which he was held that, by one another of those days, the nafs of Rabbinical authorities continued to teach, Meir stood by this (TIt. 57, 68, 78, 80). His associates were both great to the Law, and his human and practical place is also uncertain or unknown. Contrary to the Talmudic practice, he is cited without a patronymic, and his doubtful descent gave rise to the legend which made him a son of Nino, a fabled convert to Judaism (Gittin, 56a, 46v). Even his real name, Meahah (Moses), was half-forgotten. When Agiba, flouting the edict of the Roman authorities, continued to teach, Meir stood by him (TIt. 57, 68, 78, 80). His other masters were Rabbi Ishmael, to whom he went because he seemed to him intellectually unequal to the task of following Agiba's discourses, and—a still more interesting fact—Eliezer ben Abuyah, who was later to become an apostate and a declared friend of the Romans. From the latter, recreant though he was, Meir did not altogether dissociate himself in after years. He listened to his doctrine, and made discreet use of it.

"Like one who eats dates, he devoured the fruit, but threw away the stones" (Miqra, 180). His motive was not to win the love of learning; there united with it grateful regard for one who had once been a cherished teacher, and likewise the hope of winning back the renegade; but his relations with Eliezer, alas! he died with sunshine and were partly the reason why his reputation with his contemporaries fell short of his posthumous fame.

Returning to Agiba later on, Meir was ordained by that master, and began to teach in the Rabbinical schools. In his discourses he availed himself largely of the Haggadah (the homiletical method of Scriptural interpretation) and also of fables and parables. Thus it was said of him in later times that "when Rabbi Meir died the parable-makers died with him" (Sifra, 49a). He is credited with being the author of three hundred tales, of which only a few have been preserved in the Talmudic writings (Sanhedrin, 33b). His knowledge of Latin and Greek also helped him in his Biblical lectures. His acquaintance with the sacred text was so extensive and precise that, whenever he had to expound a verse, he exhibited a smugness in his eyes. For such a one he was, as the saying goes, a synagogus on the eve of the Feast of Purim and found that there was no copy of Esther forth-coming for public recital, he wrote out the entire book from memory (TIt. 57, 68, 78, 80). For this intimate knowledge of the sacred text he was doubtless largely indebted to his profession as a scribe. Compared with the exegetical methods of his immediate teachers, his own mode of interpretation may be said to have been rationalism, keen and bold dialectic played a large part in his expositions, so that it was said of him (Sanh. 29a) that, in his lectures, he was like one who uprooted mountains and ground them together. He amassed and perplexed his colleagues by his daring decisions. He would declare the unlearned permitted and the forbidden as well.

It was usual to regard consecutive passages in the Bible as necessarily having a common subject-matter; Meir, however, held a different opinion. There are many such passages, he declared (Sipri to Nu 25:4) that, in his view, "the two passages are connected by their common subject-matter and the different order in which they are cited is due to the different point of view from which the same subject is treated."

This originality of his was viewed differently by different minds. Some admired his rationalism and courage; "Meir's very staff," they cried, "teaches knowledge" (Jerus. Testim. 14, 9). Others disapproved. "Enough, Meir," protested his colleagues when once he was more than usually daring (Mird. Rab. to Ca. 186). Nevertheless, as Hamburger remarks (ii. 707; as to the protest see H. Weiss, Geruch. ii. 15), in virtue of his qualities of mind and heart, he breathed into Judaism the breath of a new life, and the "Reshalah" (the body of decisions on ritual practice), his orderly and logical arrangement of the material contributed greatly to make the compilation of the Mishnah possible. He was a stringent upholder of the ritual Law; but he was even more strict with himself than with others.

"Never have I presumed to set aside, in my own personal practice, the decisions of my colleagues whom those decisions have been more stringent than mine" (Shebith. 136a).

His strength of character is further illustrated by his opposition to Simon ben Gamaliel and his presiding over the Sanhedria in Usha. To Meir had been assigned the office of Ḥakhdim of that body (as to the duties of that functionary see J. E., art. "Bakam"). Holding Simeon's knowledge of the Law inadequate, and resenting the President's excessive regard for his own dignity, he conspired with Rabbi Nathanael, one of his associates, to secure the Patriarch's deposition. Simeon, however, defeated the plot, and it was the leader who was ejected. Later on Nathanael was re-admitted, but Meir sturdily refused to make the necessary submission, and he narrowly escaped expatriation in consequence.

His domestic life was at once happier and sadder. His wife Beruria (Valeria) is one of the great women of the Talmud. The daughter of the martyr Rabbi Hananah ben Teradion, who suffered under Hadrian, she was well-educated in learning and moral worth. The touching story which records her wonderv ful 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 with the sad tidings from her husband until the day of peace without a tear of pity, but tallied the hours, and when she was told of it in a parable. "A friend," she said, "left me some jewels to keep for him 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 (Mird. Hidd. to A. 171). 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 uncomely neighbours, Meir angrily called 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," but "Let sin be consumed" (the allusion is to Ps. 106:40, where the Hebrew is susceptible of Beruria's interpretation: for the story see Br. 16). The Rabbi, despite a certain severity and intolerance, was worthy of his wife. His defects were the defects of his qualities. 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 human kindness. Echoing Ec 5:4, he says, "Let thy words before God be few; school thyself to say, 'Whatever God doeth He doeth well' (Job 36:5). And, again, 'As we should treat God, so should we praise Him for good and evil' (Job 13:14). Good itself suffers with His sorrowing children (Mish. Sanh. 107)." Exponenting 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 comes to good for those who pass hence with a good name (Br. 17a). Again, he said that what, according to On 19, God saw and proclaimed 'very good' at the Creation was death (Mird. Rab. to Be. 19). The section of the Mishnah known as Akedah.
Melancholy.

_MELANCHOLY._—In Greek philosophy 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 temperaments. 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 descriptions of cases, of taking into account the "temperament" of each patient. The differences 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-
pussles, etc.—or in its circulation; if the nervous
system, is in the strength or the rate of reaction, or
both. Henle made use of the conception of nerve-
tone, which has since been retained and developed
(Anthropologische Vortrage). No part of the
nervous system, he showed, is ever wholly at rest
during life; every stimulus, even of a certain degree of
excitement already present in the nerve-endings and
nerve-fibres on which it acts; what we call
rest is, therefore, a moderate degree of activity,
which is the steady state; for fall, and which is maintained
by internal stimuli, acting through the blood. This
is the 'tone' of the nerves, their preparedness for
action; the higher the tones, the stronger the
reaction. On the nerve-tone will, therefore, depend
the sensibility of the individual, his prevailing
emotional attitude, and his quickness and firmness of
response. A low tone shows itself in the dull,
slow expression of face (in the phlegmatic, e.g.),
the relaxed muscles, the deliberate movements,
the tendency to 'run to fat'; a high tone in the
vivid complexion, alert expression, and quick
movements of the sanguine or choleric. The
nervous system according to Henle, has also a high
nerve-tone, but reacts through the emotional or
affective system, rather than the voluntary;
whereas the choleric relieves feeling by prompt and
strenuous action, the melancholic is denied this
and is therefore slow. The melancholy is the brooding
up and nursing of emotions, a habit from which gains,
or, it may be, merely hypochondria and hysteria,
spur. Wendt's simple formula has been widely
accepted; that temperament is primarily a question of
emotions, that emotion undergoes two Forms of
change, one in intensity, or strength, the other in
rate; hence the fourfold division: strong and quick;
slow and strong; melancholic; weak and quick;
and languid. Strong emotions under modern conditions make
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 melancholic (Grundzuge der
physiol. Psychologie, Ill. 637). The scheme is too
simple to fit the complexities and subtleties of human
character, however, and there is no general
agreement even as to the number of distinct
temperaments, as many as nine having been suggested,
1. Melancholy and pain.—Melancholy differs
from other dispositions in being well-recognized
temporary emotion or mood, one that will
not be changed to a prolonged
or permanent trait, and also in being in an extreme
form 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 deals, and of which the 'causes,
symptoms, prognostics, and cures' are set forth with such fertility
of illustration, is 'an habit,—a chronic or continuous
perilous', but it is built up, as he recognizes,
out of 'melancholy in disposition', which is 'that transitory
Melancholy which comes and goes upon the smallest occasion
of cares, fear, grief, passion, or perturbation of the mind, any manner of care, discontent, or thought,
with a mixture of anguish, dulness, heaviness and vizitation
of spirits, any ways opposed to pleasure, joy, delight, causing
inwardness in us, or a dislike. In which equivocal and
tempting sense, we call him melancholy that is dull, and empty,
limp, ill-disposed, solitary, any way moved, or displeased.'
Melancholy in this sense is the character of Mortality
(L. 164 [ed. London, 1656]).
It might be said that this temporary melancholy
is merely mental pain, however caused, and that the
manifestation or disposition or habit is a state of
mind in which many of the characteristics of the
dominant tone.
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 slow, the tempem-
ture lowered, the nutrition-processes, including the
appetite, impaired, so that the body seems in-
sufficiently fed. One of the immediate consequences
is a loss of sensibility 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 thinks only of himself and his sufferings; altrui-
istic passions, family affection yield to an egoism of the most
exacting and extreme type' (H. Héritier, Les Sensations
internes, Paris, 1859, p. 188).}

Mental pain may be less acute, but it is more
persistent than physical pain, and it has the same
reverberation throughout the organism. The dis-
tinction 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 most common cause of the former, physical
pain, is the over-excitation or exhaustion of some
sense or motor nerve; so the most common cause
of the latter, mental pain, is that of over-
exhaustion of the brain centres and tracts concerned
in ideation, emotion, memory, and will. Love and
over-study were two of Burton's causes of melan-
choly. So melancholy may be the result of fatigue, or
of irritability, due to excessive functioning on the
emotional or intellectual side, especially when the
strain has not been rewarded with success.

The extraordinary persistence of melancholy,
owing to its difficulty in discriminating the mind from it, is, due, as Beaunis urges, not
merely to the fact that it causes—the desires, the memories—
are persistent, but also to 'the accuracy of the irritant, which
is at the root of all mental pains, the idea that all
is lost and without hope. The mother who knows that she
never see again the child that has died in her arms, the artist
who sees that he will never be able to realise the ideal of
his dreams, the inventor who has discovered a lead up to
richness, the poet whose verse, that he believes to be inspired,
are laughed at, the thinker who seeks the key of knowledge
and cannot find it, the Christian who sees the fountaining 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. 23).

2. Melancholy and the sense of values.—Melan-
choly 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 its 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 infirmity.
Probably the time of greatest frequency is the
period of adolescence; in middle and old age it
tends to disappear, to be replaced in senility, occa-
ionally, by a state outwardly similar, but
inwardly different. Byron's lameness and Heine's
and Leopardi's delusions 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, melan-
choly is more common among the young, healthy,
and vigorous. It did not exist among
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 torrent which he
describes in The Sorrow of Werther, 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 (E. Metchnikoff, Essays optimistes, pt.
viii.). The intensity of feeling for 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 their nervous system, but rather to the fact that the elder 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, whereas for the young each impression is taken in isolation, is weighed only in its relation to the immediate needs or desires of the self. Hence, in the better part of his life, the older man experiences more happiness, and the deeper pain. In 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 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. Suicides 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, 497]; and Mechnikov and 106). 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 more intense, the more acute, 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 Klee, painting of Baudelaire, 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 and its power to affect the individual is impossible. The individual may no longer have the intellectual belief, 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 the environment, in matters of faith and belief. The stronger the resistance of facts to the realization of the thinker’s dream, the deeper his melancholy. To the mystic 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 reality in the whole company the soul walks as a child in its father’s, who loves it, knows it, understands it.

Once an illusion so strong and so sweet has gone, says Bouguereau, a child of less intensity will suffice; after the intoxication of opium, that of wine seems mean and paltry. Driven away at the touch of the world, faith leaves in such souls 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 reasonable but convincing figure of that which lives, and moves, and works, and endures in all alveolus, and delivers from all doubts. —Death (Paul Bourget, Rêvées de psychologie contemporaine, Paris, 1892, p. 11).

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. 1

1 Le mensonge du désir qui nous fait assister entre la brutalité mortuaires des circonstances et les impuissances plus irrépétibles seuls (p. 125).

It is the melancholy of nature after the storm of evening, of the gray light that comes after the sunset, of the brown tints of autumn trees—exhaustion or decay after stress and life.

It is the melancholy that is associated with pensiveness, deliberation, thought, as in Milton's II Penseroso—the melancholy of the poet and of the philosopher. Beausiris connects this also with pain, however. When man reflects, he is forced to recognize, according to Beausiris, that he is born to pain, and that pleasure is only an accessory in his life.

There is no physical pleasure which can compensate for an hour of unions pestilence, so much less a moral. The death of those we love, no intellectual pleasure which is not annihilated when we think of how much is unknown in our fate. Futility, the inescapable pessimism, is at the root of every reasoning, of every meditation (p. 322).

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 found disturbing. When worry over them, they are able to set their worries at rest by the acceptance of a solution ready-made, on the authority of the Church or the pastor. 3

Melancholy and exhaustion.—The essential nature of melancholy has been probed more deeply from the point of view of pathology, and in various ways the idea of exhaussted or decreased energy has been brought into connexion with the known laws of mental activity. To Bevan Lewis melancholy means nervous enfeeblement; the subject is no longer able to do easily and smoothly even the most familiar and habitual acts; it is only with effort that he can think, or attend to what he hears, or fear. It appears to us that the true explanation is due to mental operations being reduced in level so far as to establish conscious effort in lieu of the usual unconscious operations, or haphazard states of consciousness which accompany all intellectual processes. The restless movements of the intellectuality, (in the artist, poet, etc.), as well as those of the state of mental excitement, bespeak in the former case the excited muscular element of thought, and in the latter case the same feeling, but in the melancholy these muscles of relational life are usually at rest, the eye is fixed, dull, heavy, sluggish in its movements and painful in effort, the eyelids are drooped, the limbs motionless. The only muscles in a state of tension are those which subserve emotional life, vital, small muscles of expression ("Textbook on Mental Disease, p. 121.

The use seems less clearly, the mind interprets less accurately; the will acts less vigorously, and less effectively; 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 sluggishness and inertia. The environment, the non-ego, appears as antagonistic or foreign to the self; it is no longer the world in which we moved freely and easily, therefore pleasant, but one which is strange and strange, which resists our efforts and centers our desires. The result is a rise in the subject-consciousness; the mind is thrown back upon itself. The man 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 neurasthenia psychique, or psychic misery, with its accompanying disaggregation of the personality, and subjugation of the consciousness 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 seen simple instances of how acts are carried out which correspond to ideas or thoughts in the mind of the subject, yet the acts are neither voluntary nor conceived on his part; he is aware of the result, not of his own tyranny or 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. Here we have a more systematized form of the same thing.
Finally, in hypnotism, 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 lead to actions 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 unaware even that he was the physical 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, immodesty, or crime. He becomes estranged from himself—and this doublelessness is itself an added source of destruction; it is the same in effect whether the two personalities are at each other's ear, when alternating personalities, or exist simultaneously, although acting separately; the disaggregation means an impairment of the self, often revealed by an actual loss of power, weakened concentration of attention and will. The subject becomes more confused about his own feelings, his strength of will, his health, his prospects in life, etc. This subjectivity is the essence of the melancholy disposition. It remains to ask what is the cause of the disaggregation of consciousness, the psychological misery, of which melancholy is so prominent a symptom. According to Janet, the cause may be either physical or mental; as the exhaustion of a prolonged illness, or of a sudden shock, or continued over-exertion, in heavy physical strain; or mental, as in the shock of terror, excessive grief, prolonged mental worry, strong emotional excitement (e.g., religious). 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 disaggregation and depression. The theory is not widely different in effect from that of Bevan Lewis; in both it is the co-ordinating power that fails, through nervous exhaustion; the elementary forces fall apart, and the subject seems out of touch with his environment, is unable to face the tasks of his social or occupational life. According to the degree of disaggregation or rise of subject-consciousness, there may be simple melancholy, hysteria, or actual insanity (F. Janet, L'Automatisme psychologique, p. ii. ch. 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 and the emotions are clear, the threshold is higher, the perceptions based upon them are blurred, partly from the relaxation of the muscles of attention, partly from the absorption of the mind by the new, more imaginary. The individual neither sees nor hears so clearly as before; the commonest objects may look strange, the most familiar voice sound different; but these things are interpreted not as a change in the experiencing subject, but as a change in the object experienced. One's friends, one's country, one's world have changed, 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 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 memories of my own life lose their emotional tone; they seem to belong to another self. 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.

Janet is said to have well expressed the desire to know when it is turned upon itself, is punished like the curiosity of Psychology by the flight of the beloved object; the outward-facing look makes for health; too prolonged a look leads to nothingness. By analysis I am annihilated.' And again, 'All personal happenings, all the experiences are for me pretext to meditation. Such is the life of the thinker. He desexualizes himself every day; he consents to experiment and to act, it is the better to understand; if he wills, it is to know what will. Although it is sweet to him to be loved, and he knows nothing sweeter, there again he seems to himself the occasion of the phenomenon rather than its author. He contemplates the spectator 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. Duques de P. Moutier, La Dépersonnalisation, Paris, 1931, p. 138 f.).

This is an exact description of the frame of mind in the milder forms of melancholy, that of the poet or artist, like Byron, Edgar Allan Poe, Heine, the young Goethe, etc. Shakespeare's Hamlet is a classical instance; he is not real experimenters, real agents, or lovers, but as 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 mental.

A somewhat different way of putting the case of melancholy might be drawn from the writings of S. Freud and others of his or allied schools—viz., that depression springs from the influence of a morbid complex on the will. The subject may be any strong emotional experience, shock, terror, social disaster, etc. Wishes, desires, more or less closely connected with the shock-complex, are repressed, at first conscious, but then, as the 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, when repressed, for its repression, a considerable degree of the available psychic energy; the individual is mentally 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 'censor' 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 fears, obsessions, sudden impulses, etc. For the most part these dreams and impulsive acts 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 origin and of their meaning; 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 high degree of 'perseveration,' as it is 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. On the
other hand, such memories are not 'sociable'; they do not bring other thoughts 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 elog thought. The subject becomes more and more conscious of inefficiency in his profession or in his social life; and the consciousness of failure has the unconscious sense 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 the subjective attitude of the individual, 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 Stirringer, Mental Pathology, p. 292 ff.), tend to be of the same emotional tone as that of the disposition in which they are called up, i.e., painful, depressing; the melancholy sees only the sad, the tragic, the bitter side of things, the pain that is suffered, the sins and crimes and follies that follow, the not the pleasures, the kindness, the goodness, that are in things. Hence 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 natural counterpart; 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, membra i.), and James's "Varieties of Religious Experience," lects. vi. and vii. on "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 values 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 that the world, and people, look different; and the life of different persons, strange and real. 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 action of other beings upon oneself. Either of these ways may lead to religious conversion and relief.

6. Moroseness. The pathologist Pinel, in his treatise on "Mental Alienation," depicted melancholy as 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 choleric suspicions; the other is the type to which the Emperor Tiberius and Louis XI. of France belonged—men who are gloomy and taciturn, deeply suspicious of others, fond of solitude. Similar to the former is the dominant mark, with cunning and duplicity of the most dishonourable and cruel kind, which, if power is added, become fiercer and more restricted as age increases (P. Pinel, "L'Aliénation mentale," Paris, 1809, p. 161). This coincides 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 life or place, and to avoid them in consequence. It involves extreme self-centring and misanthropy.

Melanesians are a mixture of the imaginative, moroseness of the unimaginitive mind—the man who does not aspire beyond that which he has already attained, the man of narrow range of ideas, unable to appreciate the values that others place upon them, especially the ideal values. Probably the pivot of the morose character is, like that of melancholy, fear or anxiety.

As de Pursac has said of the miser, 'It is undoubtedly true that from insecurity springs anxiety, and that anxiety becomes torture and a source of trouble for the individual; it affects the diminution of activity, the development of defensive tendencies to the detriment of the expansive tendencies, the cult of absolute security, and the horror of risk. It is intimately bound up with insecurity' ("L'Avarie," p. 35).

This is true also of the man who lives in a state of inferiority of position, in narrow and selfish characters; there is no sense of the solidarity of the race, even of the family; the morose man sees only the bad side, the weaknesses of his neighbours; he has no sympathy with any kind of feeling for others; he is vindictive, and, if opportunity allows, savage, brutal, cruel.


J. L. McIntyre.

MELANESIANS.—1. 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 Samos, which is Polynesian. To the south the Melanesian island of New Caledonia is separated by a considerable space of ocean from New Zealand, which is Polynesian, 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. Some of the inhabitants of that vast island are Melanesian, as any that are familiar with their 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 1568 the same voyager discovered Santa Cruz and in 1606 Quiros 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 we have done, according to their own conceptions of savage beliefs. It was not till missionaries, about 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 imparted by the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England. The religion of the Fijians is considered in another article (see FJ). The account given here has been drawn from the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' Islands, and that of the Northern New Hebrides. It has been gathered from natives of those groups in native language, and much of it has been gained from what educated natives have written in a very slight, 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 whatever sources 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, plants, trees, houses, etc., and passed from person to person, either by men, alive or dead, or by spirits and animals. This 'sense of the Infinite,' as Max Muller (Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion [HL], London, 1878, lect. 1) 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 confined to 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 not fixed in anything, but can abide and be continued 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 chanted or muttered charms. If worship is addressed to beings who are not living men, and if the power of their power is sought from them to do good or to do harm, it is because such beings have this mana; the forms of words have efficacy because they derive it from the beings which have mana; a common object, such as a stone, becomes efficacious for certain purposes because such being has mana power. 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 over all other beings. 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 supernatural power, or turning it, either directly or indirectly, to the advantage of the worshipper. These personal objects of worship are either spirits or ghosts. By spirits are meant personal beings in whom the spiritual power already mentioned naturally abides, and who were men; by ghosts are meant the disembodied spirits or souls of men. To keep in mind that it is essential to the understanding of Melanesian religion, Natives themselves are found to confine them at times, 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 evi, wrote the following definition:

'What is a spirit? It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are out of sight without seeing; is powerful with mana; has no form to be seen; and has no soul, because it is itself a soul' (see Cottingham, Melanesians, p. 123).

The evi of the Northern New Hebrides is of the same nature as the evi of the New Hebrides, being 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 superhuman and supernatural 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 these beings, concerning whom stories were told and believed in the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides which showed them to be like men of more human power and intelligence, and therefore to be called gods. Such were Qat in the Banks' Islands, Tagaro, Supe (in various forms of the names) 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 evi, 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 these, to distinguish them from dead men, the best general term seems 'spirit'; and it is to these beings that the religion of the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands looks, as possessing and wielding mana, the power which must be called spiritual, which men have not in themselves, and which they seek to obtain for their advantage by sacrifices, prayers, and charms.

(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 tamate or nainate. In the Solomon Islands a very common word in various forms is tindalo. The question again occurs whether these beings are not rather 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 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 never to have belonged to the living 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 so plainly apply. Yet the natives emphatically declare that every tindalo was once a man, that the tindalo is the spirit (terumpa) which once was the flesh and source of life, and power in a man who was then in the body. The living men 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 them have a measure of that power, derived from the dead. They believe that, when they become gods, they will also, when they are called upon as a child. Such appeals are not prayers according to the meaning of the various native words which would be translated 'prayer' in English. Prayers in the native sense are forms of words and, in another sense, are formulas which are known only to the person and which may be uttered in a certain way. They are, however, not the same as the word 'prayer' in the English language. A man in danger by the sea may call on his father, grand-

father, 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 noted 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 the Banks Islands and the Northern New Hebrides, where spirits have a more important place in native religion than ghosts, all prayer must be addressed to the god of a dead person. Indeed, every prayer 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 formula is employed. It is also true that men 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 these he seeks benefits to himself and mischief to his enemies. A tataro prayer is a spell; it is a call for help in danger is a cry.

5. Sacrifices.—There can be little doubt that sacrifices properly so called have a place in Melanesian religion. One simple form of sacrifice is 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 in the West Indies, 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 always eat the offerings which they receive in the strict sense. In the Western Islands the offerings in sacrifices are made to ghosts and consumed by fire as well as eaten; in the Eastern groups they are made to spirits, and there is no sacrifice of food. In the former nothing is offered but food; in the latter 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 who was present at the place:

"In my country they think ghosts are many, very many indeed, some very powerful, some not. There is one who is a principal in war; this one is truly mighty. The only thing we need is to understand that our people wish to fight with any other place, the chief men of the village and the sacrificers, and the old men, and the men elders and young, assemble in the place next to this ghost;"
and his name is Harumae. When they are thus assembled to sacrifice, the chief sacrifices goes and takes a pig. ... The pig is killed (strangled), not by the chief sacrificer, but by those whom he chooses to assist him, near the sacred place. Then they throw him to the ground; and, as the priest tells it should, he falls upon the ground; they bring a bowl and set the pig in it, and they cut the blood out of the pig; then the blood runs down into this. When the cutting up is finished, the chief sacrificer takes a bit of flesh from the pig, and he takes a coco-nut shell and dips up some of the blood. Then he takes a long stick and the bit of flesh and enters into the shrine, and calls that ghost and says, "Harumae! Chief! I give you this pig to you with this pig, that you may help us to smite that place; and whatsoever we shall carry away shall be yours, and we also will be yours." Then he burns the bit of flesh and the coco-nut shell, and comes down the fire is upon the fire. Then the fire blazes up freely to the roof, and the house is filled with the smell of the pig, a sign that the ghost has heard. But when the sacrificer went in he did not go boldly, but with fear, and this is the sign of it: as he goes into the holy house he puts away his bag, and washes his hands thoroughly, to show that the ghost shall not reject him with disgust." (Coddington, p. 396.)

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 sacred island of Malaita a native also gives the names of seven kinds of sacrifice: (1) A man returning from a voyage puts food before the case which contains the relics of his father. (2) In sickness, or where failure of a crop shows that sacrifice for the favourable season has not been offered, a substitute for the man whom the offended ghost is plaguing, and is strangled and burned whole on the stones of a sacred place, together with mixed food. (3) The dead man calls aloud upon the offended ghost and upon many others, and sets a bit of the food which he has left unburned before the relic case of the dead man to whose ghost the pig was offered. (4) 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 sacrifice into the sea or sets it in the place sacred to the ghost invoked. (5) (6) (7) are sacrifices of first-fruits—yams, flying-fish, and caranuru nuts—which are presented as food to the ghost concerned, with the invocatory names and in a sacred place. In Florida and Ysabel, both belonging to the Solomon group, sacrifice is of the same character. There are those who know, having been taught by the chief, or by the headman, 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 tinu, had his shrine in which his relics were preserved. The officiating sacrificer is said to 'throw the sacrifice.' A certain tinu, whose worship and influence are not local, is called Manoga. A native writes:

"He throws the sacrifice when he invokes this tinu, he hears the offering round about, and calls him, first to the East, where rises the sun, saying, 'If thou dwellst in the East, where riseth the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy mash food.' Then turning his face towards where sets the sun, and says, 'If thou dwellst in the West, where sets the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy mash food.' There is not a quarter towards which he does not invert the direction. And when he has finished calling it he says, 'If thou dwellst in heaven above, Manoga! come hither and eat thy mash food. If thou dwellst in the Pleiades or in Orion's belt; if below is Turritwain; if the distant sea is as high in the sun or in the moon; if thou dwellst inland or by the sea, Manoga! come hither and eat thy mash food.'" (Coddington, p. 396.)

Whether, as in this case, the offering be vegetable food or whether it be a pig, a piece is consecrated to the spirits that dwell in the place, and the people without partake of the sacrificial food. In these islands, moreover, the sacrifice of the firstfruits must precede the general use of the products of each season.

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; the meat was burned. If the piece of flesh which was offered; but a piece of flesh was burned for the ghost's portion, and bits were eaten by young men to get fighting power, and by the sacrificer who had made the sacrifice. In the island of Santa Cruz the flesh of pigs or vegetable food is placed before the stock of wood that represents a person recently deceased for him to eat; feathers are also put by him, and victims of flesh are offered for ghosts, and food is thrown to them at sea. These are distinctly offered for the ghost to eat or use, but are soon taken up and disposed of by the offerings 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 nature and associations of the thing itself, or

(2) In Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.—To offerings here, no doubt, the name of sacrifice is far less properly applicable than the word presentation, which it is necessary to employ. The offerings are made in almost all cases to spirits, but in some cases to 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 which benefits are sought. Access to the spirit is to be obtained through the sacred object; but the common worshipper or supplicant 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 presentation, an offering of what the supplicant 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 that, besides similar sacrifices to spirits, offerings are made to the ghosts of powerful men lately deceased, either at their graves or in the places which they haunt. Men who know these and have access to them take mud, food, and pigs living or cooked, dedicated 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 for themselves, and have preserved their connexion with the spirit by the success of their ministrations.

(6) Sacred places and objects.—The sanctity which belongs to such stones as have been mentioned in connexion with sacrifice has, of course, a religious character. Native life in Melanesia is, for the most part, in continual contact with the spirits and the divinities which belong to this religious feeling. 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
it may be conferred by men who have the mana, the technical name for power or property. 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 images are made more or less in all quarters to represent the dead, being set up as totems at funerals, in burial-places, in canoe houses, and in places of general assembly. They are treated with respect; offerings of food are made, and other valuable things are occasionally lately to 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 represent.

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 for other reasons become sacred, stones which have that character are brought and placed there. Here again recurs the importance of the relations between spirits and ghosts. The stones of the burial-place of a powerful man receive mana from him; and if a man had mana buried near sacred stones, this connecting the ghost to the soul of a living man; but the native believed that the human spirit connected between the sacred stones and spirits. Many sacred stones 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 to a god, and in Eastern Islands, because a certain spirit (a kind of human ghost) belongs to it. In this group stones may be divided into those that naturally lie where they are reverenced and those which have mana derived for various reasons from a spirit, and which are carried about and used for various purposes, 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, but by it or, as they say, at it; they regard the stone as the instrument used by the spirit, which retains the stone or 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., that 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 mana of man. Streams or rather pools, are sacred as the haunts of ghosts in the Western, and of spirits in the Eastern groups. The reflexion of a man's face upon such water gives the ghost or spirit the hold upon the man's soul by which it 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 color haunts a shore or rock in the Solomon Islands, it is taken to be a person'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 may be used as a weapon or charm; and the Banks' Island crocodile may be a tindalo, since the ghost of a recent ancestor may possibly have entered it, or may be known as a spirit. Among the Melanesians any living creature that haunts a house, garden, or village may well be regarded as conveying a ghost. Among birds the frigate-bird is conspicuous for its sacredness in the Solomon Islands; the ghosts of deceased men of importance find their abode in them, and indeed ancient and widely venerated tindalos dwell in them. In all the groups there is something sacred about kingfishers. 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 which are believed to be such spirits to themselves, and which therefore have much mana, are worshipped and have special names and are venerated in sacred places. One amphibious snake is firmly believed to appear in human form to tempt a young man or woman.

As, then, the religion of the Melanesians altogether an animistic religion? Nowhere does there 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 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, still appears near and with the object, which by this 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, as we may say, 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 natives recognize, on the whole, spirits 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 by men of 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 is not human. By charms (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 things through which the power is to pass. These things are personal associations, remains of food, herbs and leaves, bones of dead men, and stones of unusual shape. Through these objects wizards, doctors, weather-nongers, prophets, diviners, and dreamers do their work. There is no distinct, a ceremony 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 take a profession of theft or to get property and influence thereby. A man cannot, it may be said, be a chief without a belief that he possesses this super-natural power. There is no doubt that those who exercise it are mischievous to their neighbors, and perhaps reside in them, though, indeed, they are conscious of a good deal of deceit.

A great part of this is sympathetic magic, and seems to the people to be real in itself. The failure of some charm or of some magician does not discredit charms or magic, since the failure is due to the counteraction 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 one case of all disease is seen as caused by spirits, and no serious illness is believed to be caused by ghosts or spirits; and the more important the patient is the more reasonable it seems to ascribe his sickness to his own act or to the witchcraft of someone. It is not common to ascribe sickness to a spirit in these 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 induced to remove it; 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 when dead, because all human powers which 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 wizard who is the more powerful—who has on his side the more or the stronger ghosts—will prevail, and the sick man will live or die accordingly. The San Cristoval fight the battle out with ghostly spear. 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.

8. 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 in some islands, that a man is awful and, so to speak, religious character can be imposed on places, things, and actions by men who have the momo to do it. A place, e.g., in which spiritual control is affected, is called by the name of a spirit that 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 proper power can tapu a place as he chooses, and forthwith appropriates it and has the 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 appearance it is a chief that he forbids, and as a chief that he prohibits is respected; but in fact the sanctions comes from the ghost or spirit behind him. If a man has the power to tabu, he as may and sometimes does, he runs a serious risk; but if, on the other hand, he forbids the gathering of that a power that resides in them, though, indeed, they are conscious of a good deal of deceit.

A great part of this is sympathetic magic, and seems to the people to be real in itself. The failure of some charm or of some magician does not discredit charms or magic, since the failure is due to the counteraction 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 one case of all disease is seen as caused by spirits, and no serious illness is believed to be caused by ghosts or spirits; and the more important the patient is the more reasonable it seems to ascribe his sickness to his own act or to the witchcraft of someone. It is not common to ascribe sickness to a spirit in these 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 induced to remove it; 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 when dead, because all human powers which 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 wizard who is the more powerful—who has on his side the more or the stronger ghosts—will prevail, and the sick man will live or die accordingly. The San Cristoval fight the battle out with ghostly spear. 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.

9. Totemism. If totems, properly so called, exist among Melanesians, they must be considered in treating their religion. A totem is defined by J. G. Frazer (Totemism and Exogamy, London, 1910, i. 326, 8) as being 'a class of material objects to which a savage regards with superstitions 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 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, in 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 kuna, 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 mba or of the kuna. In one case, and one case only, islands, that is the Kiwai, is eaten without taboo, and would say that the pigeon was his ancestor. Here, then, the pigeon appears as the totem of the Eagle kin; they cannot eat it; it is their ancestor. But was a pigeon their ancestor
in the sense that they are descended from it? Decidedly not. It was a human ancestor who associated himself with the pigeon; the pigeon represents the dead man, the pigeon is a tindalo, a dead man of power called "tindalo," and a thing abnormally valuable, the "miedlo," to those to whom the tindalo (once a living man) becomes.something. 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, it is not even a symbol. It is an example of another kindred which avoids the giant clan, the traditional ancestor of which haunted a certain beach. That ghostly ancestor is represented by the clan on that beach, and a native will say that the clan 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, Uluwai, 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 his spirit would not eat it, thus accounting for their avoidance of the banana as food. The explanation was that this man, before his death, announced that after death he would be in banana fruit, and that they were 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 not a totem, though it may illustrate the "individual totem".

(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 is so intimate 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 Melanesia, conceived that they had a peculiar connexion with a living creature, or it might be that the creature had a close connexion with its creator, either after death 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 his origin in something that had presented itself to him. In Aurora Island in the New Hebrides, a woman dreamed of a spirit, which she thought was something—e.g., a coco-nut— which has a particular relation to her unborn child, and this child, hereafter must never eat.

10. Societies, mysteries, and dances. (1) Societies. A very conspicuous feature of native life in the Melanesian Islands, and New Hebrides is the universal presence in those groups of a society, called by some form of the name superc, an institution which is entirely social, and has no religious character. To gain advance and distinction in it requires, no doubt, the spiritual power of mana, as does every other form of success, and so sacrifices, prayers, and charms are used; and doubtless the superc is under the sanction of tabu. It is also true that a man's position after death is believed to depend in some measure on his rank and his liberality in this life; 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 lodges of these societies appear 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 tabu 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 deifically or profanely connected with the dead, the ghosts which are everywhere, more or less, objects of religious worship. In the Banks' Islands, the word "mysteries" was simply "the Ghosts." Yet, although within the mysterious precincts the ordinary forms 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 a man did 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 accident betrayed the neighbourhood in disguise; and the neophyte, when initiated 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 Melanesian, 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.

(3) Dances. All the Melanesians have their dances, which are part of the mysteries, and which it is the first task of the neophyte to learn. But there are dances everywhere in the public life of the people which, however difficult, all boys and young men desire to learn, and have to learn in secret before they can perform them at the feasts. The ghosts in Hades, in their shadowy life, dance as living men do. Visitors are too apt to speak of "devil dances" and "devil grounds"; but it may be said to be certain that dances, as such, have no religious or supernatural character in Melanesia.

11. Creation, cosmogony. The consciousness of the relation of the creator is accepted as a chief ground of natural religion. Consequently, when natives are asked (perhaps very imperfectly) who made them and the things around them, and they give the name of the maker to whom the original is ascribed, they are thought to name their creator; and it is assumed that this creator is the chief object of their worship. Thus Qat, under the name of Fik, was thought at first to be the father of all, and the name of the supposed creator has elsewhere been taken as the name of God. But creation, the making of men and things, is by no means a proof of very great power, or a ground for great reverence, among Melanesian people, it
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 Banks’ Islanders was a recent discovery; the course of all the great movements of nature, are quite independent of that creative power which was ascribed to certain spirits. The makers were spirits, or deities, or birds, or animals. The Kishikis were characterized by a female spirit in the shape of a snake; she made men, pigs, cacao-nuts, fruit-trees, and food in San Cristoval; death had not yet appeared. There was a woman who had a child. The snake strangled the child; the mother chopped the snake in pieces; thenceforward all good things changed to worse, and death began. Respect is shown to snakes as the progeny or representatives of this female spirit, but she cannot be said to be worshipped.

In the Banks’ Islands and the New Hebrides, as has been stated before, spirits are the principal objects of worship, and they are also believed to have a rank, even though they in the central figure of the world of man. Yet it must be borne in mind that they are by no means held to be originators; they came into the world existing under circumstances which make them the gods of men now live, where there were houses and canoes, weapons and ornaments, fruits and gardens. In the Banks’ Islands Qat held the highest place. He was born in the eleventh of twelve brothers, who dwelt in a village in Vava Vava. There Qat began to make men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him, in a land which already existed. His chief assistant in this work was another spirit (eun) named Marawa (spider); his brothers envied and perverted him. When he made a wife for himself, they tried to kill him; he instructed them and played tricks on them. There were other spirits in the world when he was born, some enemies whom he had to overcome. From one of these spirits, dwelling in another group, named Night, he bought the night to relieve the tidium of perpetual daylight. Finally, when the world was settled and furnished, he made a canoe in the middle of the island of Santa Maria, where now is the great lake, collected his wife and brothers and living creatures into it, and in a flood caused by a deluge of rain water was washed out of the sea and disappeared. The people believed that they were taken away by Qat, and looked for his return. Though no longer visible, he still controlled to a great extent the forces of nature, and he heard and influenced the affairs of the people. The natives looked upon him as an ancestor as well as their creator, but they were emphatic in their assertion that he was never a man himself; he was a spirit, a spirit, a power, a nature different from that of man; and, because a spirit, he was master of all magic power, and full of that mana which was at work in all around. It is, however, scarcely possible to take him very seriously or allow him divine rank, even though he is the central figure in the origin of things and his influence is present and effective. In the New Hebrides nearest to the Banks’ Islands Tagaro takes the place of Qat. He was the grandson of Tane, the first of Polynesia. He made things as Qat did; he had his brothers, ten of them, and there was another, Supwe, who thwarted Tagaro and made things wrong. Tagaro also went back among the other islands Supwe was the chief of this band of spirits. In Santa Cruz, Lata corresponds, but not very closely, to Qat and Tagaro, since he also made men and animals.

These Upper spirits are named and known as individual persons. Besides these, in all the islands are spirits immemorial and unnamed. These are they whose representative form is very often a stone, who haunt the places which their presence makes sacred, who associate themselves with snakes, sharks, birds, and the various things through which they are drawn to life; and draw from them the spiritual power from which comes all manner of success in life, and which can be turned to injury as well as succour. It may safely be said that these spirits are not malignant beings, though they were spiteful at times and were willing to do mischief to the enemies of their worshippers. The multitude of beings who in the Solomon Islands have power in storms, rain, droughts, calmness, and especially in the growth of food—the vigena, hóona, and others— seem to belong rather to the order of spirits than to that of the ghosts of the dead, and such 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 of the world of man a power which belonged to all spirits, to the dead as much as to the living; all these could direct it and employ it, and it was everywhere at hand. The world so peculiarly adapted to the Melanesians by the circle of the sea which surrounded the islands which were known to them, a circle which varied in place and size according to the position of the centre. The old world of the Banks’ Islanders did not include the Solomon Islands; that of the Solomon Islanders was a much wider world. Wherever the circumference of the circle fell the sky was supposed to shut down fast upon it. Under the watchful eye of the spirits, the sun and moon made their journeys; and the stars hung in it. The heavenly bodies were not thought to be living beings, but rather rocks or islands. In the sun and moon were inhabitants with wives and families, in whom the sun and moon were personified and about whom many stories were told; but these have no religious character.

12. Death and after death. Without some belief in a life after death, as well as in a power superior to that of living man, it is plain that the Melanesian religion could not be such as has been described. This implies a belief in a soul of man, though what that is they find it difficult to explain. They believe that everything uses different languages, and these words convey various metaphors, when they are properly understood, the idea of which probably involves a certain degree of inconsistency. It is in a way the natives looked upon him as an ancestor as well as their creator, but they were emphatic in their assertion that he was never a man himself; he was a spirit, a spirit, a power; a nature different from that of man; and, because a spirit, he was master of all magic power, and full of that mana which was at work in all around. It is, however, scarcely possible to take him very seriously or allow him divine rank, even though he is the central figure in the origin of things and his influence is present and effective. In the New Hebrides nearest to the Banks’ Islands Tagaro takes the place of Qat. He was the grandson of Tane, the first of Polynesia. He made things as Qat did; he had his brothers, ten of them, and there was another, Supwe, who thwarted Tagaro and made things wrong. Tagaro also went back among the other islands Supwe was the chief of this band of spirits. In Santa Cruz, Lata corresponds, but not very closely, to Qat and Tagaro, since he also made men and animals.

These Upper spirits are named and known as individual persons. Besides these, in all the islands are spirits immemorial and unnamed. These are
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 so renewed, and death came in. When 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 disembodied spirit is not thought generally to pass away, but the body which has left the place in which it has lived; but, the body being buried, or otherwise disposed of, the ghost proceeds to its appointed place.

(2) 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 underworld; in the Solomon Islands the dead, though there is an underworld, depart to islands and parts of islands belonging to their own group, and from Florida they were conveyed in a ghostly canoe, a ‘ship of the dead.’ In all parts of Melanesia the condition of the dead in this abode is an empty continuation of the worldly life; in all parts the ghostly life is not believed to be eternal, except in so far as the native imagination has failed to follow any accurate measure of time. But, though the dead congregate in Hades, they still haunt and frequent the homes of their lifetime, are active among the living, and, as has been shown, in the Solomon Islands the religion of 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 not is uncertain. It is certain that 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 in some extent on the period of the decay of the body; when that is gone the ghost is active. It is an expedite this activity in some parts the corpse is burned.

While in a general way the ghosts of the dead pass to their habitation which have their principal abode in the sea. Before his death a man may declare his purpose of taking up his abode in a sea-bird or a shark, or the dead body may be sunk into the sea and not buried. These sea-ghosts have a great hold on the imagination of the natives of San Cristoval and the adjacent islands, and were frequently represented in their carvings and paintings. The appear as if made up of fishes, and fish are the spears and arrows with which they shoot disease into the living.

In Santa Cruz the dead, though they haunt the villages, go into the great volcano Tamami and pass below. In the Banks Islands the common Hades has many entrances; in this they have villages in which they dwell as on earth, but in an empty life. The ghosts range about their graves for a time, and it is not desired that they should rest. Sometimes the deodests they have a portion thrown for them. The great man goes down to Panoi with his ornaments, that is, with an unsubstantial appearance of them. In the Northern New Hebrides, 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 lake which fills 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 dead are happier or less happy, in better or in worse circumstances, to which end 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 the men affects their condition after death. When the canoe of the dead took the ghosts of Florida across to the adjoining island of Guadalcanar, they found a ghost of worship, a tindalo, with a rod which 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 abodes of the dead; those who failed had to make their way as best they could with pain and difficulty. In Yasbel they present themselves to the master of their Hades at a pool, across which lies the narrow trunk of a tree. They show their hands; those who have the mark of the frigate-bird existence will live, whereas these, who have not the mark are thrown from the trunk into the gulf beneath and perish.

(b) Banks’ Islands and New Hebrides.—In these islands there is something which approaches 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 done his duty by society. So in Peniel 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 reflection. Thus in the Banks’ Islands it was believed that there was a 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 wounded; he would tread the path which led to the bad place, and wandered 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 Panoi, 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 charmers, 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 Panoi 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 have failed to have something of a religious influence 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, 1875; E. B. Tyler, P.C., op. cit. 1895; A. W. Murray,
MELETIANISM.

There were two Meletian schisms, each having considerable influence in the fortresses of the Arian controversy. The earlier took its name from the Meletius who was bishop of Lyopolis in Egypt; the later from the Meletius who was consecrated bishop of Antioch in A.D. 390.

1. The Meletian schism in Egypt.—Μηλητρισ (Epiphanius) or Μηλητις (Athanasius) was bishop of Lyopolis in Egypt, and his dispute with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, led to a schism which received attention at the Council of Nicaea. According to Athanasius (Apol. c. Arianos, 59), Meletius was condemned about A.D. 303 or 306, so that the quarrel lasted for a long standing when the Council assembled. The origin of it is extremely obscure. As Hefele points out (Counsels, Eng. tr., i. 343 ff.), there are three separate accounts: (1) in diplomatic correspondence preserved in the works of M. J. Routh, Religions Sacra, Oxford, 1814-18, iv., 22; (2) in the writings of Athanasius; (3) in Epiphanius. All these differ in their details as to the origin of the schism. Copies of the three documents preserved in Routh is in a letter of certain Christians in prison who were afterwards martyred by Diocletian (Eus. HE vi. 8). It is supposed that the actual writer of the letter was Philoes, bishop of Hierapolis, addressed as a fellow-minister (communiter, 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 Meletius had gone to Alexandria and found two discontented men, Arius and Iulodes, and proceeded to excommunicate the visitor (pecundus) 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 Meletius. From this very early and contemporary evidence we learn that Meletius' offense was that of trespassing on the rights of Peter and the other bishops by ordaining orders out of his own diocese. It is to be noticed that these irregularities took place before the deposition of Meletius. Athanasius says nothing about the irregular ordinations. In his Apology against the Arians (ch. 50) he gives as the cause of the deposition of Meletius that he had been guilty of many offenses, particularly of having sacrificed to idols and of having calumniated the bishops of Alexandria, Peter, Acellias, and Alexander (ch. 11). In his Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya he asserts (ch. 22) that the Meletians were declared schismatics fifty-six years before, and that the Arians thirty-six years ago were convicted of heresy. Socrates (HE i. 6) gives practically the same account as Athanasius, and may, perhaps, have copied from him. The third version of the origin of the schism, however, differs materially from those which we have hitherto considered. It is given by Epiphanius (Liber Heraclei 19) and printed in Routh (p. 195). Meletias, says this writer, was a perfectly orthodox bishop. Indeed, he credits him with having accused Arius to Alexander, with whom Meletius, through a schismatical bishop, was on good terms. The real cause of the dispute was, according to Epiphanius, the question of the treatment of the lauded. But Epiphanius' account, as Hefele shows, is full of inaccuracies, and contradicts the earliest evidence, as when, e.g., he makes Meletius a fellow-prisoner with Peter. But he may have been correct in the underlyings of the schism, Meletias being, like Novatian at Rome and the Domestics in Africa, the representatives of the severe disciplinarians. Epiphanius had, moreover, special reasons for not allowing Meletians from their schism having spread to his native place, Lyopolis. Perhaps because of his doctrinal orthodoxy, Meletius and his party were treated very leniently by the Council of Nicaea. It may be that this was a signal for the authority of the bishop of Alexandria, was directed against them; but in the synodal letter (Soc. HE i. 9) Meletius was not permitted to ordain or appoint clerics any more, and those to whom he had ordained were to be admitted to the Church (αὐτοκράτεια quam non est) and to rank below the clergy ordained by Peter and his successors. Athanasius was much troubled by these schismatics who joined his opponents; and from their ranks came his bitter enemies, the priest Isiacynus Arsenius, and many others. Athanasius bitterly regretted the decision of Nicaea in this matter (Apol. c. Arianos, 71). He compiled a list of the followers of Meletius (given). The schism lasted, according to the middle of the 5th century (Soc. HE i. 8).


2. The Meletian schism at Antioch.—The importance of the Meletian schism 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 zealous, were less uncompromisingly Nicene than many of the Athanasian party. The dispute, which lasted for more than fifty years, ranged the great saints and Fathers of the latter years of the 4th century. In opposite camps. Against St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Flavian of Antioch, and St. John Chrysostom were opposed St. Damaus of Rome, St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Peter of Alexandria, and, much against his will, St. Athanasius himself. 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 at Antioch 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. 330, 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 now filled by prelates who were hostile to the Nicene formula—Eulalias, Eupaphron, Flacillus, Stephen, and Leonitius, 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 last of the all the Arians,' who was installed as bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 390. It now became necessary to provide a successor at Antioch, and Meletius was chosen, being supposed to be in accord with the party in power (P. Castr., Le Schisme d'Antioche, p. 72, note). In his sermon, however, on the 8th he declared himself on the side of the Nicene (Hier. lxxii.,) and was at once deposed and exiled, several of his partisans 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 contest. The party of Paulinus, however, was not numerous, and it was more perhaps its insignificance induced Eusebius, 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 increasing owing to the popularity of the bishop, and it was extremely probable that under him the Catholics would ultimately be united. In 362 Athanasius held the small but important Council of Alexandria (see ARIANISMO, vol. I, p. 780). A synodal letter, the *Toumos of Antiochenos*, was sent to Antioch by the hands of the bishop Eusebius of Vercell, who had attended the Council; but on his arrival he found that his companion in exile, Lucifer, bishop of Caliarius in Sardinia, had taken upon himself to consecrate Paulinus bishop of the old Nicene party at Antioch. As far as Antioch was concerned, the schism was unimportant. 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 Alexandria and the West. Nor was Athanasius available for settlement, which left bygones be bygones, and allowed the good work done by Hilary of Poitiers in reconciling the bishops of Asia Minor to the Nicene Creed to bear fruit. But, not wishing to disavow Lucifer, the bishop of Alexandria, Meletius 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. There—the difference being that the Donatists (q.v.) rejected bishops who had been unfaithful in regard to heathenism, and the Eusathathians of Antioch those who had once been infected with heresy. The Roman see under Damascus declared unassailably for Paulinus; but throughout the East Meletius was regarded as the champion of orthodoxy; and he was a sufferer under Valens for his adherence to the Nicene Creed. The Cappadocian fathers, Basil and the two Gregorys, were devoted to Meletius, and John Chrysostom belonged to his church and was first ordained reader and afterwards deacon by him. The writer of the "Life of St. Basil," who in vain appealed to Athanasius to recognize Meletius, and was seriously troubled by the uncompromising support which Damasus gave to Paulinus. Things were complicated by Apollinaris, the famous bishop of Laodicea, who, though condemned for his erroneous opinions, is recognized not only as a defender of Nicene theology, but also as one of the profoundest thinkers of his time (see APOLLINARISMO). Among his friends was the presbyter Vitalius, who had been made priest by Meletius, but was ultimately consecrated by Apollinaris as rival bishop to Paulinus (c. 573). Thus, including the Arians, the Church of Antioch was now divided into four parties, the three Nicene bishops being Meletius, Paulinus, and Vitalius. Strange enough, not a shadow of suspicion rested on any one of these three rivals in regard to church discipline. Meletius and Paulinus were both recognized as saints, while, despite the suspicious orthodoxy of his consecrator, Vitalius was highly respected by the most honoured churchmen of the day. The distinction of Meletius was given when the six leading presbyters of the Church agreed to recognize either Meletius or Paulinus, if one survived the other. In 381 Meletius was at Constantinople, taking an active part in the 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 consecrate 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 disfavor.

Paulinus was supported by the bishops of Egypt, Cyprus, and Arabia, whilst Palestine, Syria, and Phcenicia 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 at Constantinople (A.D. 387). Paulinus died in 388; and before his death he consecrated Evagrius in his place—a most uncanonical 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; Theophylus of Alexandria was naturally opposed to this, as were Epiphanius and Jerome. When, however, Evagrius died, no rival bishop was consecrated. On Chrysostom's appointment to Constantinople (398) he managed to heal the breach, for both Alexandria and Rome were concerned; and Flavian placed the names of his two rivals—Paulinus and Evagrius—on the diplomas of the Church. The Eustathians continued to hold 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 Kallistus, patriarch of Antioch (481-485), 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 the 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 hear 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 patriarchates of Rome and Egypt with those of the East. Meletius, Flavian, John Chrysostom, and Nestorius, the great Antioch, 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. (a) The term "memory" can be used in a wide logical 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
portrays the relation of body to soul; each may enter into the service of the other.

The bodily memory, made up of the sum of the sensori-motor systems of which the habit is a quasi-instantaneous memory to which the true memory of the past seems to be attached . . . the memory of the past offers to the sensori-motor mechanisms all the recollections capable of playing a part in their task and of giving to the motor reaction the direction suggested by the lessons of experience . . . But, on the other hand, the sensori-motor apparatus of which memory is a function, the unconscious, memories, the means of taking on a body, of materializing the idea of the self, is, it is supposed, that a recollection should reappear in consciousness, it is necessary that it should descend from the heights of pure memory down to the precious store of the past, by some action taking place.

James Ward would subscribe to the biological doctrine of memory, but finds it meaningless save as interpreted in terms of the psychological.

'Nay, the bare term 'retention' itself, and all cognate terms, such as 'trace' or 'residue,' 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 instance. 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.' 

'Recorded memories alone are not memory, for they presuppose it. They may consist of physical traces; but that is not memory. The word called 'unconscious,' suggests mind; . . . the unemotive theory, then, is to be worth anything, seems too clearly to require not merely physical records or 'engravings,' but some experience of learning.'

(c) 'Memory' may be used to denote the retention of past experience without reference to the specific, explicit reproduction of such experience. The essential difference of this use of the term from the biological use lies in the word 'experience' 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 on present experience, whether the subject is conscious of such influence or not.

When we consider of memory as a process we have in mind the whole mechanism thought to be 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, a day similar with no consciousness of their occurrence, are said to be remembered and to be of great importance in determining future experience.

(2) As usually considered, memory belongs to cognition, but, inasmuch as all experience cannot be reduced to processes of cognition, so, it may be argued, 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 sense-perception in this or that action. In this article memory will be treated with 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. Evidence in favour of the former has been derived from the experimental work of G. E. Müller and F. Schumann, A. Binet, and other experimental psychologists.

Hering states the doctrine of the heredity of acquired characteristics with great simplicity.

'Ve have ample evidence of the fact that characteristics of an organism may descend to offspring which the organism did not possess in life, and that it acquired owing to the special circumstances under which it lived . . . What is the descent of special peculiarities but a reproduction on the part of organized matter of processes in which it took part as a germ in the germ-containing organs of its parent, and of which it seems safe to say that re-creation that reappears when time and occasion serve.'

For Hering the marvels of instinct are but the marvels of habit handed on from generation to generation.

'He who marvels at the skill with which the spider weaves his web or the bird builds its nest is in many ways wiser than he who does not learn her art all on a sudden, but that innumerable generations of spiders acquired it hitherto and by step by step.'

Samuel Butler, in Life and Habit (1877), set forth the same doctrine, although he was at that time ignorant of Hering's paper. Into a later book, entitled Unconscious Memory, he incorporated a translation of the German lecture.

At different periods and actions of memory is presented by such biologists as Francis Darwin, R. Semon, and H. S. Jennings. It should be noted that in such a biological doctrine of memory there is a difficulty involved.

The structural development and behaviour of plants and animals may testify to memory in this wide sense without thereby giving evidence of consciousness.

(6) In a psychological use of the term such a reference is essential. As generally understood in psychology, memory denotes the retention of experience and its subsequent reproduction with the consciousness that it belongs to the past. To remember is to refer back. The distinction between memory as a conscious experience and memory as a non-conscious fact has been emphasized by H. Bergson in his distinction between the memory which imagines and the memory which repeats. All our bodily habits are memory in the latter sense, but not necessarily in the former. Acquired skill implies practically with the retention of past progress, but in the exercise of skill there need not be any conscious reference to those past exercises whereby this skill was acquired. Both forms of memory may be found in a person who acquired skill is guided on any occasion by a conscious reference back to past efforts, successes, and failures. For Bergson the relation of the two forms of memory
The latter view certainly represents the commoner form of memory. The attempt to classify the later view of 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 erected into principles. The present assumption was said to suggest the past experience y because previously x and y had been contiguous in time or place, or because they were similar, or, again, because they contrasted - consolation (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, and the like, are the ultimate principles of association. The conditions which determine the actual line of association followed on any given occasion are of two sorts: one to the whole line of which the present datum and a particular past experience participate, and those which relate to the special circumstances of the present moment of suggestion.

A whole which is closely organized will form a stronger basis for association than 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 time sequence of a string of syllables - e.g., duck, ill, lap, pop, etc. - memorized by reading aloud. Any interference with the spatial and temporal organization of the series rendered re-memorizing of the same syllables difficult, and the degree of difficulty in re-memorizing the syllables was in proportion to the degree to which the original spatial and temporal organization was disturbed. As 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. Eppeholt 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 'global' 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 suggestion certain and swift is illustrated by Müller's researches. Experimental work by Müller and A. Pfleffer demonstrated 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 congruity between the attitude of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a bad 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 central role of association exercised by the Ausnahme, or task, before the mind at the moment. On the relevance or irrelevance of the reproduced idea depends very largely the serviceability of our memory in any given difficulty. Appositeness 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 organization, so, also, that the opposite process, viz. dissociation. Through dissociation certain episodes of past experience or certain aspects of that experience drop out of a given organization; such episodes can be reproduced; no suggestion of normal consciousness can connect itself with the dissociated contents of past experience. The theory is of great importance to psychopathology in its bearing on the amnesia of hypnosis and hysteria and on multiple personality. The process whereby the insularization of non-suggestible memories is brought about is described differently by different writers. Dissociation is the line of dissociation followed by Morton Prince, repression (without the implication of dissociation) in virtue of some pain value is the line of dissociation described 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 psychical fact as failure of retention; inability to recall does not in itself prove obliviscence or the decay of past experience. Whether there can be total obliviscence, whether any experience can cease to be influential in mental life, may be open to dispute. Certainly it would seem that many experiences cease to be influential in mental life. In the absence of any interest to organize items of experience obliviscence would be the natural fading out of processes which had fulfilled their function. 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 56.9 per cent was forgotten, after twenty-four hours 66.3 per cent, after six days 74.6 per cent, after thirty-one days 78.9 per cent. The fading away of the processes is rapid at first and very gradual afterwards. Experimental work, however, would also seem to indicate that experience does not necessarily begin to fade from the moment it ceases to be 'present' experience. On the contrary, there is a certain amount of evidence that processes ripen or mature in the recollection of past experience being clearer or fuller after some short lapse of time than immediately after the original occurrence. Some of the experimental work of H. J. Watt suggests this, and researches with school-children has brought out the same feature. Thus, if the amount of ballad poetry
which children aged 12 can reproduce correctly im-
mediately after learning by 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 reproduction is found in
other kinds of school material.
In the case of none-
sense syllables, although forty-eight hours later
some syllables can be reproduced which have not
been remembered immediately after learning, the
total amount reproduced is not high. 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 experience to attain its full value and associa-
tion speedily, and, when reproduced, it is already
developed, and henceforward decay rather than
growth will be its life-history. In the case of the
less organized experience of the child it may well
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 repro-
duced as ideas depends very largely upon imagery.
Imagery is of the same character as sense experi-
ences—visual, auditory, tactile, motor, etc. Fran-
cis Galton proposed to divide individuals into
classes according to the kind of imagery used in
reproduction—e.g., an auditory, one who reproduced
past experience in terms of auditory imagery, heard
words distinctly although not actually recalled. (Ps 20:5)
Most people were said to belong to a mixed type, i.e.,
not to use all varieties of imagery. It would seem,
however, that the kind of imagery used, even by a
recognized mixed type, depends very largely upon
the ideas reproduced and the purpose for which
it is reproduced. The fragmentary character of
images, their instability and lack of localization
as compared with that of speech, has always
been 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 would
seem to be to provide a focus for attention, of
which imagery provides a focal point, so as to
give clearness and definiteness to ideas.
It has been noticed that, when the process of re-
production takes place with difficulty or where a
train 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 repro-
duced rapidly or a train of ideas develops
rapidly or is familiar in its character, the imagery
is sketchy and in some cases scarcely recognizable.
This has been said to be what is called 'imagery'
that is either not raised whether reproduction
possible without imagery, without even the
symbolic imagery of words standing for the ideas
reproduced. Here, as in so many other psychol-
ogical problems, no dogmatic answer is possible
in the present state of knowledge. There is
much patient research in connexion with the question,
and from it there should arise a clearer conception
of the problem and of its solution.
On the development of memory and memory
training see art. DEVELOPMENT (Mental).
MEMRA.—The tendency of Hebrew imagery to
persuade abstractions, such as sin, shol, which is
evident also in the manner in which the
divine word or speech is represented in poetry and
highly developed language. God's first 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 Jehovah 'were the heavens made' (Ps 33:6). 'He sendeth his word, and they are
fulfilled' (Ps 147:17).
In Is 55 the word proceeding from God's mouth
assures form and success. His will will be
accomplished as His plenipotentiary. In the Apocalypse
we meet with a few instances where the word
stands for God.
It was the word that descended on the officers of the fallen
angels to pierce them with the sword (Jud 5:21); it entered
Abram’s heart; (Gen 15:1); it slew the first-born in Egypt;
this all-powerful word leaped from heaven out of the royal
throne (Wis 13:3).
But, while these instances are of rare occurrence in
the Targums—though nowhere else in Jewish
post-Biblical literature—the word is already hypo-
tatized under the form of Memra. The Aram.
Memra, emphatic, or more, from emar, 'to speak,' signifies,
like Yeōm, from Yēōm, 'a word,' without the
additional meaning of 'reason' connoted by λέγεω.
It occurs about 180 times in the Onkelos Targum,
100 times in the so-called Jerusalem Targum,
and 320 times in the pseudo-Jonathan (in the
last two also we być) for God.
It stands either in the constant state—that is, Gn 15:16
'the word of Jehovah (Gen 24:3). In Ex 3:4
Moses brought forth before the people of Jehovah
(is in Jonathan 'before the shvikhim, 'Gen 24:46)
The Memra of Jehovah their God is their support, and
their king among them.'—or with suffixes: 'It is a sign
between me and you' (Ex 3:19). 'The Memra is a
consuming fire' (De 4:24). 'I will shilth thee with my
Memra' (Ex 29:14). It has been passed by (Ex 40:34).
It was employed by the Targumists
in the place of God wherever anthropomorphic
expression is not suitable, or any act inconsistent with the nature of a
transcendent God, are mentioned. Thus
Yēōm, with the Memra, may be explained as
she had founded, the earth, and by my strength I have
hung the heavens' (Is 44:24). 'The Memra becomes
the Memra of Jehovah' (Is 44:19). The
Israelites said: 'Behold, Jehovah brought us out of Egypt
(Is 63:11). God spoke by his Memra (Nu 14:18);' for
'my Memra' is rendered 'the voice of the Memra' (Ex 25:11).
The Memra gave the Law (Ex 60). These are the
Memra which Jehovah brought between his Memra and the children
of Israel' (Lev 26:64). Jehovah the God, his Memra, is
the helper who brought the children of Israel out of Egypt
(Nu 21:15). Isaiah says 'the glory of the Memra was on the
king of the world, on Jehovah Memra' (Is 9),
and hence 'the voice of the Memra' (De 4).
The above are only a few typical passages of the use of
the Memra (for an exhaustive list see F. Weber,
Judith, Thesaurus, Leipzig, 1897, p. 190;
A. Ederusheim, Life and Times of Jesus,
London, 1887, ii. 679 ff; he was followed by W. Fair-
weather in HDB, v. 344). What, then, did the
Targumists understand by the Memra? A
cursory glance at the Aramaic version will make
the question before we answer this question.
The demand for a version in the Aramaic vernacular by the retur-
ned 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 ("Dragramen,
"Intepreter," 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 Evangelists
in the early Christian communities). The frequent
repetition must have produced a stereotyped ver-
sion.
The explanation of Christ on the Cross in the
Aramaic of Ps 25, indicates that the word
Memra, Doctor, was familiar to Him in that language; and St. Paul's
quotation of Ps 85:9 in Eph 4:24 is more in accord-
ance with the Targum than with our Mas. Text or the
LXX. A written Targum of Ps 85:9 in the
time of Gamaliel (Shab. 115a). Although neither
Origen nor Jerome mentions the existence of
a Targum, that of Onkelos had already at that time
become a kind of authorized ver-
sion.

"E. Jehudah says, 'whosoever transpales a verse (of the
Scripture) as it stands misrepresents the text, and whoever adds
it to a Mashephemah. Let him rend it in accordance with our
Targum" (Bab. 49a)."
Jewish scholars agree that this refers to Onkelos (see Maimonides, in Yad, Ishih 8:4; see also I. Zunz, Gottsdienstliche Vorträge, Frankfort, 1892, ch. v.). The aim of the version was to give a correct rendering of the text. Where he differs from his predecessors in favour of the Halakhah and popular usages:

Ex 40:10, De 15:10 are rendered: 'Ye shall not eat flesh with milk, upon the hottest day of the year' (Lev 18:6) is already called 'cattle'. The Passover shall be eaten in one assembly' (Heb. "one house") (Ex 13:9) is in accordance with Pesah 49a.

In order to understand that Jew and the pagan Gentile was intended to embody Palestinian theology for popular use, and deviation from the original in the case of the names and acts of God was to guard against misconception of the nature and irreverent use of the name of God. We find, accordingly, the divine unity insisted on:

Elohim with a plural predicate is rendered in the singular (Gen 2:24); De 49:1 is translated 'to know that Jehovah is God, there is none beside him'; 'Who is like unto thee among the gods?' (Ex 15:11), 'Jehovah is God, great, and there is no other God.' Jehovah may not even be contrasted with other gods. Not even may the term 'god' be applied to other divinities on the earth.

They are either 'enemies,' 'abominations' (Gen 30:5), 'or terrify' (Gen 19:12), 'be brought up to the highest place of his terror' (Heb. 'Bara') (Num 24:10).

To avoid contrasting God with man or ascribing the same action to both, Onkelos would introduce a paraphrase: 'They believed in the Mâemâ of Jehovah and in the prophecy of Moses' (Ex 14:9), 'the people murmured against the Mâemâ of Jehovah and strove with Moses' (Num 20:27); or the construction would be changed into the passive. 'Let it not be spoken to us from before Jehovah' (Ex 20:5).

The same construction is employed when human actions and passions are ascribed to God:

'The voice of the lad was heard before God' (Gen 21:15), 'it is revealed before me' (Heb. 'I know') (Ex 36:9); a Mâemâ from before Jehovah's name (Gen 3:25); 'they met with a Mâemâ from before Jehovah' (Num 22:6). This construction explains Onkelos's rendering of De 33:27, which incidentally resembles Js 1:16 by his word the world was created.' In the place of פֶּן "the everlasting arms' he reads, like the Psalms version 18:57, 'he (the Mâemâ) bowed (warred) the world, which in the passive assumed the shore rendering.

It is evident that a version made under the influence of rigid uncompromising monotheism and acceding to the Rabbinic theology would avoid the assumption of an intermediate being distinct from God. To compare the Mâemâ with Philo's Logos would credit the Targumists with more knowledge than they otherwise claim, and would be also unaccountable why only this term and nothing more of Philonic exegesis and mysticism should have found its way into the Targums. Its use in all the Targums rather warrants the assumption that its adoption is older than the Alexandrian Logos. We are inclined to think that it was introduced by the M²thurg mantm when the name YHVH ceased to be pronounced and Abadeh was substituted, some time during the Palestinian period. The Mâemâ, therefore, is the deity revealed in its activity, just as the Shkhkhah and Ḫārâ represent the divine majesty and glory. The term is based on Gn 1:26, emphasizing the fact that the world came into being by divine command. Onkelos uses Mâemâ when speaking of human authority:

'Ve, the mouth of Pharaoh' (Heb. 'the mouth of Pharaoh') (Gen 41:13), 'he does not receive our Mâemâ' (Heb. 'will not obey your voice') (Dt 21:9).

Onkelos takes up and expounds the words referred to in the art. see JF. M. Mura; S. D. Luzzatto, Philotheos, Vienna, 1830; W. Boussæ, Die Religion des Judentums im neustamentl. Zeit., 3:242, Berlin, 1876, p. 899.

MEN, THE.—In the Greek-speaking portion of the ancient world, the term 'men' is used to designate a wide range of individuals from various walks of life. This includes not only common people, but also religious leaders, philosophers, and military leaders. The term 'men' is often used to refer to a group of individuals sharing a common interest or profession. In the context of the New Testament, the term 'men' is used to refer to the leaders of the religious community, including the Pharisees and Sadducees. In the New Testament, the term 'men' is used to emphasize the importance of spiritual and evangelical thought. 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 admit of little doubt.

In the reign of James v., Robert Bruce, the eminent Edinburgh preacher, was banished to Inverness. In a letter, written in Feb. 1612, to Sir James Scampie, the laird of Balvay, the exiled minister says:

"If his Heiness will command me to the scaffold, I have a good conscience to obey him, and it would be more welcome to me nor this lingering death that I am in' (D. Calderwood, Hist. of the Xvii.f of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1842-49, iv. 135).

The 'lingering death' which Bruce deplored resulted in the establishment in Inverness of meetings for prayer and fellowship, and in the gathering together of bands of godly men whose influence continued to mould the religious life of the Highlands for many generations. After the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland in 1635, nearly 300 ministers relinquished their living, and their places were filled in the greater number of parishes by ministers who did not possess the qualifications of the profession, and who were often at variance with the parishioners. The people in the more populous districts of the South, the unity of the people, and their devotion to Presbyteranism, enabled them to maintain their religious zeal by means of public meetings for worship held in defiance of the law. In the North a number of the ministers readily turned Episcopal, and retained their livings. The people were less devoted to Presbyterianism, but, even so, the more devout among them were roused to opposition by the manner in which the vacant livings were filled. The parishes were large, the population was sparse, and combined action for the holding of religious meetings was almost impossible. Religious instruction was for a time neglected. The 'curates,' as the new incumbents were called, exercised little or no influence. When ministers were no longer regarded as leaders of the people in sacred things, they rose to take their place men of devout lives, of integrity of character, familiar with the Scriptures, and recognized as possessing spiritual gifts, who, going from parish to parish to hold meetings, were accepted as religious guides.

At a later period, the arbitrary manner in which patronage was exercised in the Presbyterian Church, and accusations brought against its bishops and courts, revived the influence and importance of an institution which had already obtained a foothold in many districts. Bands of earnest Christians boldly denounced legal arrangements which ignored religious needs and aspirations, and the people denounced them for so doing. Interest in a common object drew them together. They deplored the low state of religion in the land, they yearned for spirituality of worship and a greater knowledge of Holy Scripture among their countrymen. They held monthly or quarterly meetings for prayer and fellowship. These were occasions of high spiritual enjoyment. Sometimes the companies sat up during the whole night, and passed the time in prayer and praise and spiritual conversation.

In order to prevent any misconception of their aims they provided themselves in some cases with carefully drafted constitutions. A document, dated 17th September 1788, setting forth the objects and rules of the society of the Men in Ross-shire shows that, while they decried the low state of religion throughout the land, they were not in a spirit of self-righteousness; they were at the same time faithful in dealing with one another. Among various evils they deplored, thrusting in God's presence, oppression by the force of the law of patronage — pastors who have nothing in view but the fleeces.' The same docu-
ment gives us one of the rules of the society: 'This day, 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, or expressions of another, that we be free with one another to reprove him; and this we are sure we shall do for the glory of God, and the benefit of our souls.'This rule is illustrated in the following passage (Mt 18:19): 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; but shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, that sin may not grow upon him.' 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 their abhorrence of fanatical excess. They organized meetings for prayer and instruction, in which they expected to make a running translation from the English version into the language of the people. They did not choose to expound the Word, and not a few were eloquent and powerful preachers, though lacking the training of a divinity school. The deep respect of the people for an ordained ministry was reflected in the fact that these spiritual guides, even when their influence was most powerful, did not ordain ministers or preachers, but the 'Men' (as Done.).

By the 'Men' the evangelistic 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 Bona Ceist, or the 'Question.' The Men, each in turn, gave an exposition, generally bearing on experimental religions and their gifts of speech, and of scriptural interpretation were developed. Fitness to expound Scripture in public assemblies, combined with blamelessness of life, 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 ta 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 prayer, and the reading of Scripture, and afterwards, if no public question was to become the 'Question.' One of the more highly honored of the Men announced a passage, indicating its bearing on Christian experience, and required two or three 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 of the Men to give the 'marks' to their fellow-Christians. This service was generally held in 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 the services were not sufficiently sanctified by evangelical faithfulness. Many of them would not partake of the Sacraments at the hands of ministers of whom they did not approve, and were approved ministers of none. The Church feared the practical 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 18th century. With the revival of evangelicalism the special circumstances in which they proved a religious force passed away. But power and influence once acquired are not easily lost. In many districts the Men heartily welcomed and warmly supported an evangelical ministry; in others they persistently and fiercely opposed all ecclesiastical influence. The estrangement continued too long in parts of Scotland. In the north of Scotland they continued to stand aloof, and in the more northern districts they formed bodies known as 'Separatists.' They came to be regarded as the more they developed contempt for all learning except a literal knowledge of the Authorized Version of Scripture. They came to be regarded as the more learning they had, the more they developed contempt for all learning except a literal knowledge of the Authorized Version of Scripture. They became narrow and intolerant. Utterly disregarding all outward culture, they attempted to form in 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 futile throws 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 contempt for learning, and a zeal for the doctrine of election which merged into fatalism characterized generally the scattered fragments of a body whose sway was at one time both powerful and beneficent.

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 preacher's desk, ready to give an extemporaneous address or to read a portion of some 18th century divine, he follows devoutly the usual order of service, except that he does not pronounce the benediction. These Men live saintly lives, they are honoured by the people, and they help to preserve the simplicity and spirituality of religion.

G. R. MACPHER.
not flagellants but dancers, flagellation being a mere
accompaniment of the dance, and not even a real
practice. The name is probably a corrup-
tion from 'Christ,' the name by which they designate themselves as those who
have Christ in their midst, in their leaders.

Although the Men of God have many 'Christ's,
their practice is strictly in the proper
sense of the word, for their Christology is only one
side of their doctrine of spiritual ecstasy; that is
to say, they are a secret sect who practise asceti-
cism, and in a manner transcendent.

Their principal mode for drawing down the Spirit is dancing (radaenie),
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 Zebaoth
(a Christ of the highest rank) or a Mother of God;
those who receive the Spirit in a less degree are
identified with the apostles, the ecclesiastical saints, and honoured as prophet,
and prophetesses. In their belief, even Jesus of
Nazareth first became a Christ only through recei-
ving the Spirit at His baptism. While these prophecies have not been fulfilled, a permanen-
t possession, ordinary members of the community
may obtain Him temporarily through the same
means.

Beverside severe and often protracted fasts, complete
sexual abstinence is a feature of their asceti-
cism. 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 a 'spiritual sister' in 'spiritual marriage,' ex-
clusive of sexual intercourse. The latter consti-
tuted the trestipes of Adam and Eve, and is con-

demned as the sin 'er' Bradley; in accordance with
this view, childbirth is regarded as extremely
sinful, while children are despised as 'little sins.'

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 abstinence from intoxicat-
ing liquors; even coffee, and in many communities
tea also, is forbidden. On the whole the Kilias-
t system of morals lays so much stress on the
mortification of the flesh (the resurrection of which
they deny) that it has not been able to set up a
pure life. Altruism appears among them essentially as sympathy, which has to display
itself in the bestowal of alms. Besides practising
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 excessively brutal;

attempts were made to crush them by the rod
and the scabbard, but in vain, and they furnished
many martyrs. Since the beginning of the 19th
cent., those methods have been replaced by
imprisonment and transportation to the Caucasus
and Siberia.

The Men of God, however, seek to show the
bravery of their opinions not by open confusion of
their faith, but by concealment of it, and it is pre-
cisely their obscurity in this matter that has often
brought upon the sect the severity of punish-
ment. This concealment of their belief is due to
their view of the Holy Spirit, whom they regard
as a power which shuns observation, revealing itself in a way that is not averse from publicity. If a
man talks about the Spirit, he loses Him.

Consequently not only 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 afterwards. They themselves celebrate
communion with bread and sour drink from rye meal
and malt) or with water.

Any one who desires admission into the sect
must, at an initiatory rite, conducted with an
extremely elaborate ceremony, swear a solemn
oath that under no circumstances whatever, not
even under the severest persecution, will he dis-
close his belief either to his nearest relatives or to
the ecclesiastical confessor. In reality this sect
together despises the State Church as 'the world,'
the kingdom of Satan, and regard the 'papas'
(clergy) as Jewish priests and Pharisees. In opposi-
tion 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 con-
ferences,' and consist in singing, and the reading and
exposition of Holy Scripture, but they also have
assemblies for attracting adherents, and they hint
darkly at the 'better services.' In reality the
source of revelation for this sect is not Holy
Scripture, but the Spirit which descends on them
during the dance. Any one who feels the desire
for the 'better services' must undergo long pre-
paration before he is received into the sect by one
of the leaders and admitted to them. In the
'better services' a kind of formal dance takes
place, consisting of a series of variously arranged
movements performed singly and collectively, while
songs are sung without any instrumental accom-
paniment. The object of the dance is to induce at
least some of the performers to fall into an ecstasy
(named the 'bath of regeneration,' since the
radaenie is regarded as the real spiritual baptism
in opposition to the mere water-baptism of the
Church). The 'Christes,' 'Mothers of God,'
prophets and prophetesses especially, but some-
times also the ordinary members of the commu-
nity, when in the ecstatic state, break into improvis-
ed song, 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'—which is regarded as the true
communion. The services generally begin in the
afternoon, and continue far into the night.

The sectaries have also provided a substitute for
the other sacraments of the State Church. But
the ritual varies in the different congregations and
even in the same congregation, according to cir-
cumstances. 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 unfeathered and
creates for Himself whatever form He chooses.
They seem to have special rites of their own, such
as dancing round a tub filled with water at the
summer solstice. Here, doubtless, we have to do
with a relic of Slavic heathenism, and various
heathen ideas are also found in their songs and
liturgical formula. This rite, however, has re-
ceived a Christian colouring in the vision of the
golden Christ, who appears out of the steam
above the vessel.

The attribution of sexual excesses and sacrificial
rites to the Men of God appears, according to the
Russian official reports themselves, to be utterly
idiosyncratic and merely a device of the State Church
to combat the sect, and brand as hypocritical
its asceticism which is more strenuous than her
own.
Our earliest sources of information regarding the sect, which they call ‘Christovostochchina,’ are Yevresin (who wrote in 1891), Dimitri, bishop of Rostov (who wrote between 1702 and 1709), and Theophylact Lapatin (1749), and further information is found in the reports of two trials of Khlysti held at Moscow between 1753-59 and 1745-57. The first shows the sect reckoning its adherents for the most part in the Moscow monasteries, among monks and peasant peasants connected with the monasteries; it also comprised some tradespeople. In the monasteries it seems to have marked a reaction against deeply-rooted immorality. It also spread beyond Moscow, to the district of Moscow itself, to Yaroslav and Uglich, and to the town of Venov, south of Moscow. In the first trial Prokofj Lupinik, a soldier of the bodyguard (stratoa), appears as ‘Christ,’ his wife, Akulina Ivanovna, and the nuns Natasha and Martha (who were both finally beheaded in Petrograd) as ‘Mothers of God.’ Altogether more than 500 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 peasant population and had introduced a community of landowners in Vladimir and Nijni-Novgorod, while, at the same time, Moscow maintained its central position as the head-quarters of the sect.

Moscow was the scene of operations of the ‘Father of all the Christians’ Osipov, Vasiliy Osipov, and, more famous than those, Andreyan Petrov, who, known as the ‘Happy Idiot,’ had the entrance to the houses of the aristocracy, and carried on his propaganda there for the sect not entirely without success. The communities of Khlysti in other places also possessed ‘Christ’s’ and ‘Mothers of God.’

Lupinik and Petrov belong to the seven ‘Christa’ named by the legend which describes the origin of the Men of God (as the seventh they reckon Selevanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, which split off from the Khlystovitchchina in 1772). Since the reports of the trials prove the correctness of the assertions of their tradition regarding the seven ‘Christas’ and the ‘Mothers of God’ Akulina and Natasha, the tradition may be trusted as to what happened in the earlier times. The Khlysti, Danila Philipov and Ivan Suslov. Of these the first is said to have also ranked as ‘God Zebboth’ and to have founded the sect about the middle of the 17th century, while the other, according to the testimony of Kostroma, while the second, as his disciple, spread it in the Okha and Volga districts and introduced it into Moscow. The evidence of Dimitri and Theophylact, as to the founder of the Khlystovostochchina applies to Suslov; but ancient songs of the Khlysti speak of one ‘Christ,’ Averyan, who lived in the 14th cent., and of another, Yemelyan, 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 heathenism of the Slavs and Finns must be given up, yet it is still possible to consider the idea of these authors a necessary consequence of the intense activity of the ‘Mother of God,’ Ulyana Vasilevna. The actual centre, however, was shifted in the middle of the century south-eastward into the government districts of Nijni-Novgorod, Samara, and Tambow, by the activity of Radayev and the ‘Christa’ Vasili Shtshbegov and Avarakum Kopylov. The former, with his peculiar mystical teaching, and the latter a little later ‘Christa,’ takes a special place among the Khlystovostochchina inasmuch as, by appealing to the trance-producing spirit, he caused asceticism to fall into decay, and shamefully devoted his faithful followers. On the other hand, Vasili Shtshbegov and the ‘Christas’ 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, Pephil Katasonov. He and his followers again took the title ‘God Zebboth,’ and ruled not only all the communities of the Caucasus, where the Khlysti, under their new name ‘Shaloputy’ (‘scentaries’), lead a considerably harshest, but also those of Southern Russia upwards to Smolensk, each of which has its own ‘Christa.’ Many Khlysti communities honour as a Christ the orthodox ‘Father John of Kronstadt,’ famous through Russia for his firmament district.

The Khlysti communities are not large, since they depend for their increase, as they must, on account of their sexual abstinence, almost entirely on proselytism. Although they are now generally to be found everywhere in the Russian Empire where there are Russian peasants, their total number, which can be only approximately reckoned, cannot exceed 300,000. Their significance for the nation’s welfare, 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 Sektas,* i. (Leipzig, 1907), which, besides the Khlysti, deals with such sects as the Skakuny, Mal’yovanitsy, and Paniyashkovatsy, all of which are dependent on the different bodies of the Khlystovostochchina. 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 Methodists, and the Molokanites. Among the Lutherans the Finns of Ingemarndal the sectaries are called Skakuny (‘Hoppers’). Konrat Mal’yovany founded a sect intermediate between the Khlystovostochchina and the Stundists and the Molokans. The sect, he-maintained, that of Kief about 1860, and his teaching caused an epidemic of trance-phenomena. The Molokani-Khlystii are called Pryaniki (‘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 reverence 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 regard the body as not only sinful but directly possessed by the devil, and intensify their asceticism accordingly.

LITERATURE.—The most important Russian works on the sect are: I. Dobrovolskii, *Lyubili nasta: Russkaya neskutebnaia Sergey* (1886) and *De Khlystovitchchina, a sect of the so-called spiritual Christians* (Kasan, 1886); fragments of this have been translated into German by A. Jahnas in *SWJ* and *IRU* xcv (1861) and *De SC* xcv (1861); A. N. Rentalskii, *Lyubili nasta i Skoptsy* (1886) and *De Khlystovitchchina* (1886); N. Rentalskii, *Lyubili nasta i Skoptsy* (1886) and *De Khlystovitchchina* (1886); N. Rentalski, *De Khlystovitchchina i Skoptsy* (1886; *Khystovitchchina i Skoptsy* in Russian), Moscow, 1883. There are also numerous articles in newspapers.

K. Grass.
MENCUS.—Life.—Mencius, or Meng-tse (371–288 B.C.), second only to Confucius in the annals of orthodox Chinese philosophy, was born in Loo-yang, the capital of the State of Lu, the native State of Confucius. While still very young, he lost his father; he was 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 ancestors, except that they were of the school of Confucius, whom Mencius regarded as supreme among men, and proposed to himself as an example (Mencius, II. i. 2, IV. ii. 25). When we get certain knowledge of him, he is a person already well known and accompanied by disciples, moving from one State to another according as the reception of himself and his doctrines was favourable or 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 so much and considerable liveliness, frequently using illustrations, some of which are famous.

From the man of Sung, who assisted his corn to grow long by his hands, we bear the seed of patience in the development of character (n. i. 2). The moral absurdity of not putting an immediate end to unrighteous practices is illustrated in a story of a man who cut down a tree, and who replied to one who remonstrated with him, 'I shall dynamite it next year, taking only one fowt a month till next year, and then I will make an end of the practice' (n. ii. 8). The Nu mountain, whose natural vegetation is destroyed by age and fire, and the knowing of cattle, is the figure of human nature, which, through the occurrences of desire goodness and cannot regain during the brief repose of the night or the calm of dawn (n. i. 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. i. 5); if so, it was from no unworthy motive, but only to secure the more ready acceptance 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), but acting according to his own teaching that respect is best shown by giving righteouse 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. 12). His words will not be altered by any future sage (III. iii. 9). He has, accordingly, a keen sense of the respect due to him (ii. xi. 11, iv. i. 24), though he occasionally employs unworthy shifts to maintain his dignity (I. ii. 20, II. ii. 29) in harmony with the continuity of the Confucian teaching (VII. iii. 33), he regarded as an urgent duty to oppose the teachings of Yang and Mo (III. iii. 9). This he did with vigour and acuteness, without 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.

Ethic.—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 virtues—beneficence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge—are innately infused into man from without, but have their rise from the feelings of communion, of shame and dislike, of reverence and respect (VI. i. 6). Kung of approving and disproving (I. i. 6).

These four principles are accepted as psychological facts not reducible, e.g., to any form of self-interest (I. i. 6). All that is needed for perfect virtue, in which a man becomes possessor of himself (III. i. 4), is that these innate principles be developed (II. i. 6, VII. i. 10); for although 'All things are already complete in us' (VII. i. 4); and for this human nature is self-sufficient, not from lack of ability, but simply from not making the necessary effort (I. i. 7, IV. i. 10). From another point of view Mencius analyses human nature into ch'i ('passion-nature,' ichtenes). The former is supreme, but the latter is not to be violently suppressed, but developed in accordance with righteousness. Otherwise one's nature suffers defeat—as it also suffers defeat through action in which the mind feels no complacency. The nature of the passion-nature with righteousness is to be accomplished only by persistent practice of righteousness; but, given a mind set on righteousness, 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 abstinence from desires in an ethical interest (VII. ii. 35). Mencius, as basing his ethics on human nature, appear to have been not unaware of the ambiguity of the term 'nature.' Such seems to be the drift of a great part of the more demagogic elements of Confucian ethics. For in the announcement of the substitution of the 'natural' for the 'harnessed' (VII. iii. 21), it is necessary to retain a clear distinction, for the level of human nature is not to be confounded with the phenomena of life' (VII. iii. 3) (Legge's tr.). Elsewhere he points out that there are desires which are necessary and natural, but in connection 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 as natural (VII. ii. 24). In things equally natural there is a gradation of worth, which can be recognized by thinking (VII. i. 14 f.). Moreover, the sense of shame, which a man may not lack (VII. i. 6 f.), is indicative of his having a moral constitution, which alone is properly his nature. 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, as also it is in morals (VII. i. 7). This originally good nature is the child heart (IV. ii. 12), which differentiates man from the lower animals (IV. ii. 10); and all possessing it the ordinary man is of one kind with the sages (II. i. 2, III. i. 1), who simply have apprehended before me what my mind also approaches (VII. ii. 20). The sages, however, are spontaneously what other attain to by effort (IV. ii. 19, VII. ii. 33), though, they, too, learned from other men (II. i. 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 recovery of education is its recovery (VII. i. 11). Morality is the supreme task laid on each man (IV. iii. 19), which requires unremitting diligence (VII. i. 9, VII. ii. 31). Nothing can be so spontaneously what other attain to by effort (IV. ii. 19, VII. ii. 33), though, they, too, learned from other men (II. i. 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 recovery of education is its recovery (VII. i. 11). Morality is the supreme task laid on each man (IV. iii. 19), which requires unremitting diligence (VII. i. 9, VII. ii. 31). Nothing can be so spontaneously what other attain to by effort (IV. ii. 19, VII. ii. 33), though, they, too, learned from other men (II. i. 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 recovery of education is its recovery (VII. i. 11). Morality is the supreme task laid on each man (IV. iii. 19), which requires unremitting diligence (VII. i. 9, VII. ii. 31). Nothing can be so spontaneously what other attain to by effort (IV. ii. 19, VII. ii. 33), though, they, too, learned from other men (II. i. 8).
the seductions and obscurations of sense (VI. i. 15). Righteousness is to be preferred before life itself (VI. i. 10). The righteous man is beyond the reach of calamity (IV. ii. 28, VII. i. 21). The only inevitable calamity is self-incurred (IV. i. 8). True greatness is to practise virtue for the sake of oneself and of others, superior to the seductions or threats of riches, honors, poverty, and fear (III. ii. 9). To rejoice in virtue breeds unconscious grace of heart and a perfection of man (IV. i. 27; cf. VII. i. 21).

Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, fidelity, with unwearied joy in these virtues— these constitute the nobility of Heaven (VII. 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 fidelity (II. i. 8, 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 only one that is referred to in member of the Mencian school, and the definition of it is as serving one's parents with propriety, burying them with propriety, and sacrificing to them with propriety (III. i. 2). The service of parents is the greatest of all services to 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), filling itself in the funeral rites (IV. ii. 13); and, in view of the importance of sacrifice to ancestors, lack of posterity is the gravest instance of infantilism (IV. v. 3).

3. Politics.—Mencius has no scheme of social reconstruction. Existing social usages (e.g., concubinage) 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 is concerned with is the rectification of moral relations within this existing social framework. He bases his analysis into the five relations of father and son, sovereign and minister, husband and wife, old and young, friend and friend; and desires the cultivation of the corresponding virtues of filial piety, fidelity, order, fidelity, and friendliness (III. ii. 4). Of these relations that male and female should dwell together is the greatest (V. i. 5); 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. i. 2). 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 pantocratic schemes, and teaches that society be established on the function in which those who labour with the mind govern, and those who labour with their strength are governed (III. i. 4), and in which the teacher of righteousness is the master (IV. ii. 4). Mencius's doctrine of the State two points are to be noted especially: the emphasis on morality and the democratic bias. Rule is based not on force, but on willing submission according to the law (IV. i. 16). If the ruler be virtuous, his influence will extend to all his subjects (IV. i. 20, ii. 5). There is no secret of statecraft—it needs only that the ruler give scope to the innate goodness of his nature (I. i. 7, II. ii. 6). Let him dismiss all talk of 'profit,' and think only of benevolence and righteousness (I. i. 1). In the disorderly times of Mencius such a benevolent government, having regard for the people's welfare (IV. i. 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 thought that they (the people) 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 condition.

'A when pulse and grain are as abundant as fire and water, how shall the people be other than virtuous?' (VIII. i. 25).

Agriculture, therefore, and then education are primary interests of State (III. i. 9). The strength of a kingdom is in its morale (I. i. 5, IV. i. 1). Destruction is only self-incurred (IV. i. 8). A wise prince will be guided by his ministers (I. ii. 9), but he is himself ultimately responsible for the government of his State (I. i. 6); he must treat his ministers with respect (II. ii. 2), regarding them as his hands and feet, and they will then regard him as their belly and heart (IV. ii. 9). In the appointment of officials in old established families are to be preferred, an ancient kingdom being one in which there are families with this tradition of service (V. i. 7). Indeed, the art of governing lies in securing the appointment of these great families (IV. i. 6). New men, however, are not to be excluded (I. i. 7); only the ruler must seek those by whom he may be taught (II. ii. 2). The love of what is good is 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 favour of the people 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 forfeits his rights by wickedness and becomes a 'mere fellow' (I. ii. 8), 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 leader of a righteous rebellion. He who takes on him righteousness that is not his must be sure that he is the 'minister of heaven' (II. i. 5, iii. 8). He who is such is marked out by the appointment of heaven showing its will by his personal action and his conduct of affairs, which are such as to win universal submission.

'Heaven sees according as my people see; heaven hears according as my people hear' (V. ii. 32).

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' (VII. ii. 9). If right government prevails in the empire, the prince of the feudal States will be submissive on the other hand to the protection of 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 Tao, and ministers Shun (IV. i. 2, VI. ii. 10).

4. Religion.—References in the writings of Mencius to religious worship are numerous 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 Kong, 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 small State. While the ruler of a small State should recognize the decree of heaven and be willing to serve the great State (I. ii. 3). Such obedience to heaven ensures preservation, while disobedience entails destruction (IV. i. 7). So, generally, calamity and happiness are men's own seeking (IV. i. 4), although heaven's decree and man's causality are both recognized:

That which happens without a man's causing it is from the ordinance of heaven (V. 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 precipitously nor can death under fates be justly 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 (IV. i. 14, VII. i. 1), in which its powerful discipline of individuals has moral ends in view (VII. i. 1). From man's nature we can know heaven; and to preserve one's mental constitution and nourish one's nature is the way to serve heaven (VII. i. 1). To have no blame before heaven is one of the things in which the philosopher's delight lies (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 thought, fast, and bathe, he may be forgiven to Shang-ti (IV. i. 25; for the full composition of Shang-ti see art. God [Chinese]).

A few of the famous points may be noted. Mencius indicates the correct method for understanding Nature by obedience and not by violence in the investigation of her phenomena (IV. 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 (V. i. 4).

To this may be added his comment on the Book of History, which may perhaps be generalized:

"It would be better to omit the Book of History than to give entire credit to it." (V. ii. 9).

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MENDELSJOHN. — Moses Mendelssohn, otherwise Rabbi Moses of Dessau, philosopher, writer, and Bible translator, was born 6th Sept. 1729 at Dessau, where his father, Mendel, was a poor scribe and teacher in a family descended from the Rabbi Moses Isserles, a distinguished Talmudist and philosopher of the 16th cent., known as Rema. Moses Mendelssohn was taught Rabbinics by the local Rabbi, David Frankel, who published a commentary on the Palestinian Talmud in 1742. Frankel was called to the Rabbinate of Berlin in that year, and the young student followed him there in 1743.

At Berlin Mendelssohn was taught French and English, K. G. Gessner, and taught himself Latin and Greek. His taste for philosophy was inspired by the study of Maimonides' 'Guide of the Perplexed.' He earned a precarious livelihood as a dealer in second-hand Jewish books, Isaac Bernhard, in whose warehouse he afterwards, and throughout his life, was employed as bookkeeper. His evenings and all his leisure he devoted to philosophy. He was a follower of Wolf and Leibnitz, his life being much influenced by the English School of eminences, especially 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 adverse criticism. Lessing became his lifelong friend, and dubbed him the second Spinoza. It was Lessing who had Mendelssohn's first work published—pseud. —the Philosophische Gesprache (1755). In 1755 they collaborated in an anonymous and pleasant attack on the Berlin Academy—Pape ein Metaphysiker, and the next year Mendelssohn translated Rousseau's Emile (1759). In 1763 he published 'On l'inegalite parmi les hommes,' though he ridiculed the author's partiality for man in a state of nature. Though M. Steinschneider (Cat. Inc. Heb. in Bibl. Bodleiana, Berlin, 1832–90) 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 Poesie diverser in 1760, and found fault with him for writing in French. The royal displeasure was so great that he was threatened with expulsion from Berlin, but the Marquis de Brissot intervened, and as a 'philosophe mauvais catholique' pleased with his Majesty as a 'philosophe mauvais protestant' to grant to the 'philosophe mauvais juif' the privilege of residence.

In 1783 Mendelssohn was awarded by the Berlin Academy a prize of 50 ducats for his essay Uber die Evidenz der metaphysischen Wissenschaften. In 1771 the Academy elected him a member, but Frederick the Great refused to confirm the appointment, 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 'beruhmter Jude.' Among his own friends, and especially in Berlin, Mendelssohn enjoyed the highest esteem. In 1794 he was freed from Jewish communal duties, and in 1792 further honour was shown to him by his co-religionists.

His Socratic Dialogue called Phaedon, 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 Buber, and a German translation, with the Chinese text, are published separately. The Life and Works of Moses Mendelssohn, ed. E. Fuchs, The Mind of Men, tr. A. B. Hutchins, London, 1932.

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This reply produced a storm of protest. J. B. Kolbele in his *Antiphon* (1770) was among those who heaped invective upon him in various pamphlets, of which his best biographer, M. Kayserling, gives a full list. His anonymous *Proemino* also appeared in his defence.

The attack, though it injured his health, turned his thoughts to Judaism and the Jews. As early as 1761 he had prepared a Hebrew Commentary on the Pentateuch, and had presented the manuscript to a certain Joas Jamin, who published it as his own. Perhaps his most important work, so far as his influence on his co-religionists was concerned, was his translation of the Pentateuch into classical German with a *bläer*, or commentary, in Hebrew. His first assistant was Solomon Dubno (†1813), who quarrelled with Mendelssohn in 1779. Mendelssohn's brother Sani 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 Landau, Jacob Lifia, Elijah Wilna, and Heresh Levin (formerly chief Rabbi of London and then of Berlin) because of what they thought a heretical misinterpretation in *Lv 19*, "Thou shalt not let thy neighbor's ox go astray; but thou shalt bring him again to his owner." This was toned down to "castrated," but the storm of opposition ceased, largely through the aid of Italian Rabbis, who, though orthodox, were also enlightened.

Mendelssohn's translation of the Psalms, which had begun in 1770, was not completed for thirteen years. During this period the translator took up the work only spasmodically and just when some particular need suited his 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 Maerer bought the MS for 200 thalers and published it in 1783, but lost money by the publication; next year it was published in Hebrew characters with a *bläer* by one Joel Loe. The Song of Deborah and the Song of Songs were the other Bible translations completed by Mendelssohn. His commentary on Ecclesiastes he has published anonymously in 1769. It was clear and sympathetic, but, though greatly admired by Herder, is not used by students in Germany and is divided into sections, differing from the traditional chapters. Mendelssohn was a keen opponent of the higher criticism of those days, and quoted Bishop Benjamin Hesse's textural criticism. One immediate result of the translation was a change in the course of education of Jewish boys, and the incitement of German rather than Jewish ideas. Part of the Jewish Liturgy was also translated by him, viz. the Haggadah, a Passover service—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of bibliographers.

In 1776 Mendelssohn collected money—and students—for the seminary college "Philanthropin" of Dessau. In 1781 he and his brother-in-law, Isaac Daniel Itzig, 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 Breslia and other cities.

After his wife's death, Lessing had to battle for ten years in his *Anti-Jeude*, and conceived the idea of meeting the theologians with a comedy. This was the origin of his famous drama *Nathan der Weise*, which appeared in 1779, and was in some ways the *Die Juden*. Lessing himself founds the play on the story of the Jew Melchizedek in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. About no German work except Goethe's *Faust* has so much been written. Nathan is Mendelssohn, Recha his daughter Dorothea, the temple Lessing, the Swiss widow Daja is intended for Lavater, the duchess 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 humanity, and an attack upon religious persecution of all kinds. In Vienna it was confiscated. The controversy engaged by *Nathan der Weise* led to a plea for the civil emancipation of the Jews by C. W. von Dohm (*Über die bürgerliche Verherrlichung der Juden*, Berlin, 1781) and also to French by Mirabeau (London, 1787)

Three hundred copies of this translation were forwarded to Paris for the use of the French States General, but lost in that troublesome time, and eventually burnt in the Bastille. In 1788, Mendelssohn published a translation of Manasseh ben Israel's *Esperanza de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1659), with an introduction pleading for emancipation. He was again reproached for remaining a Jew, or for being a "wobbler" between Judaism and Christianity, and this induced him to write his *Jerusalem* (1780), a work on religious power and Judaism. In this book, translated into English in 1782, he vindicated and explained why he was not a Christian. It is a plea for the separation of State and Church, and urges that "Kirchenrecht" is incompatible with true religion. Jews, he urged, have no bodies or chains upon belief; Joseph Albe (†1444), who had reduced the thirteen creeds formulated by Maimonides to three (cf. *ERE* iv. 2468), was no heretic. Judaism required conformity with ceremonial law, but tolerated complete liberty of opinion.

In a Reader for his children, Mendelssohn substituted in the creeds the words 'I recognise 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 fettlers of reason. In this way he reconciled the desirous of Leibnitz and the English deists with revealed law. His Jerusalem and his unfinished *Betrachtungen über Boppes Polenfrage* are both pleas for toleration, but not for uniformity of belief. In both he warns his disciples against prejudice, superstition, and even enthusiasm. *Jerusalem* excited an enormous sensation. Kant said that it was incontrovertible, and wrote in 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 1785. 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 Einhorn.

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 1783 was designed as a refutation of Spinoza's own as well as of the charge that Lessing was a Spinozist. In 1835 Alexander von Humboldt, in a letter to M. Moritz, described how, in his youth, he and Mendelssohn had heard those words *Morgenstunden* given forth by the philosopher in his study. In the first part Mendelssohn proves the existence of God; the nature of the Divine Being and His characteristics
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were to be treated in the second part. Its philosophy 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.

Hegel deprecates him as a philosopher, but, as a writer of German, his style furnishes the best example of German prose after Goethe and perhaps Lessing. Its characteristic was its Socratic irony. A predecessor of Kant, his writings are far easier to understand. Kant 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 *Morgenstundens* appeared J. H. Jacob's treatise *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn*. Lavater rebuked him for not being a Christian; Jacob not only charged him with atheism. He was profoundly disturbed by what he took to be a refusal to return.* In a letter retailed with his address *An die Freunde Losings*. He brought the manuscript to his publisher Voss on 31st Dec. 1787, and died two days later of a paralytic stroke. Though the death occurred in Leiden, in which city Lavater, Herder, and Goethe had all sided against the Jewish philosopher, brought about his end. He left three sons and three daughters. His son Theodore and Abraham, later called the philosopher's complete works in 1834–45.

Mendelssohn's first biographer, his pupil I. A. Eichel, 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 (*Vielth Ulmsbüdern, Berlin, 1786*).

There is much difference of opinion among Jews as to whether his influence has been beneficial to them or not. The general view seems to be that it has proved better for Jews than for Judaism. In Germany, where were the 19th cent. Russian intellectuals known as the Maskilim, especially Perez Smolenskin, who denounced him for denying Jewish nationalism, befell his knowledge of the wisdom of Israel, and characterized him as a merchant of ideas. He would not doubt that he was the first and most typical of modern Jews, the first to identify himself with another nation and yet remain a Jew.

"... and hitherto he had impressed the whole mental activity of the Jew," says Segal in *Aspects of Hebrew Genius* (p. 105). "... was narrowed down by Mendelssohn into a mere religion. ... He separated the man from the Jew. ... To Mendelssohn's followers such a dual life became difficult. ... Traditional Judaism did not easily lend itself to be compressed and squeezed. ... Mendelssohn's followers experienced the conflict between Judaism and Germanism at every step. ... They threw off the burdens of Judaism. ... But ... the period of the great apostasy ... was followed by a period of religious reform and the readjustment of Judaism to the new conditions of Jewish existence."

Jewish nationalists of the present time, not quite fairly, regard Mendelssohn as the chief cause of their failure for assimilation felt by a small section of their co-religionists. Mendelssohn was an apologist for religion in general rather than for Judaism in particular. That was his chief merit in a Voltairean age and in sceptical Berlin. The fault of which, as others also, he himself would have appreciated, is the distich,

"Es ist ein Gott, das sagte Moses schon.
Doch den Beweis gab Moses Mendelssohn."


MENNONITES.—"Mennonites" is the name applied to those Protestant Christians who, on such subjects as the management of the congregation, baptism, oath-taking, ecclesiastical discipline, civil office, and the bearing of arms, agree wholly or partly with Menno Simons, from whom they derive their name.

1. Distribution.—The Mennonites have congregations in Switzerland (1,000 souls), Germany (18,000), France (1,000), Russia (70,000), the United States (about 120,000), and Canada (about 90,000); those in the Netherlands, though not the greatest in number (65,000), are the most important sections.

(a) Switzerland.—Their true fatherland is Switzerland; they originated there in 1534, when Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz, members of the congregation of Zurich, fled to Switzerland, degenerates, and the greatest abomination of the devil and the Roman pope. They founded a separate congregation in 1538 and baptized their members on confession of faith; a year afterwards they rejected the oath. It is possible, though not probable, that their opinions are connected with those of sects of the Middle Ages, especially the Waldenses. They wished to re-establish the Christian character of the civil authority, rejected paid ministry and the use of the sword, and demanded the exercise of the apostolic excommunication.

In the persecutions of the 16th cent. many of them died as martyrs or fled to South Germany, where they propagated their tenets. In the 17th cent. also the Mennonites in Switzerland were oppressed by the government; imprisonment and deportation to the Italian valleys greatly diminished their number. Again, at the beginning of the 18th cent., the persecution was renewed; even in 1811 the Mennonites were molested. In the midst of these sufferings there arose differences between them: the more rigid—called 'Anabaptists' or 'Anabaptists'—disapproved of every luxury, and demanded that in case of excommunication all intercourse, even between husband and wife, should be, during the period of excommunication, broken off; the less rigid followed Hans Relist; the names of these parties (also 'Obere Mennoniten' and 'Untere Mennoniten') are still preserved among the Mennonites of America.

At the present day the Mennonites in Switzerland are enjoying a new prosperity. They are now free citizens of the State, which allows them exemption from oath-taking and from military service. They have their own organ, *Der Zionstübcher* ('The Pilgrim to Zion').

(b) Germany.—The Mennonites in Germany have continued to survive in spite of great difficulties and oppressions. In the year 1867 they were obliged to give up one of their churches and their defences. Many of them, however, agreed with the resolution of the government, and obtained permission from it to serve in the baggage train of the army. Interest in their history has been aroused recently by the writings of L. Keller.
and Mrs. A. Brons; and, in 1884, in order to prevent the decline of their little number, the Mennonites founded the Vereinigung der Mennoniten-gemeinden in Deutschland (or the Union of the Congregations of Mennonites in the German Empire). Their periodical, Mennonitische Blätter, has been issued since 1895.

They have congregations in Alsace, the Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, Nassau, at the lower part of the Rhine, in Westphalia, East Friesland, at Hamburg, Friedrichstadt, and in West and East Prussia.

(c) Russia. — In 1813 the Mennonites held their first conference at Toul in 1901; their paper, Christ sein, appeared in 1908.

(d) Russia. — An emigration of Mennonites to America took place when the celebrated empress Catharine had promised them great territories in her empire, where they would be permitted to live according to their own religion and customs. About 2000 left Prussia in 1789; 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 congregations therefore declined under the imposition of hands. They prospered, however, in their new fatherland, which gave them a shelter also to the fugitive Mennonites from Hungary. At present their children and grandchildren are found in Warsaw, the Crimea, Saratau, Samara, Caucasus, and Chiwa. In their colonies the school management is exceedingly ordered, the church affairs are managed by the elders of the community, and the soldiers from among the brethren, fulfil not only the duties of their ministry, but also those of their civil calling.

In 1874 a great danger threatened the Mennonites: exemption from military service was abrogated, and thus the privilege conceded to them by the empress Catharine and the emperor Paul was annihilated. Large numbers of Mennonites prepared to quit Russia; in the years 1875-80 more than 15,000 left for America. This measure was made an impression upon the Russian government; the emperor sent the minister, F. E. L. von Todtlenen, to them; after mutual deliberation the resolution was made that the Mennonites could perform their military duties in the forestry of the State. This arrangement has been maintained ever since; the Mennonites, however, according to their old custom, 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 Creiseld resolved to emigrate to the New World. They landed on 6th October 1683, 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 1684, and the emigration continued during the whole of the 16th cent. and still more during the 19th. In 1820 Swiss Mennonites came to America, followed in 1823 by many Swiss from the Rhine, and afterwards, as we have said, by whole congregations from Russia, besides one from Galicia and one from West Prussia.

The emigrants 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 customs and institutions; some of them even entertained the desire to establish in the New World the true Kingdom of God according to His Ordinance. It was only after long deliberation that they dared to entrust the ministry of baptism to the Lord's servant and 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 serpents to writing on 15th April 1888, and delivered the document to the magistrate. In a manly and Christian-like 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, who form the great majority; their periodicals are the Mennonitische Rundschau and The Herald of Truth (the Germ. ed., Herold der Wahrheit, has ceased to appear since 1901—no evidence of the existence of the journals in Pennsylvania among them); (2) 'Amish' Mennonites; and (3) the 'General Conference.' Since 1860 the last-mentioned party has endeavored 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, Kans., was favoured by them.1

2. Characteristics. — 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 suspicious 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 Friesland, Westphalia, and on the Rhine; they have been influenced by the Dutch (see below.) They have remained where their forefathers stood three centuries ago; in order to understand their opinions, it is, therefore, necessary to consult 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 segregation of Israel, the people of the Lord, from the Gentiles, the congregation of Christ ought to be separated from the world; this was done by the external bond of law and commandments that formed a sort of fence round the true believers. As the congregation of the Lord consists only of believing and regenerate 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. Wode, author of the Abriß der Geschichte der Men-
noniten, Newton, 1900-04, who died in 1910.
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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 it as a baptism; he who was baptized as an infant was 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 excommunication, and taught that true believers must avoid all intercourse with an excommunicated member. The charge has often been brought against them that, since they regarded 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 most positively 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 worldly. The congregation was a 'worldly,' a sinful, wedding. They were strangers on the earth; therefore no interference with the powers of the world, no use of the world's goods is to be hidden, not only by the gospel (Mt 5:6 and Ja 5:6) but also for conscience' sake, since in the spiritual Kingdom of God on earth the truth is the highest and the only law. By their sharp contrast between the world and the congregation—the natural and the spiritual—they insisted on the necessity of regeneration; but their doctrine on this subject is legal rather than evangelical in character. They teach that regeneration means an awakening of the soul by the threats and the promises of God, who moves us through these to avoid sin and to live according to His will. These threats and promises are written in His word; therefore it is the seed of regeneration. They meant in good faith to be orthodox, but their dislike of all scholastic terms and their desire to use only the phrases of the NT caused them, sometimes, to disagree with the orthodox; hence they refused to acknowledge the Holy Ghost as a person—they called Him a power of God—and yet they believed that they professed purely the doctrine of the Trinity. They rejected every dogma from which they feared damage to the practice of their piety, for the tenor of their religious life was above all things practical; hence they repudiated most positively the Calvinistic tenets of predestination, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper they followed Zwinger; but, for them, it was more a token of mutual love and unity. They combined with it the rite of feet-washing.

Such were the tenets of the community with which Menno Simons (1496-1561) became connected in 1536. He had been a priest at Witmarsum in Friesland, but after a long inward struggle he left the Roman Catholic Church. From that time he defended in sermons, writings, and disputations the opinions of his fellow-believers so earnestly that they were called after him—Mennonites. They had already suffered heavy losses by persecutions; but they struggled bravely on; no torture—not even death at the stake—could terrify them. The congregation in Amsterdam was founded in 1530 by Jan Matthijsz, a member of the Celebrated Family of the celebrated Probably 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 century their number declined for many reasons. The lay-preachers, elected from 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 most, a handful of the former Mennonite leaders and the Men- nonite preachers continued, and the spiritual well-being of the people and the spreading of a higher civilization were objects of great care. The Textor's Gesellschaftsrednisse (1803; 1808) and the Manuskriptent des Roten Kreuzes and the Mennonite Schüller und das Wachstum der Mennoniten (1804; 1808) ("Society for the Promotion of the General Good")—two institutions— which to this day do a large amount of useful work—were founded in 1778 and 1784 by Mennonites. Thus, the rise of 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 Societéit ("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 independent congregations. By its influence the desirable end was obtained that all the congregations, in this country, possessed only ministers who had received a university education. From that time their seclusion from the other Protestants ceased. In the theological sciences the Mennonites are able to hold their own with the Dutch, e.g., J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, A. W. Wybrandse, C. Sepp, and Cramer. Often their ministers preach to congregations of another confession—in other words, they exchange pulpits. The professors of their seminary are members of the society of 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 respective 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 unanonymity. Their ministers are elected by the majority of the brethren (and often also of the sisters) or, in many congregations, by the church-committees. They are not ordained and wear no official dress, for they form no class and have no authority. Consequently, 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 them are liberal; their political ideas are derived from 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 a man's inward thought and rises prolatus cum intentione discordi fata. 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 violating moral order; he is using his power for an illegal end, even if he does not contain 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 Theologica, II, IIa, q. 110, arts. 1, 3). 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 grave difficulties. 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. xiii.). But even to 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 assent, would constitute a flagrant assault upon the sacred and inviolable character of those elementary principles of justice is not a whit less wrong than a sin against veracity.

Here, then, arises the question as to the permissibility of mental reservation when, and where, and to whom it shall be made. The answer to this question is, in my opinion, directly to be sought in the principles of the law. A speaker is said to have a mental reservation when his statement is true only if qualified by a restrictive clause, and when he does not openly express this clause but '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 as a private citizen.'

The general verdict of theologians is that a man may lawfully use mental reservations under certain given conditions, viz., if they be a partial need of the case, and if the external circumstances 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 reservations for the purpose of the case, and the words themselves are not to be understood as such. On the other hand, if the speaker reserves the words, he is to be understood to mean that he does not want the words to be understood in their ordinary sense, but that they are to be understood in a restricted sense.

In the 16th cent. a prolonged controversy arose as to the permissibility of the restriction purae mentalis, viz., a mental reservation, the case of which is not to be understood by any external circumstances whatever. The first to put forward this opinion appears to have been the famous canonist Martin de Apulien (Doctor Navarrus); 1459-1538). His authority was so great that he was followed by a number of other writers, a few of whom also had the authority of notes, including L. Lessius, A. Giovanni, 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. Layman, J. Azor, H. de Comenius, and many others. In 1679 the pope condemned three propositions drawn from the works of those who defended the use of the restriction purae mentalis (H. Donzinger and C. Bannwart, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Freiburg, 1111. nos. 1176-11759). Since that time the opinion has been acknowledged to be theologically 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. They teach that the right of lying consists in its being an offence against justice, and that, where that right exists, falsehood is legitimate—thus, e.g., Grothus, in Post Belli et Pacis, III. i. 11). J. Milton (Treatise of Christian Doctrine, in Prose Works, London, 1814-55, v. 115-119), Jeremy Taylor (Ductor Dubitantium, in Works, London, 1652, v. 311, 1821), W. Paley (Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, bk. iii. ch. 15, in Works, London, 1821, v. 135). For reasons given above this view is regarded as erroneous by the Roman Catholic theologians.


MERCY.—Mercy, as an ethical quality predictable of both God and man, may be usefully dis-
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 lose the opportunity of appreciating the free, unbothered mercy of God. Hence the promise to the merciful that they shall receive mercy (Mt. 5:7) expresses one aspect of the moral nature of things.

Human mercy must take the mercy of God as its model and inspiration. Like its exemplar, it is not to be accurately doled out in proportion to the receiver’s deserts; in its perfection it will rather exhibit a certain abandonment to a loving grace flowing uninstructively, and will ask no questions about the offender save as to his penitence. But feasible and complaisant mercy is as demoralizing as indiscriminate charity. ‘Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful’ (Lk 6:36) 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 the face of a far more a mode of comfortable security; 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 inconsiderable 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 efficacy 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 ethological origin and development, no less than religious prejudices and ethical culture, have contributed to a resultant quality, which can be defined only in the most general terms.

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 enjoying the exhibition of kindness, 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 prejudice, allying themselves with caste distinctions, promoted the growth of a narrow partisanship and class organization, within which the development of a spirit of fraternity and human kindness was as little practicable as that of community of interest. The earlier periods of Indian history and social life also show clearly the prevailing feelings of mutual hostility and dislike which existed universally among groups of primitive peoples dwelling in a wide land, among whom isolation and the difficulties of communication are an effective ground of suspicion and of the feeling that which presents itself as of unknown char-
Mercy (Indian) 587

The ceremony he had been led to believe was all that he needed, he supposed, to be complete.

As the days went by, the Gita became a constant feature of their lives. The Bhagavad-Gita was recited daily, and its lessons were applied to everyday situations.

In the end, the young man grew to love the Gita and its teachings. He realized that the true meaning of life was not in material possessions but in spiritual growth and inner peace. The Bhagavad-Gita had taught him to see beyond the surface of things and to look for the essence of reality.
greatest emperor, Aśoka, and emphasized and extolled a generous tolerance towards the feel- ings and beliefs of others. This love of their fellow men, 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. The Buddhist faith itself had become extinct 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 meekness and respect for life in all its manifestations, but carried those principles to an extravagant and abnormal length. Even noxious creatures, however irritating or insig- nificant, 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 compatible with the development and the qualities of a real compassion. Buddhism, moreover, in the days of its strength in India, made provision for sick, infirm, or worn-out animals in special hospitals; and similar institutions, established by adherents of the Hindu and Jain faiths, for many centuries past and even at the present time, bear witness to a compassionate spirit worthy of all commenda- tion. To Western thought, however, these institu- tions appear not seldom to 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 fulfillment 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 cruel and jealous clash of battle, the warlike spirit of Islam bore down all religious opposition and refused to accept the symbol and confession of faith of the vanquished creed. From the minds of the conquering religious fanatics, 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. The warfare before Islam led the way religious prejudice or rivalry ever found expression to any considerable extent in overt acts of persecution. The warfare before Islam was waged by word and argument in the schools and royal courts, but not by violence. 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 on both sides, ready to spring to arms and perpetrate cruelties on any violation of religious comity or outrage upon religious conviction.

Two further external influences deserve consider- ation, but are of very unequal weight and importance. Of non-Christian ethical systems that of the Parsis is unrivalled for its merciful spirit and regard for the poor and necessities of its own religion and the principle and to uplift the people of their own faith alone; and, except by way of example, it cannot be said that their principles or practice have made any deep impression on the nation as a whole. Their numbers, moreover, are too few, and their social servitude 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.

By with Christianity it has been entirely other- wise. From the beginning it threw itself into the national and social life of the country, and, as far as the religious sentiment and pride of its oppo- nents would permit, endeavoured to permeate society with its principles and to uplift the people 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 acknowl- edged 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 people. Whether or how far early Buddhism was indebted to Christianity for moral precept and belief re- mains an open question, to which it is improbable that any definite or certain answer can ever be given. The later centuries, however, afford abund- ant 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 last two centuries, and it was especially marked in the reforming movements of the 19th cent., whose leaders never hesitated to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christian teaching and to the Christian Scriptures. Rama Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, and others, to a large extent accepted the principles of the Christian faith, while repudiating its more distinctive doc- trines (see art. BRAHMAMANAJ). 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 con- sideration for the sorer distress of others, if not altogether due to the leaders' knowledge and their own example of Christianity, were thereby greatly strengthened. With the example of the Arya Samaj (q.v.), however, which exercises a growing ascendency in many directions, the con-tribution of these sects to the spirit and thought of India has not been completed, and full effect at one time was anticipated. The lessen 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 beneficent character of the divine powers. The Vedic deities are, for the most part, kindly disposed towards mankind. It is reasonable to suppose that in those remote ages also the quality of mercy was one of the attributes of the gods because it was appreciated and practised 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 inseparable of complete reconciliation, existed side by side throughout the entire development of Indian spiritual and ethical history. Like most Orientals the Indian is by nature gentle and disposed to kindliness and generosity; and this aspect of his disposition found expression in the Bhagavad-Gita and kindred works, and was put into practice by those sects which more freely acknowledged its authority and were permeated by its spirit. Lower and darker forms of religious faith maintained a cruel and blood-stained ritual, the effectiveness of which on those who followed it could not fail to promote hardness and insensibility to suffering or need. And the more influential systems of philosophy, if not actively hostile to considerations of humanity and brotherly love, at least stood aside, and found the main interest in 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. These considerations, however, justify 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 the philosophy of India. See art. HINDUISM, JANMAK, BABAHIYA-MARGA, BIMALA-SAMAI.

A. S. GEDEN.

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.

'0 my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins does God forgive' (Qur'an, xxxiv. 54). 'Who despairs of the mercy of his Lord, has drawn the cord of life' (Qur'an, vi. 92).

The words 'In the name of God, the Merciful One,' form the heading of all chapters of the Qur'an except the ninth. Al-Rahman, the Merciful One, is one of the names of God; it is used in some stras for Allah. The Qur'an refers in various ways to the mercy of God. The angels who celebrate His praises cry out: 'Our Lord! thou dost embrace all things in mercy and knowledge. And verily on the ground that he was a thing and, therefore, part of the 'all things.' The reply is that the mercy refers only to the obedient and 'adds to the ruin of the wicked' (xxvii. 84). The 'treasures of the Qur'an' is expressed by the word 'mercy' 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' (xx. 20). The Qur'an is frequently called a 'mercy.'

'0 my servants, now 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' (xx. 61). And we say to the Qur'an that it is a healing and a good omen to the faithful, that it shall add to the ruin of the wicked' (viii. 84). It is said of those who followed the Prophet that God put into their hearts 'mercy and compassion' (viii. 27); but this is not consistent with the denunciation of them (ix. 29-35) and the prohibition of friendship with them (v. 56). The words probably apply to Christians who became Muslims, for the passage goes on to address those who believe:

'Fear God and believe in His apostles; two portions of His mercy will be given to you; He will bestow upon you a light to walk in' (viii. 92).

The two portions are: one for believing in Muhammad, and one for belief in the former prophets (Bala'awi). The light is either the Qur'an to enable the convert to walk in the night path, or, if the walking refers to the bridge (al-Sirat) finer than a hair, over which all must pass at the Last Day, then the 'light which leads the servant of God to his own house' (vii. 159). And the bridge is an allusion to paradise, where the faithful shall walk over that bridge.

One chapter of the Qur'an (iv.) is called Suriat-al-Rahman, the 'chapter of the Merciful One,' and begins: 'The law of God, which He has created man, hath taught him articulate speech.' The phrase 'God is merciful' is in constant use, and in practical daily life has overshadowed 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).

EDWARD SELL.

MERIT (Introductory and non-Christian).—In the earlier stages of religious development, as it is attested by abundant examples in artt. BLES, ARD OF THE (Primitive and Savage), ESCHATOLOGY, 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 position, 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 no weight in deciding the question. Why, 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—and within Christianity only Roman Catholicism gives full recognition in its official statements to all three. The doctrine of the merit of good works has fared poorly. Some religions practically ignore it, notably the Bhakti-Marga and the Sufism (q.v.) of Persia. In both of these the attitude may be due to what they regard as undue stress on good works in Hinduism and Muhammadanism, respectively. The attribute of over-emphasis on faith and love to the exclusion of good works is dangerously apt to degenerate into an antinomianism which is a pitiful parody of religion at its best. Love alone is practically the sole condition of salvation to the Sufi, and to the follower of the Bhakti-Marga: faith is scarcely concerned except in so far as one naturally believes
with firmness what one loves with fervour. Faith and works are the essential bases of Mandaeanism (W. Brandt, Mandaeanische Religion, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 171-174). Mere intellectual faith, without love or works, has never been held, so far as the writer knows, to be the basis of salvation, except possibly in extreme Lutheranism.

The stress laid by St. Paul on justification 'by faith apart from the deeds of the law' (Ro 3:28; cf. 5, Gal 2:21) must not be wrested from its context in the Galatians-X chronology. St. Paul himself tells us that love is greater even than faith (1 Co 13), and that 'faith worketh by love' (Gal 5:6; cf. 1 Th 1:2, 1 Ti 1:1); there was reason for him to speak disparagingly of works—it was necessary for him to combat the excessive notionism 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 8:1f.), enjoining the church at Philippi to 'work out your own salvation with fear and trembling' (Ph 2:12), and at Thessalonica to 'work together for the good work of faith and charity' (1 Th 3:1). Everywhere, as among the Caribbeans and the Negroes of Guinea, the good alone enjoy immortality, the wicked being annihilated (Ps. 94:10). The distinction between 'good' and 'bad' must invariably be interpreted by the standards of the particular peoples concerned. If this is done, there is undoubtedly a very real ethical basis in this 'good' and 'bad', though quite rudimentary, as the foundation of the belief in the future destiny of the soul.

The doctrine of the merit of works is much developed in the higher religions, especially in Egyptian (cf. art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), 7:1f.) and Vedic (cf. Muir, V. [1872] 284 ff.), and reaches its non-Christian 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 (PCC iv. 84 f.).

The idea of the merit of works is similar to the idea that has developed into the idea that what gives prosperity and renown to one of the gods is his or her ability to secure the most abundant crops, and to contrast the benefits enjoyed in the peaceful society with the miserable condition of the oppressed subject in the foreign lands at the time.

Turning to the higher religions, we observe, first, that the teaching of Muhammadanism on the subject of merit is practically the effect that good works are requisite, but that the true believer, being guided by Allah to perform them, is, in reality, saved only by divine grace, while the wicked are punished for the deeds of which they have committed, and for the refusal to submit to divine guidance. The problem is complicated here by the fatalism 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, xl. 17). It is equally true that whoever of the 'People of the Book' 'believes in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord' (ii. 59; cf. ii. 106, 215, iii. 194, iv. 60, 121-123, 125, v. 73, vii. 40, xi. 14, xxv. 64-76; the idea is closely paralleled by Aa 10, 10; and elsewhere faith is conjoined with observance of almsgiving and the appointed times of prayer (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 case also of the Koran (xxxvii. 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 you.

'Ye shall surely taste the painful punishment, and ye shall not be rewarded but as ye have wrought.'

'Save the sincere servans of God! . . . But for the fayour of my Lord, I had surely been of those who have been brought into damnation.'

In a word, the saved declare (vii. 41): 'Praise be to God who hath guided us hither! We had
The complete development of the theory of merit among the religious systems is undoubtedly found in India. The main aspects have already been considered at length in the art. KARMA, wherein the concept of merit is closely connected—as it is in several other religious systems—with belief in transmigration (q.v.) and in asceticism (q.v.). One aspect, however, has not been considered in detail, namely, the translation of merit by means of supernatural experiences in this life.

On the theory of sacrifice as set forth by the Brāhmaṇas,—i.e., that it is a rite which ipso facto compels the result at which it aims—is follows, that the accumulation of merit not only by sacrifices 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 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 ascetic means.

Thus, Bull conquered Indra and all the other gods except Vigna, and ruled the world until Vigna enthroned him. Chya-ya, who could not compete with the gods, was caged in the sea by the gods to prevent him from interfering with their activities. The sage is again alluded to in the Purāṇas, where he is described as the ancestor of the Bhaṭṭas, theLearn how to skin the tiger in which the tiger is skinned, the skin is not skinned.

In later Zoroastrianism merit conditions very strictly one's position in the future world. Through full renunciation of sin and complete confession of it, the duty and good works which were before punishment become reward to a man (Sāvyastā that Sāvyastā, vii. 5-9). These who go evil and evil exactly balance go neither to heaven nor to hell, but to Hāmestāgān, the 'Ever-stationary' (cf. L. H. Gray, Macmillan, new ser., iii. [1862] 17s), which in one text (Dhāthita-Daik, xxiv. 6, xxxii. 2) is divided into two parts, one for those whose goodness slightly preponderates, and the other for those whose evil minutely outweighs the balance. Not only is punishment in keeping with one's sin (cf. M. N. Dhalla, Zoroastrian Theology, New York, 1914, pp. 5f., 273-375, 280f.), 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 caldron or was undergoing some other torment had one of his legs stretched out unbound, because he had either found a way to keep the, hungry animal that was dead and could not be used for food, or some poisonous creatures with it. He had not done any other evil deed, yet he was born again (Chicago, 190r, p. 381, with ref.; cf. also L. G. Canartell, Philosophy of the Zoroastrian Religion, in the American Historical Review, 1902, p. 167f.).

Merits as well as the doctrine of the merits of the saints teaches, not only for one's self, but also for others. The doctrine is as it were the opposite of asceticism as well as by the other form of Christianity. In the Buddhist Upāsana asamālamārthas, or ritual
to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God!" Nevertheless, there is always the idea in reserve of a judgment by which such deeds as to be cut down; and as is 1st, the alternative of reward for obedience and punishment for disobedience is very clearly propounded (cf. also 2nd).

With the codification of the prophetic morality in the Law, however, the standpoint of merit became much more clearly defined. In Dt 27-29, e.g., the whole duty of religion is brought under the heading of the blessing which rewards obedience to the Law after death is distinctly all of the curse which follows disobedience. In Dt 5:29 also is found the important idea of a 'righteousness before God' established by the performance of the precepts. Prophecy after the establishment of the Law tends more and more to be conformed to the legal standpoint. The general idea of reward and punishment is applied in a very atomistic way to the individual by Esriel (cf. Gn 31:18-22; other notable passages of a similar general tendency in later prophecy are Is 65:17-18; 66:14-16, Mal 3:1-4).

The practical way in which the motives of the hope of reward and fear of punishment operated in the Jewish legalistic code can be studied in Proverbs and Ecclesiastics (cf. Pr 19:17, Sir 12:9-29). It should be noted, however, that so far there is no idea of rewards or punishments in a future life. The life after death in which is conceivable in all the earlier stages of the Jewish religion as without moral distinction. In the further development of religion during the Greek period, however, moral distinctions are extended into the next life, while in the Pauline writings Judaism antagonistic to Greek influence the scribes further developed the preceding legalism into a complete formalism.

In this formalism the different moral duties are regarded in great detail and in separation from one another. The moral task is not viewed as a whole, but as the sum of single observances. The duties of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving are especially prominent. Reward varies precisely as performance:

* He who performs one precept has got himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression has got himself one accuser (Pseudo Aabot, iv. 13, ed. G. Taylor, Cambridge, 1897, p. 69).

The reward is partly present, partly future; where this world falls fully to reward or punish, the next world rewards the balance.

This atomistic conception of moral duties is to give great prominence to the external and ceremonial duties. It leads naturally to the idea of righteousness by works which was so prevalent in Pharisaic circles in NT times.

Life under the Law was certainly not wholly formalism and externalism. Examples of real heart religion were still to be found among the Jews of this time. G. G. Montefiore rightly insists that the tendency to formalism represents only one aspect of the later Judaism, and that it is not fair to judge it by this aspect alone (see Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews [HL], London, 1897, lect. ix.).

The same truth is emphasized by G. Dalman in his Worte Jesu (Eng. tr., The Words of Jesus, Edinburgh, 1902).

Moreover, in the formalistic aspect of the religion of the scribes must here be emphasized, for the following reasons: (1) it distinguishes it from the earlier prophetic stages of the prophetic religion (§5); (2) it expresses the protest of the NT against the religion of the scribes; (3) it still influences the Roman Catholic conception of merit.

* Just because the catechisms for the elementary schools speak of it (Catechetical Instruction of the Church of Rome, 16th and 17th cent.; cf. also 19th cent.), to 18th for the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works, we must go back to the religion of Judaism (B. Thiene, in FRB. ser. xii. 110).

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 Phil son's also combines with the wisdom literature of the Law Plato's philosophical doctrine of virtue. On the subject of moral retribution Wisdom remains practically one with the earlier Ecclesiastics. Plato, however, further distinguishes itself 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, here as a living death, the reward of virtue as communion with God (see J. Drummond, art. 'Philo', in DDB. v. 207).

As regards the views of ascetic paganism, when Christianity begins, 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 merits, eter life or, in the case of the good and the punishment for their evil deeds (Rep. x. 611 B, Gorg. 503 C, Phaedo, 118 F.) Here, however, the more conception of merit is overlaid by the other, that he who strives after righteousness and virtue seeks happiness, the happiness hereafter will not be overlooked by God (Rep. x. 613 A B) (J. Kusen, in PREP. xx. 503).

The last thoughts carry us beyond the sphere of the doctrine of merit. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that in paganism, as well as in Judaism, the view that regards God above all things as a rewarder of good and evil, and tends to review his relation to men under legal analogies, was the dominant and most usual religious theory. The total position of things is well summed up by Schultze in SK. Lxxvii. 9:

* When Christianity entered the world and found its first expression in the dominion of Jesus' circle, the theocratic and priestly in the religious character of the scribes, and of every man's with which his fate was to be settled, was a self-evident axion. A different relation of man to God, now that the prophetic type of religion had ceased to be influential, was not in general imaginable. With faith in God as the representative of the moral order of the world, there appeared to be evidently given the faith that He rewards and punishes according to the rule of human law.'

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 upon which Montefiore and Dalman insist. It is in the first place, essentially ethico-religious; religion and morality are completely blended in it. Jesus demands of His disciples an absolute conformity with the will of God (Mt 5:20), a righteousness better than that of the scribes (Mt 5:21). Without this none can enter into the kingdom of heaven (7). 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 (9).

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 rewarded was Jesus' message. He reiterates again and again (Mt 5:6, 20, etc.) He speaks once (unless it be the Evangelist) of 'good works' (ouncements, etc.) but he did not reproach the question: 'What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' (Mt 10): in His answer, moreover, He points the aker to the keeping of the commandments. Of, further, the teaching of the parables of the faithful and unfaithful servants
The principle of merit, therefore, occupies a somewhat ambiguous position in the teaching of Jesus Himself. The necessity of righteousness is absolute, alike for the Jewish Christianity of the Epistle of James and the anti-Jewish Christianity of Paul, as well as for the other NT writers (cfr. Ja 1:22, Gal 5:4-5, Eph 5:3, 1 Jn 3:22 esp. v.7). 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 3:28, Gal 3:11, observe especially the direct exclusion, in so many words, of the principle of merit in Ro 4:6). Yet the Apostle teaches also that reward and punishment are both just and justifying (e.g., Gal 6:7, 2 Th 1, and also Col 3:24, Eph 6:8, 1 Ti 4:8, 2 Ti 4:8). 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 (cfr. 1 Cor 11:29, etc., Ja 2:24; 4:12, 1 P. 3). etc., He 10:10; 11:2, 13). The current idea of retribution is therefore almost universal in the NT, though, as Schults says (cfr. 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 Schults as follows:

"At bottom there is no room for it. The true life work, which the community neglects at God of God, and in this belief eternal life is already given, is possession and as hope" (p. 13).

Here, then, enters a problem which the NT writers undeniably had to face. What is the relation of the doctrine of retribution, which the NT has in common with the current thought of its age, to the specifically Christian idea of the Divine Fatherhood, or of justification by faith? This is a problem whose 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 (cfr. Mt 25:31-32, Lk 17), He thereby does away with the idea of merit and reward in the strict sense.

"The servant in the sense of antiquity acquires no merit. He the more praised when he has done all he should (Lk 17). His master can reward him, but that remains at bottom an act of good pleasure" (Schults, p. 15).

The same thing is also true, where Jesus actually does speak of paid labourers, 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 20:15).

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.

"Only where the tree is good, can the fruit be good (Mt 12:17). It is the conduct of life, the life itself (v.16)."

Paul, again, suggests a reconciliation between the idea of justification by faith and judgment according to works in the idea of reward for good works as the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:6ff.). Where justification is, there is also the gift of the Spirit, and therefore also good works. Thus Paul warns against both justification and its future judgment must coincide (R. S. Franks, Man, Sin, and Salvation, London and Edinburgh, 1906, p. 104).

Again, in Eph 2:8-10 good works appear not as a condition, but as a result of salvation. Sometimes, however, the ethical interest predominates that Paul even comes to represent future salvation as conditional on perseverance in faith and obedience (ib. p. 129). Cf. Ro 5:3, 1 Co 2:12, Ph 3:11 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. That 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. But it must 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 ethical and theological problem in Christian religion, as originally stated, which 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—which they received was naturally conditioned by their previous preparation. It is not 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 weasely 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 and but little receptivity awaiting them. Hence the stress is especially laid on the merit of fastings and amsugiving. Cfr. 2 Clem. xvi. 4 (amsugiving becomes a mitigation of sin); Barn. xix.; 2 Clem. ii. 3, vili. 4-6, Sim. ix. xviii. 5, xi. 4. We actually find already the idea of a work of supererogation (Hermas, Sim. v. iii. 3: "If thou dost 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 juristic stamp, which it has never lost in Latin Catholicism. A typical sentence is:"A good deed has God as its debtor, just as also evil one, because a judge is a rewarder of every cause" (de Poen. 2). Tertullian, in fact, looks upon the 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-
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mined purely according to legal standards. All good works are in general meritorious; merit, however, is reserved by St. John Damascene to such as go beyond the strict demands of God—e.g., fasting and the maintenance of virginity. Retribution is strictly according to merit (Scorpi., vi., De Pat. x., ad Scap. iv.).

These ideas are continued by the later Latin Fathers. Ambrose, however, begins to correlate them with the idea of divine grace—a work completed by Augustine. The latter still maintains that eternal life must be won by merit, and that the good we establish merit, but the divine grace alone can enable men to perform good works, so that all our merits are God's gifts, and, when God crowns our merits, He crowns in reality simply His own gifts (Euch. civ., Ep. cxxviii. 19).

The teaching of Augustine is systematized and modified by the medieval schoolmen. The idea that eternal salvation must be merited by good works, not by grace, carates to them all. Baptismal grace simply puts men into a condition to win merit. Works are not properly meritorious unless done from an inner principle of love (corpus), which is infused in the heart by the Sacraments, however, modified this doctrine by distinguishing between two degrees of merit, 'meritum de condigno' and 'meritum de condigno, et de gracia gratiae data.' In this way, he further taught that, while 'meritum de condigno,' or merit which God owes a reward in strict justice, is possible only by the help of saving grace, 'meritum de condigno, et de gracia gratiae data' because His mercy goes beyond strict justice, is possible by the help of general grace. In this way even the first grace can be merited (F. Loox, Dogmengeschichte, ii. 1906, p. 544 ff.) by Thomas Aquinas was more cautious. He denied the possibility of merit before baptism. All merit, however, so far as it proceeds from the free will is 'de condigno'; so far as it proceeds from grace, it is 'de condigno et de gratia' (ib. p. 549 f.). Duns Scotus taught that 'meritum de condigno' was possible to a man in 'vita naturalis' according to God's 'potentia absoluta,' not, however, according to his 'potentia ordinata' (ib. p. 590 f.). Finally, the Nominalist Scholastics, like William of Occam, taught without hesitation that he who does what is in him can merit 'de condigno' the grace which enables him 'de condigno et de gratia' to merit salvation (ib. p. 601 f.).

Luther, however, elevated what was thus occasionally expressed in the Middle Ages as a devo
tional 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 is by faith alone. Works are not the condition of eternal salvation, but 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
tice Church at the Council of Trent stamped with its approval the medieval doctrines of good works (see sen. vii. can. 6, viii. can. 1). The pope took up the Roman Catholic point of view when he says: 'The common opinion of all Catholics is that good works are truly and properly meritorious, and that not merely of some particular kind, but of any kind. The true and eternal life itself' (de Justificatione, v. 1 [Disputationes, Ingolstadt, 1585, vol. i. ii.]).

Protestantism as a whole, both Lutheran and Reformed, completely agrees with the position of Luther, as expressed above. In the Roman Church there was, however, a controversy as to the necessity of good works. If they were not to be regarded as the meritorious cause of salvation, the question was in what relation they stood to it. Melanchthon used phrases which were thought to imply that good works, though not the ground of justification, were nevertheless a causa sine qua non of our acceptance with God. To this mode of expression Luther objected, as good works are the consequence, and in no sense the condition, of justification. Agricola, a pupil of his, went further, and taught that good works are not necessary to salvation, the Law remaining under the gospel, not indeed as a means of justification, but as a revelation of the will of God as to what men ought to do (C. Hodge, Systematic Theology, London and Edinburgh, 1872-73, iii. 238).

The controversy was renewed not long afterwards in consequence of the doctrine of George W. David, professor at Wittenberg, who had also been a pupil of Luther and Melanchthon. Major was accused of teaching that good works were necessary to justification, but not to salvation. He maintained that good works were not necessary as meritorious of salvation, but were necessary as fruits of faith. He admitted that the sinner was in a state of salvation as soon as he believed, but taught that, if his faith did not produce good works, it was not saving faith. N. von Amsdorf, his chief opponent, taught, on the other hand, that, though the statement that good works were necessary to salvation might be true in a general way, it was misleading. Good works are necessary to sanctification, but not to salvation in the proper sense, which is identical with justification. Amsdorf went so far as even to say that good works were harmful to salvation (op. cit. p. 263 f.).

These controversies were closed by the Formula of Concord (1559), in which, on the one hand, condemns the statement that good works are necessary to salvation, but, on the other, equally rejects the doctrine that they are harmful to salvation. Men are to be shown how necessary it is to exercise themselves towards God in good works, but also how necessary it is to avoid all thought of good works in the matter of justification. Finally, the Formula condemns the idea that faith in Christ can consist with intentional or wilful sin (cf. F. C. Epist., ed. Leipzig, 1587, ix., 'de Bonis Operibus').

The Formula of Concord closes the discussion of the doctrine of good works in orthodox dogmatism. It remains now only to notice that, since the Formula was composed, the whole question of the place of good works in Christianity has gone through a phase. The essentially ethical character of modern Protestant theology, with its emphasis on the teaching of the OT prophets, and still more on that of Christ, makes the question whether good works are necessary to salvation seem almost absurd. At the same time, in the sense in which the Formula of Concord denies that good works are necessary to salvation, modern Protestant theology is absolutely at one with it. It repudiates the Roman Catholic
medieval romances 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 literature as a see, until finally, in the Merlin romances, his character as a magician predominates. The origin of the name Myrddin or Merddin is uncertain, and it is only by accident that it has become identical with the Latin Merlinus. Myrddin, the Welsh name for Carmarthen, since, in that name, Myrddin (in its mutated form Fryd-fyn) is the later phonetic equivalent of the Celtic Mori-danon (‘the fortress near the sea’). The reason for the substitution of I for dd (=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 is a double one, to the popular view that it is simply a corruption of a certain proper name of a man who is not Christian. The Ritschlian doctrine on this point has been by no means generally accepted. Many would still agree with C. Gore when, commenting on Ro 2:29, he speaks of natural religion as the necessary and essential basis of all evangelic 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 Ritschlian position be refused, no satisfactory synthesis has yet been attained. And, further, Ritsch is surely right in saying that the ethics of good works is 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 the very opposite of 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 connexion with which there is a perpetual danger of a reversion to a lower stage of religion.


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MERLIN.—The name Merlin is a modification, first found in its Latinized form Merlina, of the Welsh Merfyn or Merddin. That the latter form was used in Welsh literature is shown by a line of the poet Dafydd ab Gwilym (middle 14th cent.), which attests the pronunciation of s in the first syllable. In
Since it is clear that the legend of Myrddin (Merlin), in its earlier developments, must have accompanied the Welsh materials of 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. The Welsh material of the Myrddin legend do not go farther back than the 12th cent., but they doubtless embody more primitive features, though it is no longer easy to determine these exactly. The Welsh Myrddin legend showed its popularity in Wales, in the 12th cent. and later, to its convenience as a vehicle for the annunciation 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 Arderwydd (often wrongly written Ardderyd), caused the death of the son of his sister Gwenddwyl, who apparently was the wife of Rhuddderch Hael, a prince of Strathclyde, who, in the battle in question, was the opponent of another Northern prince, Gwenddolyn, with whose court Myrddin as a poet met. According to this Welsh legend, smitten with remorse, he flees in his frenzy, under the pursuit of Rhuddderch Hael and his hounds, to the Forest of Caledonia (Coed Celyddon), to which, in Welsh medieval legend, allusion was sometimes made 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 heart of the forest. Under this apple-tree 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 way of the conventions of that period, his prophecies were sometimes made to him by a female friend, who bears in Welsh the name Chwimmian or Chwiplein, who is probably the original of the Viviane of the later Merlin romances. 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 noteworthy that in no part of early Welsh literature, even in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which is one of the most important, there was any attempt to connect Myrddin with Carmarthen (in Welsh, Caer Ffyrdin), as was done by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hence we may conclude that the story of the connexion of Myrddin with the North and with the battle of Arderwydd—fought, according to the Annales Cambriae (ed. Monumenta hist. Britannica, i, London, 1843, pp. 830-840), 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 Ridder Hen (Hist. Brit. ad ann. 597, ed. Mon. hist. Brit. i. 70), who is probably to be identified with Rhuddderch Hael, while the life of St. Kentigern (xvif. 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 Lailloch, or Laloik, whose name is clearly the same as that of Liallog, identified with Myrddin in a poem purporting to be a conversation between Myrddin and his sister Gwenddydd, found in the Laloik story (Laloik in the Annales Cambriae (The Conversion of Myrddin), H. L. D. Ward (in Romania, xxii. [1893] 504 E) has published another version of the Laloik story, from two fragments in the Brit. Mus., and has adduced conclusive evidence to show that Liallog (Laloik) is a proper name, found, e.g., in a Breton document called the Breton Cartulaire de Tréguier, in which it is written Lalaig (Lat. Lullagin), and in which it is written as Lalaig (Lat. Lullagin) in the Annales Cambriae (Arnortid). This simpler form of Liallog, Liallwe (Lallog), is probably a purely Welsh variant. It may be stated that the precise site of Arderwydd (given in the Annales Cambriae as Arnedwydd) has not been fixed with certainty, the usual identification with Arthur being based on a false pronunciation, but it is probable that the name Gwenddydd survives as the place-name Gwennadlo (Caer Wenedhol) near Carlisle. In the fragments given above, Laloik is said to have been driven mad by the events of the great battle 'in campo inter Label et Carwanowlo sitiato.'

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 the allusion into the mouth of the latter in the first poem of the Black Book of Carmarthen, a dialogue between him and Taliesin about the battle of Arderwydd, to the effect that Myrddin's prophecy was more widely 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 (see D. Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, Eng. tr., E. F. M. Benceke, London, 1899). As for the genesis of such prophecies as those of Myrddin, the original models were probably oracular communication, 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, nor was there an interest in vaticinations confined to Wales, as may be seen, e.g., in the popularity of such writers of prophecies as Atcheryn, Lanfranc, John of Bridlington, Thomas of Epsom, and others in England, not to speak of Merlin himself.

In the Black Book of Carmarthen (12th cent.) the two chief forms of the prophecy connected with the Myrddin legend are those known as the Aflaillinn ('The Apple-trees') and the Holinau ('The Hail'). 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 Frydlyn (Pielland) in the North Mon (Anglesey), Ardudwy (N.W. Merioneth) and Dwyrydwy (near Carnarvon) in N. Wales, Core Pochan and Puan Adam (Pynlimon) in Cardiganshire, and the rivers Tawe, Teifi, Towy, Machafwy, and Edryw in S. Wales. The Holinau poem refers to the disagreement between Henry II. and Henry III., and also to the Welsh prince, Llewelyn ab Lorwerth, lord of Gwynnedd or N.W. Wales. There are allusions in this poem to Gwynnedd (N.W. Wales), and to Tŷ 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 Disputationes and notes of J. Gwenogvryn Evans's edition of the Black Book of Carmarthen. Here, again, most of the topographical allusions are to places in S. Wales, such as Dyfed (S.W. Wales), St. Davids, Milford Haven, Mynyw (Monmouth), y Sarnfren.
and Castell Collwy in Radnorshire, together with the rivers Taraday, Mynwy (the Monnow), Machafwy, and Teifi, while there are also allusions to certain famous battles of early Welsh history, which are probably taken from some current ballad list of such battles.

In the *Book of Taliesin* (14th cent.) there is a similar prophetic poem (but without any account of the Myrddin legend itself), put into the mouth of the *Prophetes Prydain Foues* (*The Prophecy of Great Britain*). The events which are foretold are similar in character to those of the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau*. There are other poems in 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 with affinity with the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau*, but which may have been composed later. They undoubtedly belong, like the latter, to the Welsh Myrddin tradition. These two poems are (1) *Kyvessi Myrddin a Gweneddy y chaster* ('The Conversation of Myrddin with his sister Gweneddy'), and (2) *Gwysgargerd Vyrddin yn y bedd*, 'The Diffused Song of Myrddin in the grave.' Though there are allusions which make it clear that their writers were familiar with the legend of him called Myrddin, Myrddin in these poems is little else than the instrument of prophecy. It may be of interest to note that a common feature of the Myrddin and other prophetic books of the Middle Ages was an expectation of the return of the princes Cymru and Cadwalladr to life, in order to lead jointly the Welsh forces to victory over the English.

It is in the *Kyvessi* poem that the term *llallogen*, already mentioned, appears. Though the word is doubtless in origin a proper name, yet W. O. Pughe (Nat. Dict. of the Welsh Lang., 2, Denbigh, 1892, s.v.) interpreted both it and *llalageno* as meaning 'twin brother.' It is not improbable that the term was misunderstood in this sense, even by the author of the *Kyvessi*, since he makes Gwenddydd speak of 'my italyddion Myrddin,' while the term *Italagen*, as a synonym for *llallogen*, is doubtless invented from it by analogy. In the original Welsh *Italagen* is a name with which Myrddin is associated in the *Gwysgargerd Vyrddin*, and it is this Laloicen that is identified in the *Scithrochonum* (ii. 31; ed. W. Goodall, Edinburgh, 1759), as in the *Kyvessi* poem, with Merlin. Poems *xxi.,* *xxii.,* and *xxiii.* of the *Red Book of Hergest* (in Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*) clearly belong to the same cycle as the preceding.

Occasional references to Myrddin are found in the Welsh poets of the Goddian period (A.D. 1100-1300), as, e.g., in Griffiths* Llyfr Y Gwaunad Gwynedd* (*Myrddin Archaeology of Wales*), Denbigh, 1870, p. 1294, where the poet says that Owain was 'fairer than Myrddin.' Gwylfard Brycheiniog, too (ib. p. 1389), speaks of the Lord Rhuddlan as called *Myrddin* in *Italogen* (as having been prophesied by Myrddin). Eidir Sais (ib. pp. 243-244) refers to Myrddin's brilliancy in song, and likewise Gwilym Ddu o Arfon (ib. p. 277) speaks of the *Italogen* of Myrddin of the stock of Maelchion.

The poet Sefnyn, also, in *Italogen* last breaths, Gyrrig, compares the dead bard to Myrddin (ib. p. 334). Further, a cynical and sarcastic poet, Madog Dwygraig, satirizes the *Afallenau* in one of the *Italogen* of Myrddin of the *stock of Meirchion* (*Italogen Meirchion*). In *Dafydd ab Gwilym* (poem xxviii.) there is an echo of the name of Myrddin as a poetic lover, while in poem xxvii. he is said to have made with the crafting 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 Peniarth Collection, now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, written about 1600) associated Myrddin with the Island of Bardsey, off the coast of Carnarvonshire, and located his grave there (cf. R. Higden, *in Polychocronicon* [ed. T. Gale, Oxford, 1691, i. 1871]), and Giraldus Cambrensis may have had his legend in view when he wrote *Concerning the burial of Myrddin Cledinnus*' grave (see below) as being shown near Nevyn in Carnarvonshire.

That Wales was not without an interest in the prophecies of the Sibyl, which are probably the prototypes of the Merlin and similar vaticinations, is shown by the fact that MS 5 of the Peniarth Collection, belonging to the second quarter of the 14th cent., contains a Welsh translation of the Sibylline prophecies, called *Llyma Prophychondiaeth Sibh doeth* ('Here is the prophecy of the wise Sibyl'), based on the De *Sibilli* of Isidore of Seville. This translation is also found in the *Red Book of Hergest* (cols. 571-577), and in the Peniarth 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 Peniarth 5 and from the *Red Book* text. The popularity of prophecies in this period in Wales is further shown by the inclusion in the Peniarth MS 3, written about 1390, of the *Kyvessi* poem, together with the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau*, while MS 20 of the same collection (15th cent.), by its inclusion of the same poem and the addition to it of a further prophetic extension, shows that this popularity continued. This is further proved by the fact that we find in the *Cochis Coftredwyd*, a MS written at varying dates from 1415 to 1460, copies of the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau* with the *Gwysgargerd Vyrddin* poem together with English prophecies by Bridlington, Bamister, Thomas of Erccleston, and others. We find the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau* in Peniarth MS 69, a MS of the first half of the 16th cent., while, in the latter half of that century and in the 17th, the Welsh Myrddin poems still continued to be copied, as we see from Llanstephan MS 41 (1610-1620), now in the National Library of Wales.

In the foregoing account the fortune of the Arderdd or Northern legend of Merlin, with the associated prophecies, has been traced. The Merlin thus depicted is called *Merlinus Silvestris,* and in Welsh *Myrddin Wyllt* ('Merlin the Wild'); while another Latin name by which he is known is that of *Merlinus Cledinnus* or *Cledinneus,* being so called in order to distinguish him from Merlins Ambrosius, who is a creation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, through the substitution of Merlinus for the Ambrosius of a narrative which Geoffrey found in Nennius. A later MS of the *Annals Cambriae,* in its account of the battle of Arderdd, reflects the Merlinus Silvestris tradition, in its addition to the original entry of the words 'inter filios Efler et Guengolen /filium Keillouin: in quo bello Guennolen eccletit: Merinus innasus effecit et Kyllaen,' the Northern conception of Merlin already mentioned, but also influenced by Geoffrey's account in connexion with the name Laloicen, the Life of St. Kentigern (*Scithrochonum*), which refers to Merlin's suffering in the words that are put into his mouth: 'Ego sun Christianus, libet tanti nominis reus, olim Quertiogini vates, Merinus vocatus in hae solitudine dira patiens fatus,' though the reference of the passage is here unmistakable in the reference to Vortigern.

2. The Vita Merlini.—This is a Latin hexameter poem, giving, in verses of considerable ease and accuracy, an account of the life of a woman. Nearly all writers upon it have taken it, owing to
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 Aflallesau and Heianau and of the ‘Lalocen’ tradition that is contained in the Life of St. Kentigern. Ferdinand Lot has published an analysis of the Latin Vita Merlini (xvi), and has shown it to be later than the Latinoecian fragments already mentioned; but he too readily assumes 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 Carmarthen 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 ‘Gwilym for Gwilym, and ‘Taliesin for Tali- 
sin, and the like. At the same time, there are important departures from the Welsh form of the legend, as, for instance, the opposition of Gwilym to Merlin; but in the Vita Merlini, as in the history of the Welsh poems, the whole setting of the Latin poem and of the Welsh poems, in spite of certain discrepancies, is for the most part the same. The Vita Merlini, however, contains one name, Mel- 
dinas, which, as Lot has pointed out, is probably derived from an Irish rather than from a Welsh source, being, in all likelihood, that of the hero of the Welsh Meldinaid. Though the Vita Merlini appears to be the work of some one other than Geoffrey, it appeared during his lifetime, having been written about 1148, while he died in 1154. It was dedicated to Bishop Alexander’s successor, Robert, who was a man of considerable influence at the court of Stephen. The poem 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 history is already shown by the reference to Vortigern (l. 581).

3. Merlin in Geoffrey and in the Chronicles. —
The introduction of the figure of Merlin into the medieval Chronicle of the 13th cent. by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who deliberately transformed the Ambrosius of one of his sources, Nennius, into Merlinus, is due to Geoffrey. It is clear from the fact that, in the Prophecy and in the History of the Arthurian cycle of the 12th cent., 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 Brit- 
anniae. This Prophecy must have been published early enough for Ordericus Vitalis to quote from it, as he does in bk. xii. of his Historia, written about 1136 or 1137. Later it was incorporated in Geoffrey’s Historia and formed the basis of that work. The Ambrosius with whom Geoffrey identified Merlin first comes to view in Gildas (de Excidio Britannie, xxi., ed. Mom. hist. Brit. i. 15), as Ambrosius Aerobius, but that is to make him into a legendary person was Nennius, who describes him (xlii.-xlv.) as a child without a father, for whom Vortigern searched, by the advice of his sorcerer, in order to found the foundation of a tower that he was building. He was found, according to Nennius, in the field or plain of Elleti, in the region of Gelligwnning (=Glywyseg in Monmouthshire), and in Nennius’s narrative he is also associated with the famous fort of Dinas Emrys (Emrys being the Welsh derivative of Ambrosius), near Beddgelert, and is represented as a sorcerer (magna), who prophesies 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 (as) the son of the sorcerer Merlin with Carmathen (Hist. Brit. vi. 17).

Another new element which Geoffrey introduced into the story, and which became a notable feature of the Merlin romance, was the statement that the boy’s father was a supernatural being of the type known by the name of incubus. The suggestion 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 resemblance of the pseudo-Bede (de Elen. Phil., bk. i. PL xc. 1381), who doubtless 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 reference (ll. 9, xii. 18) to the prophesying of the eagle at Shaftesbury. It is an instance of the close connexion between Merlinus Ambrosius and Merlinus Silvestris (or Celidensius), and attributes to the former only prophecies taken from Geoffrey, and he adds (ibid. b. ii. 6, 8) that he did not copy, in an out-of-the-way locality, a copy of the prophecies of Merlinus Celidensius in the British tongue. Geoffrey gives prominence to Merlin’s powers, not only as a prophet, but as a magician, and represents him other than as one 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, Artur. 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 Tywilio, an adaptation of Geoffrey’s History, shows a development on the lines of the type of the Midlands, and is probably under its influence. For example, 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 at 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 tendency 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 Domes Normannicae (c. 1170; ed. R. Howlett, Chron. of the Reigns of the Kings of England, etc., London, 1834-39, ii. 539-573), which, it may be stated, contains many allusions 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 was that Wacea the wreathing or building was the fighting of two dragons with one another at midnight. In this narrative, again, there is a
marked emphasis on the supernatural conception of Merlin, which shows itself on the side both of supernatural knowledge and of supernatural power. There are some points of contact in the narrative with the Merlin of the stories of the 13th and 14th century, in the description of the dream Merlin has in a forest, at Uther's instance, when he wished for his aid to Igerne as his mistress.

In the Latin hexameter poem called *Gesta Regum Britanniae* (ed. F. Michel, London, 1892), 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 Clinicus (in 1162), who omitted the prophecies in the first edition of his *Vita Merlini* (ed. L. Murratori, *Antiquitates Italicæ mediæ ævi*, Milan, 1782-90, iv. 1079-1104), but who found it advisable to include them in his second and third editions. Again, it is clear that Geoffrey's versatility and his tendency to exaggerate the powers of Merlin; e.g., Ralph Nigre in his *Chronicon* (ed. R. Anstruther, London, 1851) has a mere allusion to the Merlin's transportation of the stones of Stonehenge.

There are, as already stated, traces in Giraldo's *Cambriscis* of an attempt at the fusion and reconciliation of the Caledonian tradition and that of Geoffrey, in his theory of the existence of two Mervins. Conde (B. 9), to the effect that Merlinus Caledonius was with Caractarh, 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. Giraldo, like many of the chroniclers who succeeded Geoffrey, succumbed to the temptation of bringing Merlin down to the time of King Arthur. One story, which Giraldo records (I, v. 8, 15), that Merlinus Caledonius had been found near Newn in Carnarvonshire, is probably connected with the legend that associated him with the island of Bardey. Merlin's burial appears to have been located in several stories during the 14th century. "Merlinus Grave" was pointed out, while in Scotland it was located at Drumelzier, anciently Dundeller, in Tweeddale.

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 Gunlabus Leith of Thingeywirn, while a similar MS in the Copenhagen Library was translated into English, with the History of Hulihan Einar, and published in London in 1718 (see San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, p. 18).

In 1185 a commentary on the prophecies of Merlin by Alanus de Insulis, and in 1596 it was published at Frankfort. In this commentary Alanus testifies to the existence, in the Britanny of his day, of a strong belief in the prophecies concerning the future of Cornwall, a disciple of Peter Lombard, commented on these prophecies publicly in the University of Paris (see *Prophetie Merlini cum expositione Johannis Cornutensis*, ap. K. J. Greath, *Spiegle, Vaticin.,* 1595). For the rest, 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 Bellowensis Speculum Historiale* (xx. 20). For English editions of the Life and Prophecies of Merlin see the Cambridge Modern History, 1880.

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 the 13th cent., and usually attributed to Robert de Boron, and printed by Ulrich, in their ed. of the *Huth Merlin*; see list. This poem was the basis of a French prose work which forms the Romance of Merlin, and this, again, is thought to be part of 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 *Sole 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, Arthurian Cycle*), there is an ecclesiastical or theological development of the leading motive which led to the birth of Merlin being the conspiracy of the world of demons to produce an Antichrist, who would be the means of rending the world into two others as is the Roman Catholic Church, and two as is the Church of England. Thus the birth of Merlin is represented as a kind of counter-incarnation, and, through the machinations of the demons, he is brought into the world as the child of a woman whose family has been ruined by the evil spirits of her husband, and who has been betrayed by a demon. Providentially, however, Blaise, the confessor of Merlin's mother, baptizes the child as soon as it is born, and thereby 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 Igerne, and it is to Merlin that Arthur looks for guidance and counsel. At *Merlin's Grave* was pointed out, while in Scotland it was located at Drumelzier, anciently Dunmeller, in Tweeddale.
introduction to the prose Lancelot and to the Arthurian cycle generally.

The point of view that has already indicated is to be found first in the fragmentary poem, attributed to Robert de Boron, giving, however, only the introductory part of the story, in a single MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and from there passed on to the present version on this poem in combination with the early history of the Grail, which bears the name Joseph du Graal. In two cases the Merlin stories form a small Arthurian cycle through the 5th century, and a short Artus, Of the ‘ordinary’ or ‘vulgate’ 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 Huth Merlin, 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 based their versions upon it. The other sequel is MS 337, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is called by Paulinus Paris the Livre Artus.

In English the earliest form of the Merlin Romance is a metrical translation called Arthur and Merlin, which was made from French at the beginning of the 14th. century, and a later translation, generally known as the great prose Merlin, was made about the middle of the 15th. century. Spenser (Faery Queen, canto iii.) alludes to Merlin, and there is reference to his decease by the Lady of the Lake in Ariosto (Orlando furioso, canto iii. et seq.) On dramatic development of the Merlin story is doubtless mainly due to the desire of the French troubadours to bring the legend of Merlin, like those of Arthur and Tristan, into harmony with the spirit of civilization and culture of the time. In the 10th. century, 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 medieval romances, that of Merlin tended, in the eyes of a more critical age, to provoke satire, and so it is not strange that Cervantes ridicule and parodies in his Don Quixote, while Rabelais also parodies the story of Merlin in his Pantagruel. His prophetic prophecies are also in the same strain, composed about 1533, while in his Gargantua he exposes the life and prophecies of Merlin to further ridicule. The comic spirit of the Divine Comedy 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 HYMNOM.

MESALISAN.—See Eucharites.

MESIAH. I. SCOPE OF THE ARTICLE.—Much confusion is caused by the fact that the term ‘Messianic’ is used in a much wider range of meaning than ‘Messiah.’ It has come to be applied by Christian writers to everything in the OT which is thought to refer, however vaguely, to the coming and work of Christ or to the Church, while, even where this implication is wanting, it is given very generally to all passages which speak of the hope of a better and glorious future. Messiah, on the other hand, refers definitely to a person, and it would seem, therefore, 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, just as, in the midst of a Golden Age, the principal and original element was the expectation of a Saviour-King, which might here and there be ignored, or which might be assumed to be implied even when 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; Jehovah Himself is the agent of deliverance and of judgment, and it is Saviour and Releaver 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 religious and ethical point of view, the Saviour of the world was 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. A writer who, as has already been shown, is led to this conclusion will, therefore, be confused in the consideration of the Messiah in the strict sense, and the term ‘Messianic’ will have a meaning only in connection with him. It may be added that, while eschatology does not always imply a Messiah, neither does the...
MESSIAH

Messiah himself always appear in a strictly eschatological setting.

I. ORIGIN OF THE WORD.—The term 'Messiah' represents the Heb. Mššh, the Aram. Mššhũ, 'anointed one.' It is used quite generally in the OT as an epithet, both of priests (Lv 9, 22) and of kings (1 Sm 10, 13, 1 S 16, 14, 1 Sam 16, 15). It is also applied to the curses of Saul (1 Sm 15, 29), while in Is 42, 1 it is applied to Cyrus. Nowhere in the OT does it occur in its later technical sense, which is first found in Enoch and Psalms of Solomon (see below, IV, The OT language).

Dalmann suggests that Messiah in its later sense is a shorter form of 'Jhri̇sh's Anointed,' and that no single passage of the OT was responsible for its adoption.

1. Christ is, of course, Xpws, the Gr. equivalent, whom and whom it is, that is, the Son of the living God, in the synoptic gospels.

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 an epithet; it is, in opposition to a proper name, e.g., 1 S 26, 18.

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 quite irrelevant in considering the ideas associated with the figure; e.g., even if it be true that anointing was originally transferred from the image of a 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 find it in the OT language any Jewish king ever to be a Messiah. External evidence such passages seem to be in consistent with the context. In many cases they presuppose the Exile in a way which seems to be impossible in a pre-Exile 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? However these questions may 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 the side from that of which it is commonly assigned. The principle being admitted that the prophetic books are composite works, comprising elements of various periods, each case must be looked at individually.

I. The data.—It will be well to begin with IS 7

1 The Words of Jesus, p. 291; see p. 292 for later Jewish use of the term.

as the passage which is most clearly typical of the OT belief, at any rate on one side. It seems to be Deuteronomic in tone, and is hardly be earlier than the reign of Josiah. Its main purport is to insist on the permanence of the Davidic dynasty (vv. 1-3). In its context this is contrasted with the fall of Saul's line (v. 16), but we may also assume an implied contrast with the various short-lived dynasties of the Northern Kingdom (cf. Hosea 8). The passage itself does not speak of any single pre-eminent or final successor, but in view of the messianic character of the language, and in no way exclusively prophetic, but precisely in proportion as the actual occupants of the throne proved themselves unworthy would it 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 earlier prophets, which claim to be regarded as Messianic are all connected with it. They may, indeed, be earlier than 2 S 7, and in any case this passage will hardly be the origin of the hope; it rather points forward to literary form, something which already existed.

In Am 9:1-11 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. Delitzsch and Marti, G. A. Smith, etc., though S. 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.

(c) Is 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, miraculous 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 3:1, 1 S 16, 11), but is to be found in the person of our Lord, as predicted. 'By the time a child shortliy 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 Jehovah (1 S 4:3). H. Grossmann, 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, and who was presented to the world as the 'sign 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, 1897, p. 129.

Reference should be made to the very full and excellent discussion of this and the other Islamic passages in C. B. Gray, ICC, 'Isaiah.' Edinburgh, 1912.

has a mythological background. The theory has also a Semitic origin, but its main hypothesis cannot yet be regarded as proved (see below, 2 (d)). In this case it rests on the falsely assumption that the sign must be of a miraculous nature. Further, neither the article nor the noun in Am 5:22 is in the original text, and must be put upon it. If we reject the reference to the wife of Isaiah or Ahaz or to some other particular mother, the definite article may be generic as in Am 3:5, while it may not be original. (e) The passage may not be originally connected with, an eschatological passage in ch. 4 (cf. Is 2:2) where there is no mention of a Messiah. It speaks of a messianic king born at Bethlehem Euphrates, and, therefore, Davidic; in spite of his humble origin (so G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, London, 1896, l. 413 ff.), he is to be a great and apparently a peaceful ruler. Is more than this hinted at? In particular, does v. 25 imply pre-existence or merely the antiquity of the family from which he springs? And what is the meaning of *she which travaileth*? Gressmann 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 v. 4 is very awkward, and so is the contradiction between Jehovah's abdication of His people and their turning to Him. 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 may be, it follows some of the older commentators (Calvin, Orelli, etc.) and sees in the phrase a reference to the birth-pangs of Zion in Is 4, where exactly the same word is used for *travail*, while in both passages the return of the remnant is referred to (cf. Hos 13:1, Is 26:1, where the same figure of travail is used). She which travaileth is, therefore, Zion personified. (e) Verse 5 certainly implies that there is a *man* that shall be an Exilic type. (d) Verse 25 seems to belong to a different prophecy (tr. *This*—not *This man*—*shall be our protection*). The Messiah drops out, and the confidence of the passage rests on a different basis.

In Jeremiah the main stress is laid on the continuance of the Davidic line, and this figure prominently in the book as we have it—a feature which is significant in view of the Denteronomic origin of the fundamental passage 1 S 7. In 23 ff. we have the righteous Branch or Shoot (גosaic, not נזר, as in Is 11), with the name Jehovah Sid'qahu, *The Lord our Righteousness*, a name   ironic to the picture of the Messiah as drawn in many apocalyptic 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; v. 5 seems to imply a date after 588 B.C.; the metaphor is that of a tree cut down to the stump and sending fresh shoots, which would describe exactly the revival of the kingdom after its ruin at the fall of Jerusalem.

**Messiah** is peculiarly difficult. Omitting minor questions of reading and exegesis, the main points are as follows: (a) **The passage** may not be originally connected with an eschatological passage in ch. 4 (cf. Is 2:2) where there is no mention of a Messiah. It speaks of a messianic king born at Bethlehem Euphrates, and, therefore, Davidic; in spite of his humble origin (so G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, London, 1896, l. 413 ff.), he is to be a great and apparently a peaceful ruler. Is more than this hinted at? In particular, does v. 25 imply pre-existence or merely the antiquity of the family from which he springs? And what is the meaning of *she which travaileth*? Gressmann 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 v. 4 is very awkward, and so is the contradiction between Jehovah's abdication of His people and their turning to Him. 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 may be, it follows some of the older commentators (Calvin, Orelli, etc.) and sees in the phrase a reference to the birth-pangs of Zion in Is 4, where exactly the same word is used for *travail*, while in both passages the return of the remnant is referred to (cf. Hos 13:1, Is 26:1, where the same figure of travail is used). She which travaileth is, therefore, Zion personified. (e) Verse 5 certainly implies that there is a *man* that shall be an Exilic type. (d) Verse 25 seems to belong to a different prophecy (tr. *This*—not *This man*—*shall be our protection*). The Messiah drops out, and the confidence of the passage rests on a different basis.

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stress on the presence of Jahweh Himself. In the cedar twig planted on the mountain of the height of Israel may be a reference to the prophecies of Isaiah (1) and Jeremiah, while 'to the north' is perhaps Shiloh prophecy of Gn 49:10,11. The other hand, the idea of the ideal State of chs. 40 ff. the Prince is only one of a series of kings, and plays a very subordinated role in the so-called 'apocalyptic' vision of Joel. The general impression given by Ezekiel is that he was acquainted with popular hopes of an individual Messiah and, in particular, with the promises attached to the Davidic dynasty; these were too strong to be entirely ignored, but the priestly prophet himself had little real interest in them.

In Hag 2:29 Zerubbabel is to be the ruler in the Messianic Age. So in Zec 6:13 he is the 'Branch and the servant of Jahweh. 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 before, the idea of the royal line as the Messiah.

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As Ezr 3:8 belongs to another and a later prophecy. The verse may have been the symbol of royalty (cf. Gn 49:10), 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, 118, 132. Here we are met with almost insoluble problems as to date, since there is not even the a priori. The problem has been raised in the case of passage, which stands in the writings of a particular prophet. Further, we must allow for the possibility of the writer of Ps 2:7 which stands in the writings of a particular prophet.

In those 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 nation, i.e. to the Messiah? The objection to this view is the strong impression made in most cases that a definite living king is addressed; e.g., Ps 35 is clearly an actual marriage song and is addressed to a young woman. And, in 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 practical historical reference, of course without prejudice to their spiritual application. In interpreting the language we are helped by the presence of the Hophath, or 'Court style,' to which Greimann and his earlier references, 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 21:13, which is certainly addressed to an actual king. It is possible that this Hophath is in Israel, and perhaps elsewhere (see below, 2:16), included elements derived from the Messianic expectation. If it was believed that some one must rule Israel in Messianic days, he should be the greatest of all, it was natural for the admiring 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 anti-Messianic, and at least illustrate the nature of the Messianic hope.

A warning against too strict an interpretation of the Hophath is to be found in the phenomena presented by the Babylonian hymns. We find Nnmar addressed as 'begetter of gods and men,' King of kings to whom a judge superior to him; but then precisely the same flattery is offered to Assur, Ishtar, or Belo.

As R. P. Hamilton points out (The People of God, London, 1913, p. 8), 'the inscription of universal dominion to so many of them (as the gods) was merely a piece of inexpensive flattery which no one mistook for serious truth. . . . It was a sound policy to avoid too much partiality. 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, may seem to be applicable only to a unique Messiah, but in the mouth of any 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 Davidic covenant; 2:7 seems to be in the poet's eyes. This is especially marked in Ps 89, which refers to the nation and the dynasty, the nation itself being personified in v.46 (cf. Ps 80:2). So 'firstborn' in v.5 seems to refer to the description of Israel in Ex 4:24,15. Ps 2:7, on the other hand, suggests a parallel with 2 Isai. The Psalm as a whole is a prayer for the restoration of the monarchy and the nation, rather than for the coming of any particular king who is to mark a new epoch. The same applies to Ps 118, though 'horn of David to bud' (v.15) may refer to 'the Branch.' Ps 45, however, is not Davidic (Briggs and Selina ascribe it to N. Israel), nor is Ps 110 except in the title.

(ii.) The language of Ps 2:7 has a bearing on later Messianic ideas, terms being used which afterwards become titles of the Messiah. As they occur in the Psalter they are, however, hardly technical; they are not bound up with any particular figure or king to the exclusion of all others. We have 'anointed' (Ps 2:6,8,11, 120:1) used in its general sense (see above, § II.), 'son' (2:7), probably not in 2:2, 'firstborn' (89:38), while 'thine throne, O God' (44:2), may imply descent.

(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 OT passages, mainly fragments of poetry embedded in the historical books, which require brief notice.

Ps 49:1-15—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. 99b), and it was not so used till the versions of the 16th century (Driver). The reading and interpretation are both doubtful, but it is possible that the passage is Messianic—it is well known that the question arises whether the Messiah is to be a king or not. Such passages have been understood in various ways.

* So Gessmann, p. 235. This interpretation, however, which is that of F.X. and H. K. as likely to occur in the first example of the Levitical Messiah (see Driver, Cambridge Bible, ad loc.).

* E. Selina, Der alttestamentliche Prophetenname, Leipzig, 1911, p. 199 f.

* The text is in disorder; Zerubbabel must have been originally 'crown' in the plural and 'then' both in v.12. Possibly when the power was centred in the high priest, and there was more intercourse with the person of the Levitical Messiah (see Driver, Cambridge Bible, ad loc.).


* E. Selina, Der alttestamentliche Prophetenname, Leipzig, 1911, p. 199 f.
verse is a late addition on the basis of the Isalic prophetes (Driver), or whether, with Gunkel, Gesammn, and Sellin, we are to regard it as a fragment of pre-prophetic eschatology, not specifically Davidic. But it is a strange euphemism to say that Jehovah shall rule only till the great one from the north dies, for if the reference is simply to the Davidic dynasty; Jehovah is to be independent till it is merged in the kingdom of its hero.

Of Gn 3:15 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. The ‘seed’ cannot be understood as 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 3:29 is accordingly untenable.

Nu 24:17 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 priestly Messianic hope; others regard it as Messianic but later. Note that the passage is certainly corrupt at the close.

De 23:15 may refer only to the dominion of Ephraim (the tribal kingdom 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, transferred to Ephraim. In later times the passage influenced the idea of the dominion of the house of Joseph.

In Da 9:25-26 (applied Messianically in Lc 1:32 72) is clearly a promise of a succession of prophets, not of a single and final prophet.

A word must be said with regard to the Servant passages of Is 42:1. Very few critics now consider these to be Messianic in the strict sense, the reference being either to the actual 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 are seen to have a redemptive value not only for the nation, but for the world as a whole.8 (Gissman, p. 117) However, on the ground of the obscure and oracular character of the language, argues that the writer is using already existing material which would be understood by his readers. Is 53 is a mystery hymn, addressed to a dying and rising God, and therefore interpreted as an eschatological figure parallel to that of the Messiah, who is here neither Davidic nor specifically a king. It cannot be said that there is any real evidence for this view (for a criticism see Clemen, p. 140). Nor, again, is it possible to find a suffering God or Messiah in Zec 12:10, which clearly refers to some historical martyr.

In Da 7:13-14 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 in contrast to the ‘beasts’, the 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 had a history behind it. The figure is introduced as familiar and identification is given in the ch. of the coming with clouds, which may, therefore, be assumed to be a recognized element in the concept.

Gissman believes that we have a figure of foreign origin, parallel with the Messiah and afterwards identified with him. To Sellin he is the Messiah transformed, the ‘Urmenschen’ or ‘primal man’, of paradise, who is to return once more; Clement is inclined to agree with this explanation of the origin.

In 9:26 the references in the A.V. to the Messiah are certainly misleading. In 1:26 ‘the anointed one, the prince’, is either Cyrus or Joshua; in 1:26 he is Omri 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.3 The fact that 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 books a remote possibility. This form of messiahship is, in fact, no hint of him, and often no room for him. Furthermore, even in books or groups of writing where we have found possible references to him, there are many passages where he is ignored (e.g., in Isaiah). The idea is introduced suddenly and sporadically and as suddenly dropped.

Jehovah Himself is always the Redeemer and Savior, and this is the essential and unvarying element in the OT teaching; the stress is on His coming and manifestation and not on that of any representative.4

(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 degradation and after the fall of the monarchy the earlier period was naturally idealized and became to the nation its Golden Age, while it became more and more necessary that he who was to revive its glories should be regarded as no ordinary man, but as the special representative of Jehovah.

(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 was, above all, an element in the popular religion. It is wanting in the Psalter and Chronicles, and, as we saw, Ezekiel seems to have been somewhat suspicious of it; the prophetic do not use it consistently, and it appears and disappears in an extraordinary way. Its connexion with the kingdom would concern it to the mind of the people, while religious teachers could avail 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.5 Gunkel and, especially for our present subject, Gissman have urged that Jewish eschatology, including the Messianic hope, is not a new development in the prophetic or Exilic periods, but 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, 

1 P. 300 ff.; 2 P. 177; 3 P. 82.
4 See, for a full discussion of the traditional and other interpretations, Driver, ‘David’, ad loc.
5 See E. Kautzsch, HDB v. 639, 735.
6 Dalman, p. 265; 7 Sellin, p. 162.
was a common possession of the ancient world, especially in Egypt and Babylonism, and that the OT language is intelligible only when understood as one expression of that hope. Sellin especially argued that this description of foreign origin, as regards the Hebrew and Babylonia, was a false belief, which 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 influences and also in the case of parallel and partial parallels, especially as a later period, the case is somewhat different). The preceding discussions have already dealt with many of the points. Sellin discusses 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 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. Gardiner 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. In all these cases we have examples of Hophet, with the natural hope that with a new nation, 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 Hophet in general. He views of Jahweh are 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 Immannuel passage does not seem to refer to the Messiah hope at all, while, if she which travaileth 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 we are considering starts from eschatology and not from the Messianic hope in particular) the prophets from Amos onwards give the impression of dealing with ideas already to some extent familiar, and it is evident that the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the same is something the 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Messianah

A similar silence is found in some of the apocalyp
tic literature, and here silence is the more
significant since the writers are occupied
with the most positive hopes for the future. The
Messianah does not figure in Ezek. i.-xxvi., lxixi.
xxxii., xxxiii.-lvii., except in cv., where ‘my Son’
is suddenly introduced; Charles regards the chap-
ter as an independent prophecy, given by the picture
of the Golden Age in Jue. 1. 29, xiii. 29 there
is no Messianah; in xxxii. 18 he figures, though not pro-
minently, as the descendant of Judas and as ruler
in the temporary Messianah kingdom; Charles
however considers the clause to be an interpo-
lation. In the Asumption of Moses, which comes from
a ‘Pharisaic Quisitat,’ there is again no reference ;
Taxo (ix. 1) cannot be the Messianah; 
Jahweh Himself is the avenger, and Moses the only
mediator. The Messianah is in the same way ignored
in 3 and 4 Mac., the Secrets of Enoch, the Letter of
Aristeo, and the last parts of the Apocalypse of
Baruch.

(b) Books where the Messianah is mentioned.—In
Enoch lxixii.-xx., (161-161 B.C.) the Messianah ap-
ppears after the judgment as the ‘white bull,’ a
human figure, with no very active or definite
name. In (c) however (xxviii.-lxixii., 94-66 B.C.)
we have material especially in xlvii.,
xxxvii., the central figure, the pre-existing Son
of man, judge, ruler, champion, and revealer.
Beside Son of man, he is called ‘the Flower One’
and the ‘Righteous’ titles which appear in the NT.
‘Messianah’ or ‘His Anointed’ also occurs in xlvii.
10, li. 4, and Charles regards these as the first
example of the use of the word as a technical
title, though Solomon strikes out the passages as interpo-
lations.

In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the salient
point is that the Messianah is descended from
Lavi, and is a priest (cf. Ps. 110); see Test. Reb.
vii. 12, Test. Levi, xiv. 14, xxiii. 1 ff., etc. In
Test. Jud. xxiv. 51, however, we find the usual Messianah ben Judah; so perhaps
Test. Naph. iv. 5. According to Charles, the
former conception is the original, and the book
dates from 109-105 B.C. the palmy days of Hyr-
canus, the Maccabean dynasty, which came of a
priestly family, being then regarded as Messianah.
But, after the breach between it and the Pharisaic
and the infamies of Hyrcanus’ successors, addi-
tions were made to the book, reverting to the
ordinary view. The conception of the Messianah is
that he is a mediator, intercessor, savior, 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 Messianah in 1.-xvi., though the
future deliverance is dealt with. In xvii. and
xviii. however, there is a very important descrip-
tion. He is Davidic in contrast to the non-Davidic
dynasty of the Hasmonaen; though himself
human, he comes with the power and special end-
worments 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 conceptions. The end of
and the duration of the Messianah’s kingdom are not
clear, but ‘throughout his days’ in xvii. 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, ii. 49 (165-51 B.C.), we read
‘of a holy prince, he who is reign over the
whole earth for all ages, though somewhat inconsist-
ently, judgment follows;’ ii. 352 (c. 140 B.C.)
speaks of a king from the high heaven 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 apparently destroys Nero redi-
iciousus (Antichrist), while 414 & c. speak of a
‘man’ from the realms of heaven, who destroys
evil-doers and sets up the new temple

The Fragment of a Zadokite Work, first published by S. Schechter in 1916, is placed by Charles
in 18-8 B.C. and by most scholars before A.D. 70,
and seems to have come from a reformatory party
among the priests. ‘A Teacher of righteousness’
has already appeared (i. 7, etc.), and a Messianah is
expected (iii. 10, viii. 1, ix. 10, 59, xv. 8, xviii. 8)
who is to arise ‘from Aaron and Israel.’ Charles
interprets this phrase as pointing to the sons of
Maran and Herod. This is not quite certain,
but the Messianah is clearly Leviticus, as in the Testa-
ments, the book being marked by hostility towards
Judaism. The ‘Teacher of righteousness’ or the
‘Lawgiver’ (viii. 5) is a forerunner of the Messianah,
thought at a considerable interval, and is identi-
fied with the ‘star’ of xi. 24, the companion of the
same passage being applied to the Messianah.

In the composite (Sirine) Apoc. of Baruch the Messianah appears in the three earlier Fragments,
A’, A’’, A’’, written before A.D. 70. (A’) he is revealed mysteriously, apparently from
heaven, whether he returns in glory; his rôle is a
passive one, and the whole conception is material-
istic. In xxviii. 1. (A’) and xlii. 1. (A”) he is
the warrior slaying enemies and ruling over the
Gentiles; the influence of Is 11 is marked.
In xiv. 9 the phrase ‘my servant Messianah’ occurs, but
the whole verse is regarded as an interpolation.
In the three later Fragments, B’, B’”, there is the
so-called Messianah Kingom without a Messianah.

2 (2) Esdras is again composite. In 7Th. (Extra
Apocatacylene) we have the remarkable conception of
‘My Son the Messianah’ revealed with his
companions and dying after a reign of 400 years
(cf. 14). In 12Th. (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 7Th. Of chief importance is the
Son of man vision (ch. 18), where the Messianah is
‘the man,’ as in Daniel, ‘My Son,’ pre-existent, destroy-
ing the ungodly by the fire of his mouth,
through his breath of fire from his lips, and restoring the ten tribes to the
heavenly Zion.

Philo makes only very slight references to the
Messianah, who is really foreign to his system.
That he is mentioned at all must be regarded as a con-
cession to the popular standpoint. De Exercet. 8.
speaks of the restoration of Israel on one day;
the dispersed are to return led by a divine superman
appearance, which, though unseen by all others, is
visible only to the delivered. ‘So in de Prumo. et
PZoom. 15-20 the Messianah is a man of war, refer-
ence being made to Nu 24.

In the same way the Messianah 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 vi. v. 4 he practically treats
Vespasian as the Messianah 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 Sect. Vesp. ch. 4, and
Tac. Hist. v. 13, passages which are good evidence
that the existence of the Messianah was a

3 Besides the works already quoted see also a survey of recent
literature on the book by J. W. Lightley, in the London

4 See 7B, e., Messianah, for similar ideas connected with
Alexander, on the basis of the interview recorded in Jos. Ant.
i. viii. 4.
recognized feature of Judaism. In Ant. x. 4 he refuses to explain the 'stone' of Dn 2\textsuperscript{4} on the ground that his history is not concerned with the future.

As evidence of popular views, though not of the belief of Josephus himself, we have the various quasi-Messianic risings which he records: Theudas (Ant. xx. v. 1), the Egyptian (Ant. xx. viii. 6, Rev. 46), and the unnamed impostor (Ant. xx. viii. 10).

A Samaritan Hymn for the Day of Atonement,\textsuperscript{1} dated A.D. 1787, but certainly embodying earlier material, speaks of the Messiah under the title Tzab, which may mean 'the Restorer,' though A. Merx explains it as redivis, i.e., probably Moses, whose return was expected. This Tzab 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 4\textsuperscript{th} century shows the antiquity of some Messianic belief among the Samaritans (cf. Jos. Ant. xviii. iv. 1).

2. Survey of the teaching.—(a) We note the sporadic character of the Messianic hope, as, in the OT, the Messianic hope was mentioned so often that the original meaning or even in eschatology.\textsuperscript{2} If it were not for the NT, we should never have imagined that there was a period when the hope of coming could be taken for granted as accepted in almost all circles. Here it is the centre of the hope for the future. This aspect is sometimes discussed (e.g., W. Baldensperger, Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums, Strassburg, 1903, 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 misrepresents the facts, since there is nothing to show that the hope was at any previous period either universal or essential. It may be true,\textsuperscript{3} 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 lasted for a time well content, but it is best to recognize that the date was inscribed, not for anything like a chart of the rise and fall of the Messianic hope. The one thing we can say is that in the 1st cent. A.D. the Messianic hope had become more universal than ever before. We recognize that even then it is absent in the Ass. of Moses, and it 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 disfavour of the Herods and the Romans.

(b) There is some evidence which suggests that, as before, the hope was mainly an element in the popular religion. The Apocalypses in which it figures were largely popular products, and the NT proclaims that its chief strength lay among the people;\textsuperscript{4} 5

1 See A. Cowley, 'Samaritan Doctrines of the Messiah,' in Eay. 9th ser., i. (1880) 161 ff.; Bousset, pp. 255, 260.
3 'Messias, Ed. des Judentums,' p. 253 ff.
4 KB. p. 357.
5 KB. p. 357.
in itself directly Messianic, revived hopes for the future and prepared the way for the apocalyptic Messiah. This transcendent Messiah plays an active role as champion of the righteous in \textit{Enoch} ix. 21, etc., and \textit{Dial.} 49. The most significant feature, however, is his appearance as judge, not only of men and the nations, but of evil spirits (\textit{Enoch} lv. 4, etc.); this function is not ascribed to the human king. East Syrian authorities, and the translation of the \textit{Enoch} is not transcendent Messiah is never represented as a descendant of David—a fact which may throw light on our Lord's question (Mk 12:32); He may have been following a recognized line of thought which found the Davvidec descend 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 Apocalypses apparently reject the Daedalic descent, they yet use Davvidec passages, such as Is 11, Ps 72, 89, in their picture of the Messiah. 

(e) Pre-existence and mysterious origin. — The Son of Man is clearly in some sense pre-existent in \textit{Enoch} (e.g., xviii. 3, 6, xvi. 1) and in 4 Es 13 and perhaps in \textit{Is} 7:12, though the former passage is doubtful, and G. H. Box regards the latter as interpolated. The question arises how far a personality of this sort is imputed. In Jewish thought everything of supersensible value was regarded as pre-existing 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 \textit{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 the passage 4 Es 13:2 only has a general view of the Messiah seems to be 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 4 Es 7:24 'my Son, 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 hints which we have of the mysterious origin and birth of the human Messiah, since the Son of man of \textit{Enoch} and \textit{Edras} is, of course, not born as a man at all. We have doubted the existence of such ideas in Isaiah and Micah, but they are clearly found in 4 Es 13:13, and the Talmud, the general idea being that the Messiah was born in secret (a. d. 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. \textit{Test. Jot. xix.}, which seems to speak of a virgin-birth, is with good reason regarded by Charles as corrupt; so in \textit{Enoch} xvi. 1, xix. 29 he reads for 'son of a woman' 'Son of man,' while the Midrash \textit{Ekeq} on La 5:1 is obscure and of very doubtful date. Nor, again, can 'the travail of the Messiah' be anything of the kind; the expression is figurative, and applies to the Messiah, not to his mother. According to

Justin, \textit{Dial.} 49, the Jewish belief is that the Messiah is to be born \textit{ἀνθρωπος} \& \textit{αὐτοῦ}. To the circle of ideas connected with pre-existence belongs the identification of the Messiah with the first or the One in 4 Es 13:14, etc. Some authorities said of the theory that this underlies the figure of the Son of man (see above, \textit{III. 2 d})'. 

(6) Forrunners of the Messiah. — The starting-point is Mal 3:1, wherein Elijah is to return before the Day of Jahweh (cf. Sir 48:1); the Messiah is not mentioned, and possibly Elijah is a kind of substitute for him. \textit{In the Gospels, however,} he has become a forerunner of the Messiah (Mt 11:10; Mk 6:4, 1 John 1:23). There are several instances of 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. \textit{In the later Antichrist legend the two witnesses are} Enoch and Elijah, \textit{who were translated without death}. There are also hints of other 'companions' of the Messiah in 4 Es 6:7, 13, 20. They are formed as such in 14, 15, Bar 76, 1 John 7:9, and \textit{2 Mac} 2:15; cf. Mt 16:13. We may compare the two predecessors of Saoshyanta (see below, (g)).

(f) Foreign influence. — We were doubtful of the traces which appeared of the Messianic idea 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 the mysterious state and geographical and mythological traits appear most clearly. Hagne, following Greisemann, argues that such ideas lie behind 4 Es 13, and even goes further in holding that a star myth is implied in the appearance of the man in 6:12—14. Sir 41:15 also seems to be the whole idea of a mysterious revelation of the Messiah to Is 45:1. 'Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour,' which, he agrees with Greisemann, cannot be of Jewish origin. He traces it to language such as that used by Assurians: 'I was born in the midst of mountains which no man knew . . . thou (Ishtar) . . . hast brought me forth from the mountains, hast called me to shepherd thy people.' Many critics argue in the same way with regard to the conception of a miraculous birth, comparing the language used by Saoshyanta. 'My mother was poor, my infancy I knew not,' the beliefs connected with Saoshyant, and the legends of the birth of Cyrus, Alexander, and others; there is, in fact, a general tendency to regard extraordinary men as

1 \textit{De} 7:14 is interpreted Messianically by \textit{Aq} (c. a.d. 190), and \textit{Edras} xxv. 19, for some of the Messiah, \textit{Jewish, 'Clow Man'} (Dalman, p. 245).

2 \textit{Dalman}, p. 296.

3 \textit{The LXX of Ps} 90 [100], \textit{ἐγένετο δὲ πνεῦμα} \textit{ἐκ} \textit{πνεύματος} \textit{κυρίων} \textit{δύναμιτον} \textit{διέξοδον} \& \textit{ἐν} \textit{σοφίᾳ} \textit{ὁ} \textit{τῶν} \textit{οὐρανῶν} \textit{αὐτοῦ}. \textit{Suggests some kind of pre-existence.}

4 \textit{Jeremia}, p. 30; \textit{see Clermont, p. 292.}

5 \textit{Dalman}, p. 301; \textit{Hagen}, p. 83.

6 \textit{Jews}, p. 29; \textit{see Clermont, p. 292.}


8 \textit{This conception seems to occur in \textit{Baruch} 6, vv. 12. For later developments see \textit{Hausen}}, \textit{Die \textit{Messias}, Gottingen, 1911, p. 172 ff.} ; \textit{Kyrillos Chrestos, d.o., 1915, p. 55.}

9 \textit{Baldensperger}, argued that there are traces in \textit{Babylonian} literature of a real pre-existence of the Messiah.

10 \textit{Dalman}, p. 296.

11 \textit{The LXX of Ps} 90 [100], \textit{ἐγένετο δὲ πνεῦμα} \textit{ἐκ} \textit{πνεύματος} \textit{κυρίων} \textit{δύναμιτον} \textit{διέξοδον} \& \textit{ἐν} \textit{σοφίᾳ} \textit{ὁ} \textit{τῶν} \textit{οὐρανῶν} \textit{αὐτοῦ}. \textit{Suggests some kind of pre-existence.}

12 \textit{Bousset, \textit{The Antichrist} Legend, Eng. tr., London, 1890, p. 293 ff.}

13 \textit{P. 60.}

14 \textit{P. 60.}

15 \textit{Jeremia}, pp. 28 ff., 30, 46 ff. ; \textit{Cheyne, passim.}
wonderfully born, and this was particularly marked with regard to Egyptian and Babylonian kings. When pronouncing upon 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 of the Messiah, but always with the important proviso that we have found no real evidence, except in Christian miracles, of the idea of his birth from a virgin or divine mother, nor have we found any complete parallel to the expectation of a final eschatological king.

Something must be said of the possible influence of Zoroastrianism. Here, again, we would at once admit a general influence in the sphere of eschatology. Moulton allows this, though to a less extent even than Clemen. He draws attention to Bousset’s ° which, he argues, further, that Zarathustrha himself had very little influence in the west. Hence, all that the Jews can have known was Zoroastrianism in a comparatively debased form, as represented by the Magi, and this compels us to regard most of the parallels between the higher doctrines of the two religions as pure coincidence. We are concerned here mainly with two points.

(a) A great deal has been said of the connexion between Yima, the first man, and the Messiah. It is held that this lies behind the idea of the ‘Son of man’ (see above, III. 1 and 2 (d)), which Clemen remarks, ‘comes ultimately from the Persian’. There is, no doubt, some connexion between Yima and the Messiah, but to the account, though Moulton holds that the Persian connexion is the prominent feature, in the Gatha these there are simply Zarathushtra himself and his fellow-workers, whom the Prophet’s faith pictures as assiduously leading on an immediate regeneration. ° The hope failed, and Zarathushtra himself was to return as Saoshyant. This is certainly one real parallel with the Messiah proper, but it seems impossible to suppose any direct influence. Moulton distinguishes it from the ‘certainly fortuitous coincidences’, while Bousset holds that the connexion between Saoshyant and the forerunner Elijah, rather than with the Messiah himself. At the same time there may have been some connexion between the two, affecting directly the conceptions, especially in the idea of the Messiah coming from the sunsets, the zoroastian, the Messianic idea affecting at any rate the force of the Messianic hopes and its development under Christianity. After Alexander the title warrg (‘Saviour’) became common, with devotion of kings and emperors, accompanied by hints of divinity born of a virgin. We may instance the well-known Persian inscription, with the legends connected with Alexander. But here, again, it is doubtful whether we really have evidence of the existence of a belief in a final world-Saviour who is to usher in a new era, or only the inevitable court flattery which regards each king as greater than any of his predecessors.

(b) Interpretation of prophecy—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 To 14. ° In the apocalyptic books there are certain prophetic 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, ° used continually (e.g., Ps. Sol. Lib.; Ps. 27; Isa. 11, Ps. 45, etc., Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, Nu 24), and the star of which is apparelled Messianically in Test. Levi xviii. 3, Jud. xxix. 1, but understood of the Teacher of Righteousness in Zcd. Frag. ix. 8.

We have in this use of prophecy many examples of the scribal method of 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 22. ° in Zcd. Frag. ix. 5. ° We have an interesting example of independent development in, where the interpretation of the fourth kingdom as given in Dn 7 is definitely rejected.

We must also allow for the influence of Greek-
The most decisive proof of this position comes from the NT. It is clear that the death of the Messiah was regarded as the recompense of a sin offered up, 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 8:27-39) is a more acceptable interpretation of Is 53 which is evidently not that generally accepted. The admissions of Trypho (Justin, Dial. 63, 89.1) do not express the Jewish belief, but are put into his mouth under the stress of argument, while the range of the Messiah, his personal sufferings, and 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 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 fail, and whose failure was to come at the hands of the Roman invasion.

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 is understood by the early Christians. As we have seen, it is taken for granted in the Apocalypse that it occurs, but it is still sporadic in its appearances, and the future can be painted without reference to it. In the Gospels the expectation of the Messiah is common to all. It appears, indeed, to be more seriously by the common people than by their leaders; but Pharisees, priests, and Sadducees all accept the hope without questioning its reality. 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. Schweitzer, that it was at least as much political and national as transcendental, 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 only to that of the Romans.

A full discussion of our Lord’s own attitude to the Messiahian claims will be found in art. Jesus Christ. We may have emphasized the salient points.

(a) As against W. Wrede, it is certain that He did regard Himself as in some sense the Messiah. He did indeed, associated with such as in public teaching; it was His ‘secret’ discovered by St. Peter at Caesarea 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 avoids. 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 Zech we should infer that it would at once be recognized as a synonym for ‘Messiah’ itself. The difficulty is eased by eliminating, on literary grounds, a certain number of the passages in which it occurs; e.g., Mt 5:21 with Lk 6:21, or Mt 16:9 with Mk 8:22; while in others its use is ambiguous, since it might be supposed to refer to the unconquered person (Mk 5:36). It is not, however, possible, except by somewhat drastic criticism, to eliminate all passages where it is used publicly of Himself or privately to the disciples before St. Peter’s confession, especially in spite of Zech, that it was regarded as Messianic only in certain circles, and that it could still be used, as in Ps 8 and Ezekiel, in a wider sense.

(b) 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 drawn only from the OT played any considerable part in His teaching, 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 scriptural methods of interpretation.

(c) 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 judeans and of the inevitable sacrifice of that 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 condition of glory were linked with suffering, and that this quite independently of whether such passages were technically applied to the Messiah or not. Though in Acts and 1 Peter the Servant Servant’s passages are directly quoted, the argument is little in the Gospels, and hardly at all in Christ’s own teaching (see Lk 22:37, Mk 10:33). 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.

(c) If follows, finally, that the title ‘Messiah’ or ‘Christ’ used in the NT and in Christian literature generally, has a far richer meaning and content than any that we have felt justified in assigning to it in earlier periods. It gathered into itself the idea of the Logos, and of the Logos, and of the Logos, and of the Logos, and of the Logos. It was included in the whole work of redemption from sin and spiritual regeneration accomplished by Jesus. He has become the centre of history and the inaugurator of a new age in which the Messianic claims will be found in art. Jesus Christ. 

1 Dalman, Der leidende und der sterbende Messias, Berlins, 1888; Schürer, ii, 154. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 271, agrees, though he does not grant the distinctive title of Jesus in Hellenistic Christianity is kyrios (Lord). See Bowman, Kyrios Christos, p. 115.
2 Not that in Philo the Logos largely takes the place of Messiah; in de Conf. 14, p. 141, the ‘branch’ of Zec 6:12 is applied to the Logos. Cf. also Lk 1:32.
3 But see Dalman, Words of Jesus, p. 360ff.
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 Jehovah, 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 'Messiah.' The vital question is whether the hope which it expressed with regard to the coming of God did find their fulfillment in the Christ.

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—so true 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 Seder 'Plechar 'Ezra—a fact which indicates that his presence therein was maintained in 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 the miserable end,' and the political side was almost dropped. What 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, only preparatory to the 'olam hahololi, 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 not by his insinuation 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 wars, etc.

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—i.e., in which it may fairly claim to have the general trend of the OT on its side.

LITERATURE.—The literature bearing on special points has been indicated in the course of the article. The following may be mentioned in relation to the whole subject: J. Drummond, The Jewish Messiah, London, 1887; V. H. Statten, The Jewish and the Christian Messiah, Edinburgh, 1888; E. C. A. Reinach, De messia, Revue des sciences religieuses, 9th ser., 1888; says the Messiah Propheth, Edinburgh, 1900; C. A. Briggs, Messias Propheht, Edinburgh, 1856, and The Messiah of the Gospels, d. 1854; P. Voigt, Das christliche Judentum, und der Messias, Göttingen, 1887; E. Schürer, Jg. VI., Leipzig, 1875; E. D. A. Cheyne, 1895; W. Bouzener, Die Religion des Juden im neustestamentlichen Zeitalter, Berlin, 1900.

1 See Dalman, Words of Jesus, p. 291, etc.; J.B. in 'Messiah'; Oesterley and Box, Religion and Worship of the Second Temple, pp. 144, 145. 2 Yet Aquila, who spoke of the thrones of Din 7 as prepared for David and David, supported Bar Kokhba, who was not Davidian.

C. H. Dalman, Die Worte Jesu, Leipzig, 1899, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1910, 1912; together with relevant sections in works on OT and NT Theology, and articles in the Bible Dictionaries.

C. W. Emmet.

MESSIAHS (PSEUDO.).—From the final loss of the independence of the Jewish State until within a few generations ago, Jewish history has known the frequent advent and passing of self-styled Messiahs, prophets of hope in the darkest periods of the Diaspora, self-appointed leaders of the Jewish race in the Return to the land from which their ancestors were exiled. The appearance of a Messiah was often, especially in the case of the earlier ones, accompanied by revolts and uprisings, and these almost invariably occurred at times when, and in localities where, anti-Jewish persecution was prevalent. Moreover, these Messianic movements were frequently, especially in the latter cases, of a political nature. The religious aspect of the rising was, however, seldom absent, and in many instances the new teacher, anxious to signalize his activity and to secure influence by religious innovations, endeavoured to subvert the basic teachings of Judaism, to which, in consequence, considerable harm sometimes occurred. Now sects were composed of some occasions; on others wholesale adoption of Mahommedanism or Christianity took place.

Although it is to some extent customary to include a number of Jewish reformers and revolutionaries in the category of pseudo-Messiahs, only a proportion of these agitators in reality attributed to themselves the Messianic semi-divinity. Others, often against their own wish, were hailed by their unscrupulous followers for Messianic leader, promised in Jewish tradition to bring to the scattered and troubled people back to their inheritance. Just as there existed a belief in an Ephraimitic Messiah who was to be the forerunner of the Davidic Messiah, so, among the pseudo-Messiahs, many pretended to be not the Messiah Himself but His forerunner. The opening of the Christian era saw in the Holy Land a number of these local minor Messiahs. Thus we learn from Josephus (Ant. XX, v. 1; also Ac 5:20) that about A.D. 41 one Theudas, claiming to be a prophet, told his followers that he would divide the Jordan and enable them to cross dry-shod. They collected on the bank of the river for the miracle to be performed, but before the prophet could take steps to carry out his prophecy the whole party was massacred by a detachment of Roman soldiers. A similar fate overtook the followers of another Messian, an Egyptian. They collected, it is said to the number of 30,000, on the Mount of Olives to watch the fall of the walls of Jerusalem at the command of their leader, but the proceedings were interrupted by Felix and his soldiers (Jos. Ant. XX, v. 6:27; Jg. II, xiii. 5; and Ac 5:1). A third pretender preparing to lead the people into the wilderness was destroyed together with his followers by Festus the Procurator (Eleon, Ant. XX, v. 6:27).

A Messiah of a different description was Menahem, the son of Judah the Galilean and the grandson of Hezekiah the leader of the Zealots. He seized the city of Masada together with a large store of arms, with which he supplied the garrison, and then attacked Jerusalem. In battle with the soldiers of Agrippa II. Menahem was successful, and as a result captured Antonia, one of the defences of the capital. Emboldened by his successes, Menahem claimed the leadership of all, and thus aroused the jealousy of his colleagues and was assassinated. Menahem was the last Judean Messiah before the destruction of the Temple. Contemporary with these Messiahs of the OT time, similar personages arose among the Samaritans,
all of whom, after an existence more or less brief, passed away. Prominent among them were Simeon, Magus, who endeavoured to induce the early Christians to join his movement, but who is said ultimately to have become converted to Christianity and founded a church with many of his followers, and Dositheus, who, instead of resting 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 public activity. For six years no new Messiah arose until at length, on the accession of Hadrian, the milder government of Trajan gave way to sterner rule. The repressive policy of the Romans aroused once more the spirit of the Jewish people still unembittered. 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 Cozela (1 Ch 4:32) or Chetzib (Gn 38). The name Bar Kokhba, or 'son of a star', is given to him by the famous R. Akiba, who believed this star was to be the Messiah. He appears to have been the fulfilment of the prophecy: 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob . . . and shall smite through the corners of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth' (Nu 24:17). Bar Kokhba does not appear to have adopted 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 Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, was evacuated, and the Roman three years later at this time has been estimated at as many as from 400,000 to 500,000 fighting men. Unfortunately, little is known of the campaign, but it is certain that the enemy 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 incessant war with the marial natives, 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 down the enemy. In the course of operations 50 general engagements were fought, and with every victory the numbers of Bar Kokhba's followers increased. By this means he recruited the Jewish colonies of the enemy. The numbers of 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 956 villages. At length the tide turned. After a desperate struggle, Jerusalem was captured by the Romans, and two stones of its buildings were left standing one on another. Other towns fell into the same hands until, of all the territories of Bar Kokhba, the town of Bither alone remained. Here he made his last stand, but not with the united 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 every 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 un-
to the Holy Land, and, perhaps in consequence, his influence spread as far as Spain. His career commenced in A.D. 720, but was very short-lived. He was speedily captured and brought before the khaliif Yazid II., to whom he excused himself by stating that he had never been serious in his claims; he had merely been jesting himself at the expense of his co-religionists. Sereniss was accordingly handed over to the latter for punishment, while his followers, repenting of their heresy, were admitted to the fold.

For the next three centuries and 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. 1177). 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 Alroi) 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 Aghas, the Afris, and Pathans of to-day trace their ancestry. The period was again one of political disorganization. One 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 weakness of the Sultan led almost to a paralyzing 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 Minhâmadâns 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 dissociate them. His command of the magic arts led to the acceptance of his mission far and wide. Only the Jews of Baghdad were sceptical, but his hold on the others was so strong that those in Baghdad were quite incapable of suppressing the movement. Alroy was 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 undercut by a failure. He was sentenced to death, and the Jews of Jerusalem, having been warned of his approach, killed him in an unsuccessful attack on the stronghold of Amadia. According to a less reliable version, the governing powers, unable to overthrow the Messiah by 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 Menahemites, named after Menahem, 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 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 the Messiah. Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia was born at Saragossa in 1240. 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 was of most influence. His life was spent in wandering from town to town and from country to country. In 1281 he was in Rome attempting to convert the pope to Judaism—of course without success. His boldness involved him in imprisonment, from which he is said to have escaped miraculously. Four years later, when in Sicily, Abulafia proclaimed himself the Messiah, and announced the millennium for the year 1290. 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 had left his spiritual descendants, for his teachings were continued by two of his disciples, Joseph Jikatilla and Samuel, both of Medina. 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 Cisneros appeared. As a prophet he did little consequence. In 1602 Asher Lammlein suddenly arose in Istriia and announced that, if the people would prepare themselves, the Messiah would appear that very year. At his suggestion fasting, prayer, and almsgiving became general throughout all the Jewish communities of Europe. 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 prophet was failed; no Messiah appeared; the prophet disappeared.

At the close of the 14th cent. Jacob Carson (or Carcasoni), a minor prophet, appeared in the north of Spain, and David Reuben, the picturesque emissary of his brother the mysterious king of Khaibar, or the East, also came upon the scene. Reuben, 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 Reuben came from India (see E. N. Adler, in *Documents of the Hebrew Genius*, p. xxxi, and *Auto de Fã and Jeste*, p. xxx.).

Reuben arrived at Venice in 1524 after having visited Palestine and Egypt. He immediately proceeded to Rome, where he procured an audience of the pope, Clement VII., to whom he announced that he had been sent by his brother to obtain allies and assistance in his war with the Sultan. In support of his claims Reuben brought letters of introduction from Portuguese officers in the East. The Jews of Italy found the means for him to proceed to Lisbon, and he arrived in Portugal in 1525, with the view of inducing the king, John III., to ally himself with the king of Khaibar. For a time the Portuguese policy seemed to favour such an alliance, and King John definitely promised a fleet of 8 ships and 466 cannon for the assistance of his new ally. At the same time the pressure that was being put upon the Marranos of Portugal was relaxed, doubts out of deference to the susceptibilities of Reuben.

The embassy, the ambassador, and the circumstances that surrounded them, as well as the accompanying legends that immediately began to be woven, endowed Reuben with almost superhuman powers in the eyes of the Jews, for whom the only hope lay in his actions. All their faculties were ever strained. The interest and excitement aroused by his advent were no less intense among the Marranos than among the Jews themselves. Miraculous powers, a semi-divinity, were attributed to him. If any proof of these
claims were needed, his existence as a Jew unmolested at the court of one of the most relentless of the persecutors of Jews and Judaisers was considered sufficient. The people looked eagerly to Molkho, expected, not a momentary 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 Solomon Molkho (previously Diogo Fares) (c. 1494-1554), of Jewish descent. Fares, 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, according to Molkho, he supposed to be quite unlearned in Jewish lore, is said to have displayed a remarkable acquaintance with that subject, and by his eloquence and learning, at the age of 21, attracted the attention of the sultan, who made him his tutor. Soon after, he was appointed to teach the Sultans, and the Imperial household. His teaching was in the domain of mysticism. He was a noted scholar, and his writings are still in demand.

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. He, therefore, 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 under suspicion 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, preceding 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 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 Jews, some of whom shrewdly considered his influence more than beneficial than detrimental to Jewry. His critics among his own countrymen were, however, numerically insignificant, and his influence among the Jews increased until he became indeed their 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 foresaw would overtake Rome, Molkho repaired to France, where 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; his fellow-prophet, Molkho, met him now, not as a devotee, 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 uniriting, and they ultimately succeeded in having him condemned to burning. The auto da fé was made and the victim was in due course which he had been acquired, he was later to be burnt in Rome, and it was then discovered, however, that the pope, in order to protect his favourite, had gone to the 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, the seat of the Emperor, the one with the cause of the Jews of Khaibar, the other with the Emperor the casetadventurer. There is a tradition that advantage was taken of the interview with the emperor 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 the condition that he would return to the Christian faith, 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 as prophet of the Inquisition was earned a martyr's crown. Some of his addresses were published by him in 1529 under the title of The Book of Wonder. Reuben was taken to Spain and there handed over to the Inquisition. His ultimate fate is surrounded by mystery, but he appears to have died while in the hands of the Holy Office. The evidence that he was burned in insufficient. A copy of Reuben's diary is in MS at the Bodleian. Graetz published a portion in his History, ix., and Neubauer published the whole of it in his Medieval Jewish Chronicles, ii.

Concerning the existence of Reuben there can be no legitimate doubt. His mission, however, was not so well authenticated, and there were 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 Neubauer, taking the same view, only more positively. Rieger and Vogelstein (Gesch. der Juden in Rom, ii. 41-46, 53-58) are also very sceptical about his bona fides, yet they express respectful rather than beneficial than beneficial to Jewry. His critics among his own countrymen were, however, numerically insignificant, and his influence among the Jews increased until he became indeed their 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 foresaw would overtake Rome, Molkho repaired to France, where 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; his fellow-prophet, Molkho, met him now, not as a devotee, 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 uniriting, and they ultimately succeeded in having him condemned to burning. The auto da fé was made and the victim was in due course which he had been acquired, he was later to be burnt in Rome, and it was then discovered, however, that the pope, in order to protect his favourite, had gone to the 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, the seat of the Emperor, the one with the cause of the Jews of Khaibar, the other with the Emperor the casetadventurer. There is a tradition that advantage was taken of the interview with the emperor 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 the condition that he would return to the Christian faith, 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 as prophet of the Inquisition was earned a martyr's crown. Some of his addresses were published by him in 1529 under the title of The Book of Wonder. Reuben was taken to Spain and there handed over to the Inquisition. His ultimate fate is surrounded by mystery, but he appears to have died while in the hands of the Holy Office. The evidence that he was burned is insufficient. A copy of Reuben's diary is in MS at the Bodleian. Graetz published a portion in his History, ix., and Neubauer published the whole of it in his Medieval Jewish Chronicles, ii.
Strictly speaking, neither Molkho nor Renueli should perhaps be included in the list of pseudo-Messiahs, for neither ever claimed divinity. They were Messiahs for the most part against their own inclinations. The same may be said of Isaac ben Shabbathai Shabati, the fallen Ari, (1534-72). He was the founder of the modern kabbala. An ascetic and a mystic, he never pretended to be more than the forerunner of the Messiah, not the Messiah Himself. His principal disciple, Hayyim Vital, who became the master of his mysticism, was by no means possessed of a soul unsouled by sin. Around him also a group of mystical legends have collected.

On Luria's death Vital succeeded to his position and also claimed to be Messiah ben Joseph, the precursor of Messiah ben David. Both Luria and Vital made Safad the scene of their principal activities. In the times of Vital a rival Messiah arose in the person of Abraham Shalom, who in 1574 sent a message to Vital pointing out that the latter was only Messiah ben Joseph, but not Messiah ben David. He offered, moreover, to shield Vital from the death that would otherwise have been his fate.

A substantial number of the pseudomessiahs was Shabbathai Sebi, born, the son of a Sephardic agent of an English merchant firm, at Smyrna, on the 9th of Ab (the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem and a fast day in the Jewish calendar) 1622 or 1628. He is generally believed to have died on the Day of Atonement in 1676. Even as a boy Shabbathai was noteworthy for his physical beauty and his strange introspective habits. For the ordinary learning of the Talmud, though he was trained in it, he had no liking, and the time spent by him at the school of R. Joseph Escapa was for the most part wasted. On the other hand, the Kabbalistic mysteries of the Zohar had a great attraction for his mind. He threw himself ardently into the study of kabbalistic literature and endeavoured, by carefully following out the ordinances laid down therein, and especially by the practice of asceticism, himself to solve the mysteries that the Zohar professed to offer its students.

At the age of six he had been left an orphan and whose subsequent career was almost as romantic as that of Shabbathai, was at the time of Leghorn, where he 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; he sent for and married her, declaring that she was his divinely appointed spouse.

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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—Moses Pinheiro, a man of some scientific knowledge and of mature years, and Abba Yehuda, who for a while went with him, whose influence was strengthened by means of an alleged ancient MS of very doubtful 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 this city, did so on this occasion, but it is certain that he arrived 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 role 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 Carpaccio 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.

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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 coursed in upon the King of Kings. Embassies were sent to him from the four corners of the earth. In the synagogues he was publicly hailed as the Messiah, and those who doubted were in danger of their lives. Even among the Christians, the followers in their mission were to be found. In Hamburg, Protestant students went to their pastor and said: 'We have almost certain accounts not only from Jews, but also from our Christian correspondents at Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople, 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 accordance with Joel's prediction (Jl 3:18), arose and exclaimed in Hebrew, a language with which they were supposed to have no acquaintance: 'Shabbathai Zejni the true Messiah of the Race of David; to him the crown and the kingdom are given!' The daughters of Rachel, Shabbathai's bitter enemy, blessed the name of the perpetrator, as had been foretold. In Persia the Jewish agriculturists refrained from work on account of the advent of their deliverer who would lead them back to the Promised Land.

At the beginning of the year 1666 Shabbathai left Smyrna for Constantinople, but before doing so he distributed the kingdoms of the earth among his principal followers. Some said that he had landed on European soil, he was arrested by an officer of the Sultan, who placed him in chains, and it was in this condition that Shabbathai approached the capital. Despite this undignified landing, Shabbathai's popularity was 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 his share. Shabbathai's courage did not, however, equal 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 falling away, the influence of the pretender, instead of waning, grew stronger, and in his prison in Constantinople Shabbathai held a court which was attended by Muslim men and Jews who alike proclaimed his divinity. After two months the prisoner was removed to Abydos, and there his court was continued with, if possible, even greater success than in the capital. His renown and exaggerated 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 synagogues prayers for the pretender's welfare were regularly offered; and with every day the excitement both within Abydos and in Abydos spread throughout the world increased. Meanwhile Shabbathai, in order apparently to justify his existence, abrogated certain of the Jewish fast days.

Shabbathai's fall was due to the appearance of a rival, one Nehemiah Ha-Kohen, who posed as a forerunner of the Messiah. Shabbathai, learning of Nehemiah's prophecies, summoned him to Abydos. After a long journey Nehemiah arrived. An interview with Shabbathai was followed by dissatisfaction on both sides. Nehemiah, fearful of assassination by the Shabbathians, fled to Constantinople, where he embraced Mahomedanism and denounced to the authorities the treasnable intentions of his rival. Removed to Adrianople, Shabbathai at length realized the critical position in which he was placed. Hoping thereby to save his life, he also embraced Mahomedanism, 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 to the places of his doorkeepers. Shabbathai, in order to retain his hold upon the Jews, announced: 'God has made me an Ishmaelite; He commanded, and it was done.' The allusion to his regeneration. His apostasy, despite the loyalty to him of many of his adherents, shattered his influence in Jewry, and hosts of Jews, their eyes at length opened to the last act of their prophet, repented bitterly of their support of the movement. For a time, in consequence of the schism caused by Shabbathai's apostasy, Turkish Jewry was in great danger of extermination, the fear of wholesale conversions to Mahomedanism being accompanied by that of the massacre of those who refused to follow Shabbathai's example. Powerful influences, however, warded off the latter danger.

Shabbathai seems never to have abandoned his Messianic claims. He managed to found a Judeo-Mahomedan sect of believers, the Dömmeh, who have survived, especially in Salonica, to the present day. After a time he fell into disgrace, was deprived of his office, and banished to Algiers, where he died, it is believed in 1766, leaving behind him a controversy which long continued in Israel. The Dömmeh are in a sense crypto-Jews, inasmuch, while outwardly conforming to Mahomedanism, they practise certain Jewish or debased Jewish rites in secret. There is, however, in practice little secrecy concerning their difference from the Mahomedans, from whom, although they mix in commerce, socially they keep carefully aloof.

Shabbathai was succeeded by quite a shod of petty Messiahs. The first of the line was Jacob Querido, or Jacob Soh, who was the real founder of the sect of Dömmeh. He was in reality the brother of Shabbathai's fourth wife, whom 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 completely wicked, and, as the latter state was by far the easier of attainment, he preached and practised licentiousness in order that the day of the millennium might dawn. Querido died at the end of the 17th cent., and was succeeded in due course by his son Berechiah (c. 1695-1740). Other Shabbathian Messiahs who flourished at this period were Miguel (Abraham) Cardoso (1630-1706), a Marrano, Werodek Mokiah (c. 1650-1729) of Eisenstadt, Löble Prossnitz (c. 1720), and Judah Hasid. These were all, more or less, prophets 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 adherents in Austria and Germany. Hasid, who was a leader of the sect of Hasidim, the 'Ultra-holy,' traversed Europe at the head of considerable following whom he led to Jerusalem. He died, however, immediately after his arrival in that city, and with his death his followers were left leaderless and destitute.

The last of the most prominent of the successors of Shabbathai was Jacob Frank (1729-91). He was born in Podolia, where his first occupation was that of distiller. His original name was Janikav Lebovitz, but he obtained the new surname of Frank from the subjects of the Sultan in whose midst he sojourned for a long time. An
undisguised charlatan and an apostate from more than the safety of his life, he faced a career of waging war against Rabbinical Judaism, and in the peculiar views to which he gave expression he described 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 violently of his innovations, and, unable to make them accept baptism, he himself setting the example. Conversions to Christianity followed on a considerable scale; but, when the 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 heresies, in the castle of Zentzachou, where he remained for two years. This imprisonment did not by any means put an end to his movement or his teachings, and his prison 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 triumphal progress through Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. He lived in state until his death in 1787, latterly as the Baron of Offenheim, in various towns and cities with an immense retinue and a vast treasure, derived from his innumerable adherents, at his command. His later history, however, hardly belongs to the annals of Jewry, for his influence on Judaism had lapsed with his death. His followers, the Frankists, although for a time they kept 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-Messias 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. Not even Lazutzki'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 for the most part found the victims of their delusions either dead or insane, 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 a second Zobah, and by the work 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 leading officials of Judaism in Germany were scandalized and, after 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, the new doctrines, to 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 in Venice. Ultimately he fled to Palestine, where he died of plague shortly after his arrival.

LITERATURE.—On the general subject of pseudo-Messias relatively little has been written. The principal references to the subject are to be found in works on post-Biblical Jewish history. Much of the information contained in the following subjects is taken from supple-
METALS AND MINERALS. - t. Metals.

Fire and metallurgy may be regarded as the two main bases of material culture. The results of the modern applications of steam and electricity have been described as "punning and insignificant," when compared with those which followed the discovery of metals by the men of the stone age; \(^1\) and with the finding of the art of extracting metal from ore, "human culture was revolutionised."

Possibly the first attempts at utilizing minerals 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 is fist lead, then tin, then copper, iron - not absolutely; the order varied in different regions. For instance, it is unlikely that the West and Central Africans found any metal earlier than iron, which is so abundant in their country.

Copper is of importance to humanity by the discovery of metals and the invention of metallurgy, philosophers have inclined to attribute to them some remarkable cause. Lucretius, e.g., imagined a mighty conflagration; this, in consuming forests covering the earth, would have reduced the outcropping oree to a metallic state.\(^2\) But, with the discovery of fire-making, there are many possibilities, and various lines of discovery may have occurred. Gowland supposes that the discovery of metallurgy is to be found in the camp-fires of the Neolithic age.\(^3\) When these were made on metaliferous soil, the lumps of metal melted out would at once attract the attention of a stone-working people, and the brushes of the stone hammer on the soft and malleable mass would indicate its possibilities. The camp-fire may thus be regarded as the prototype of the most elaborate modern furnaces.\(^4\)

Naturally, a feeling of the importance of metals, and the miner and the worker in metal are regarded with wonder, and often with its entailed superstitious feelings. Among the Buggals of the Upper Congo no one is allowed to step on the approach, in the camp, with his mouth; such a one would pollute the fire and cause bad workmanship. The smith is made of copper, and some Supreme Being perform his work well. Neighbouring peoples simply regard the smith with respect.\(^5\) Some African smiths form sacred gods; the mythical Wakan in the Ojibwa, the Matap aided by the Sun, is part at least of the figure of the Greek Hephaestus.

The usual tabus and animistic beliefs are attached to the working of metals, to mining, and to the ore and metal themselves. The tin-miners of Mysore have a remarkable code of tabus and body of superstitious ideas, but the custom of the Chinese: workers, who, however, as will be seen, have a similar faith. The ore is supposed not only to be divine but to grow, to be able to speak of it, to do things of itself, and to have special likes or affinities for certain people and things and vice versa. It is thus held that the people with a certain amount of respect, to consult its convenience, and what is perhaps, more curious, to conduct the business of mining in such a way that the tin is obtained without its own knowledge.\(^6\) Of the tabus acts observed by the miners, the chief are that no living creature may be killed in the mine; that the same place must be put on; that shoes may not be worn, or an umbrella used. Numerous charms are employed by the "mining wizards" for the purposes of clearing away evil spirits and to induce the ore to show itself. The Malay possession ("medicine-men"), or mining wizards, used to enjoy "an extraordinary reputation, some of them being credited with the power of bringing ore to a place where it was known that no ore existed, to possess the power of sterilizing such ore as existed, and of turning it into mere grains of sand."\(^7\) No one but him was allowed to wear a black coat at the mine. He used a special language (tahitian pasea, "take language") for his professional duties, and he had a wonderful "note" for life.\(^8\) Sometimes each separate grain of ore was credited with personality.\(^9\) It was believed that the tin could announce its presence by a peculiar noise heard in the stillness and darkness of the mine: the real tin is described as a buffalo, in which shape it makes its way upwards.\(^9\) This being perhaps a mere superstition.

In Humboldt's eyes the spirit of the gold mines are treated with as much deference as the spirits of the tin mines in the Malay Peninsula. Tin, ivory, and the like, are kept away from the miners to the scene of their operations, for at the sound of such things the spirits of the mine would cause the gold to vanish.\(^10\) In some cases, for example in Transvaal, 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 Buggals believe that gold has a soul which seeks to avenge itself on men who dig the precious metal.\(^11\)

In Malagasy the iron-ore deposits are under the protection of a dancing god ("forest god"), who is appeased before the iron is worked.\(^12\) He capriciously moves the iron about. His symbol is a piece of a four-footed animal. The working of the gold, a deep silence must be observed; no commands may be given or questions asked, prejudice being removed.\(^13\) The same holds good of the gold, a deep silence must be observed; no commands may be given or questions asked, prejudice being removed.\(^13\) The same holds good of the tin, which is regarded as a sacred fire for the sacrifices. The god's servants or priests are two old women, turned mermaids, who are never seen, but always smell of fish and bubble incognito. If a man is similarly possessed by the god, he is known as a sibele and during the ceremonies wears the paint of a mermaid. The same is undoubtedly true of the tin.\(^14\)

The last example is a perfect one for showing the development of an organized cult around a metal 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 Baal.\(^15\)

The Malays regard gold in a similar way. The gold "spirit" is believed to be under the care and in the gift of a danao or god.\(^16\) It has the form of a female person.\(^17\) The theanthropomorphism is analogous to that of the tin.

The same ideas are found at the other side of the world.

Gold was regarded by the Central Americans as possessed of "divine qualities," and it was gathered in fasting and penance.\(^18\)

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2 J. B. Parkinson, Malay Religion, ibid., pp. 99-100.
3 Skidmore, op. cit., p. 306.
4 J. B. Parkinson, Malay Religion, ibid., pp. 99-100.
7 The idea is that of a female person.\(^17\)
8 Skidmore, Malay Religion, ibid., pp. 99-100.
9 Skidmore, Malay Religion, ibid., pp. 99-100.
14 Skidmore, 1906, p. 250.
15 Skidmore, 1906, p. 250.
16 Skidmore, Malay Religion, ibid., pp. 99-100.
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, and if gold is taken from the ground, the soul flies away. 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 by saying that the soul may be retrieved and will assist the usefulness of the implements when made.

Among the Allofooes of Celebes iron-working is a prominent industry. The goldsmith is apt to declare that the metal under the hammer. Every smithy, therefore, includes a bundle of famous (‘gods’), consisting of wooden imitations of iron implements, sacred to the soul of the iron realtor. ‘If we did not hang the figures over the anvil, the iron would fly away and be unworkable’ on account of the absence of the soul.

This is an interesting application of the principle of the external soul. The Chinese in their elaborate animism have not neglected metals. They consider metals and ores when in the ground to possess a soul (‘sama’). Animal or human shape, and this figure is either the mineral or a spirit guarding it. ‘Gold, jade, and pearls ... are the being of Heaven and Earth.’

As is towards the Scandinavian idea of guomus. The Chinese have tales of silver men and of ‘women in white’; when they were attacked and knocked down, they disappeared into the rocks and guomus. The same kind of analogy connects various metals with various things, according to colour or other properties. Gold, for instance, is the golden disease, and heal it on the homeopathic principle with a decoction from an English sovereign, English gold being the best.

One or two examples of the miscellaneous wonder lore which has gathered round metals may be cited. Fern-seed, itself a mythical vegetable gold-dust, guides to hidden treasures. A Malay recipe for curing leprosy brings into gold is to kill a wild pig, and sew up in it a quantity of ‘scrap’ brass; then pile timber over it, and burn it; when grass has grown up, dig up the gold. Hence brass is a magic ring of a mixture of all metals joined under certain constellations, and Van Heemstel concocted a ring of magic metal which cured disease. An obvious connection is practically universal between gold and the sun, silver and the moon. Iron is the lunar metal; hence peasants like to have silver in their pockets when they see the new moon, and to burn it for luck, i.e. doubling. The whole of the magnetic iron and cobalt are ignored.

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. Here may be detected 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 ‘the most genuine matter.’ In all the analogous estimates found in every age it would seem 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 predominates over the mechanical importance of gold.

A similar predilection is shown in the genealogies of the metals. Mauz said that gold and silver arose from the union of various metals. In Chinese philosophy the ‘sama’ produced by the influence of the feminine principle in nature, being classed between silver and lead. The metal arsenic generates itself in two hundred years and after another two hundred years is converted into tin. Tin, being a product of the feminine principle, has tender qualities. When it is submitted to the influence of the masculine principle, it is changed into arsenic. It is found that wine kept in tin vessels has a poisonous action on man, which proves that the arsenic had not been completely transformed into tin.

This notion of transmutation of metals is a curious parallel to modern discoveries of degeneration of radium into a series of filial metals. The search of the alchemists for the philosopher’s stone included a similar hypothesis.

According to the Pahlavi Bundahish, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, and copper were derived from the various members of the dead Olympos; and on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed. The Pahlavi Sipar in Sipar speaks (xxv. 15) of the duty of ‘profaning’ melted metal, i.e. practicing, habits of the heart so unsullied and pure that when they shall pour melted metal upon it, it does not burn. But the ordered slays a sinner. Metal, especially gold and silver, is a counterpart of Shiva himself in the world. From the divided body of Indra, according to the Satapatha Brahmana, metals arose, as well as all kinds of substances and living creatures; e.g. from the navel came lead. The five elements in Chinese natural philosophy are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Wood produces fire, fire earth, earth, metals, water, and water. The idea of animal souls for metals already referred to has probably no cosmological intention.

In the multitudinous superstitions relative to the protective, curative, or dangerous properties of metals, the analogies of their relative value and efficiency, e.g. between gold and steel, seems to predominate. The Satapatha Brahmana lays down that for the horse should be of gold, that for the parya-agga of copper, and that for the other sacrifices to Prajapati of iron. Gold is a symbol of the nobility, copper of heralds, messengers, and the like, iron of the peasants. The idea of the value of gold, its brilliance, analogous to fire and the sun, connect it with vitality. Hence its extraordinary popularity as a panacea to this day among the Chinese, in the form of leaf, dust, decoction, or grease. It is placed with the mushroom to assist revivification and to delay decomposition.

The Chinese also put mercury in coffins in order to preserve the body. With no knowledge of emulsifying they endeavour to insulate, as it were, the coffin against decay. The use of mercury may be referred to the analogy between a moving and apparently living body of worth and organic life. British folklore advises rubbing ringworm with silver.

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. Lump of gold are worn under the skin to secure invulnerability. There is a common practice of covering amulets with gold-leaf to add to their efficacy. 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 ghosts and enemies. In European as in Semitic folklore, the most efficacious bullet against magical enemies is composed of silver, or a crooked sixpence; but all metals have efficacy in this direction.

The property of resistance is common to most metals; the precious metals possesses the further properties of beauty and value. Their strength and hardness of iron make it a favourite charm.
To keep off evil spirits, mourners in India carry a piece of iron—a key or a knife or any iron object. After a death, 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 Scotch fishermen return to port, it is customary to take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him called out "Cauld air!' and the son of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held it between his hands. 2 This to-day in parts of Scotland there survives a queer superstition about "pigs" and "mule iron." The last words heard by "Apache pig" when fishing: "If you hear a man do so, you must shout" "Och aye!"

Iron is an ineradicable idea in medicine. Iron is used as a tonic and that in early culture its strength was absorbed by men. The famous eight-inch 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 hitting a piece of iron is a similar protection. The Tjorjas believe that iron strengthens one's soul, and bold ceremonies at fatalties for this purpose. The people of Balabera drink water in which iron has been dipped. 3 In Surinam iron arm-rings are supposed to strengthen the wearer. 4 Scottish prisoners have in their regalia a sacred lump of iron, 'a piece of old scrap-iron with supernatural powers,' 5 Long iron nails are used by the Malays to protect newborn infants, cutlet-out scissors to drive away evil spirits from the dead, and a sword is put in a strange river before a man will drink from it. 6 When going alone in the forest a man will sit on his sweet, not only to drive away evil but to 'confirm' himself. Such iron implements are called 'representatives of iron.' 7 Scars on the arm are used in curing the sick.

The supernatural power of a sharp instrument is, of course, to be added in many cases to the intrinsic power of iron and steel as such. The Far East has the virtues of the gong as a repeller of evil or not. These rules usually apply to critical circumstances and persons.

Iron was not allowed to touch the body of the king of Kores. The Archon of Platea was forbidden to touch iron. Tools of iron might not be used at the home gates. The arval brothers offered an expiatory sacrifice when an iron graving-tool was used. Roman portraits were unadorned with iron workers. The hair of the Flaminian Diutius might be cut only with a bronze knife. It appears that the Greeks ascribed purificatory powers to bronze, because it had been brought from Africa. The Cape Town Steers retain stone implements for sacred purposes. Circumcision is performed with a quarta knife by the Bontone-toba and the Ovambo. Among the Indians it was ceremonially drawn from the slayer of a man or a lion, but with a flint knife. 8 The deeds cut the sacred mistletoe with a golden sickle. When making need-fire, the Scota removed all iron from their persons. In making the Yule-tide fire-wheel (olivet), the hammering 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. An old Roman Privilege, 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. 9

Frazer considers that the tabus 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.' 10 Thus, when iron ploughs were introduced in Poland, some bad harvests followed, and the farmers believed that the iron implements were the cause of the evil. 11 The hypothesis is inconclusive. Iron and steel are used in virtue of their death-dealing qualities to ward off supernatural (no less than physical) evil, and weapons made from them are essentially dangerous weapons. Mental and physical customs practised at critical seasons or with reference to persons or things in a critical and sensitive condition call for special treatment with special apparatus, or at least with certain objects that bear the name of King Charles I. Sufferers from paralysis or rheumatism collected copper coins from the charitable at the church-door, and these were committed into silver rings which were worn to cure the infirmity. 12

The acoustical properties of metals have also been important in popular religion. The belief that the sound of brass or iron has power to put spirits to flight prevailed also in classical antiquity, from which it may have been inherited by medieval Christendom. 13 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; 14 the sound of a brass instrument is the most terrifying.

An abstract set of beliefs and practices has a strong tabu against the use of iron and the substitution of other metals or substances, previously used or not. These rules usually apply to critical circumstances and persons.

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4. GB. pt. ii. Taboo and the Perils of the Soul. 1884. [233.]
5. J. note.
8. GB. pt. ii. Taboo and the Perils of the Soul. 1884. [233.]
10. J. note. 1898. [161. 162.]
11. J. note. 1898. [161. 162.]
METALS AND MINERALS

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 as jewels and vehicles of magic is very widely spread; but, as it demands a special study (see art. STONES), it is touched upon here only to illustrate the general attitude towards the mineral world.

Australian medicine-men possess sacred stones full of strength, more or less regarded as "living spirits." They even open the caves in which they are found, rub their heads with them, to acquire their virtue.1 In Melanesia magic and worship are closely connected with sacred stones. The stone is not the "sui (the spirit) nor is the man the 'gods," but is a "connection." The stone is as it were, the "outward part" or "organ" of the sui, and the owner of such a "stone is the priest.2 These stones are kept in houses in order to bring home to the inmates. There are special stones for promoting the growth of the crops and for bringing successful marriages.3 A stone, at the same time, is the "sui"—to induce it to act. Food placed on a stone and then eaten gives meats to the eater.4

Both shape and material are concerned in the prestige of sacred stones.

The Australians are partial to a small round black stone, which is easily polished; the medicine-men cure a disease by pretending to excavate the stone, and rubbing the sick man’s body with the powder of the stone.5 In some tribes every man carried a round black pebble of magic power, sufficient for the cure of disease; in contact with anything coming from an enemy sent the magic force into his body, procuring his death or sickness.6 Rock-cystal, or quartz, is a favourite material of similar purposes.7 Attention lies upon the visible habits of rock-crystal for making rain, curing or causing disease, and for curing the sick.8 To cure disease they would extract a piece of rock-crystal, alleging that a hostile sorcerer had placed it in the patient’s body.9 To make rain the sorcerer breaks off a piece of rock-crystal and splits it towards the sky. While quartz is used for this purpose in Queensland, the stones are fixed in a hollow bone, or split open and placed in a pool, while the sick man is washed in the water. Some parts a quartz crystal is ground to powder, which is scattered over the patients, who pretend that it is rain.10 The liquid appearance of the crystal possibly suggests its connection with rain. The Wa-wamba of Central Africa animate a rain-stone and place it on the lake or in the sea to induce rain.11

Crystals are peculiarly associated with the jade or native gold of New Guinea.12 In the Banks’ islands a round stone, called "sumstone" (test-lou), is decorated with radiating tassels and hung in a tree to produce rain.13 In New Guinea a "wind-stone," which he swallows is procured by the Manager of the Jade Stones.14

This would accelerate his intercourse with disembodied shen, the object of his fast.15 There were many stories of a luminous variety of jade.

The discovery of salt, and its employment in food-preparation constitute an epoch as socially important as the discovery of metals. Neither has been achieved by the Australian natives; and many metal-using savages are still ignorant of salt. But its discovery generally comes early in culture, though long subsequent, in most cases, to the discovery of metal. Owing, perhaps, to its quasi-medical properties, as much as to its effect on foodstuffs, salt has attracted an amount of superstitious and religious attention. The bond, e.g., created in Arabia and other customs by eating salt together is in the highest degree sacred, and may deserve the name of "salt-communion." Very holy obligations were "covenants of salt." Salt has analogies with blood and all "strong foods"; on another side it has analogies with "strong" metals like iron. Primitive peoples ignorant of salt are supposed to correct its absence from their food by drinking fresh blood.

Harsh superstitions about salt have lasted into modern civilization, owing to its having been a sort of symbol of food-communion and of the common meal.

In mediævalism the salt separated the family from the retainers in hall.11 In Leonardo’s fresco of the Last Supper, Judas was to be recognised by the salt-cellar which he had overturned; the detail is visible in the copy by his pupil, Marco il Oggiono, in the Brera gallery.

5. L. Place and A. W. Howitt, Kanumban and Kurnai, Melbourne, 1881, p. 251.
6. It is shown in a mystery to boys at initiation (Place and Howitt, p. 260).
9. W. E. Roth, North-West Central Queensland, Aboriginals, Brisbane, 1897, p. 44.
16. Ibid. p. 144, 146.
17. Ibid. p. 182.
Salt has been much used in sacrifice, indicating the analogy between sacred and ordinary meals. 

Mola salda was offered by the Latins to the Larva, and salt was sprinkled by Greeks and Latins on the head of the sacrificial animal. On the other hand, the Rabbi Chias, in the 3rd cent., 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 with which salt is taken: on the one hand the benediction of nature, and on the other the curse. In ancient Egypt salt with the name of a goddess, Huitzocimli, of salt, who believed in the importance of the process.9

Prohibitions against the use of salt are instructive for the theory of tabu. Certain professions, and persons 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. Priests and medicine-men (as among the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Jews, and the South-Americans) may eat no salt throughout their lives.11 The salt-tubs of the Egyptian priesthood is especially emphasized.12 When travelling, the Central African might not use salt. If he did, and his wives were not behaving well, the salt would act as a corrosive poison.13 During the ceremonies of firstfruits among the Tscho Pon in California and abstinence from salt are ordered,14 and this is also the case after a solemn communion with a god by the Hindus. According to the laws of nature, salt may not be used in cooking, or on the other hand, any food at the Gilyk Bear Festival.15 Some Dayakans and their heads may eat no salt, or touch iron, or hang with women.16 The last is known also in India. In the Malay world the young, and the bride, and the newly married must abstain from salted food for three days.17 The following is a luminous instance of the etymology of the associations of salt.

The Jews and Arabs make up the salt, which means a unifying tie. The Greek salt, 'a bodiless salt' in the Greek idiom of the salt, 'a bodiless salt,' and 'a brine of iron,' 'a yoke of iron,' 'walls of iron,' 'an iron sinew.'18 A teacher of the law, said, the Rabbin, must be as hard as iron. Being also breakable into pieces, it is a symbol of the Torah with its numerous parts.

The symbolism of Dn 2 and 7 comparing the kingdoms of the world to metals was popular in medieval literature.

'The Prophet's 'horse is beautiful; silver is Media; copper is Greece; iron is not mentioned either at the time of the First or of the Second Temple, since it symbolises Edom (Home), which had destroyed the Temple. The iron would have a longer series of ages—gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, steel, iron.19

This elaborated a metallic symbolism: gold is wisdom; copper perception.20 The Sabians associated each planet with a metal, and the series is reversed in a similar manner with a planet as well as to a psychic quality. C. Boek, 792. Ross's famous metallic series of the ages of the world is not the same.
we live is iron. 1 The principle behind this is aesthetic.

In Italy Saturn and in Greece Cronus 2 was believed to have been a king who reigned in heaven or on earth during the bad time. He was a man who passed his days like gods without toil or sorrow, when life was a long round of festivity and death came like sleep, sudden but gentle, announced by none of his sad forebodings, the ailments and infirmities of age. 3


A. E. CRAWLEY.

METAMORPHOSIS. - 1. Evidence 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 century 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 "Transform" or the "True Bride" 4 cycle; in existing folk-belief, whether among savages or the peasantry; in the writings of modern travellers, explorers, and missionaries, as well as in 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, what the belief current among all men do not necessarily 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, wizards, and witches. To multiply instances is unnecessary; suffice it to say, wherever such a class of people is found, shape-shifting is always one of their magical powers. No one believes that he can change his form, though his savage ancestors did so; with him the belief survives in his firmly-rooted opinion that every witch can do anything to anyone. Chinese and other Eastern people, however, every one is believed to have some connexion with an animal form. Thus among the nations 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 wer-animal. 5 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 of the man, the arm, leg, head, or blood of some human being. Similarly, men are sorcerers bent on having sprout from plants. Where 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 of the sprouting from the body of a man whose existence was known. The hive is supposed to be tenanted by the dead man's spirit or are identified with the man himself.

The medicine-man or wizard also has the power of transforming others. He may supply them with the magical means to change their form, but more usually he himself casts a spell upon them and transforms them. This is usually done through malice and no incident is common in form 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 the transformation may be for a longer or a shorter period, but it is often of a permanent character.

Instances are found at all levels of culture. Classical mythology knew many such punishments for impiety. The incident enters also into Christian literature, though it is rooted in earlier sources. Thus Christ is represented as a tried traveller who is refused food or on whom a trick is played by a peasant or a Jew, and the result for them is the punishment of transformation to animal form. In many cases groups of malignities 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 petrifaction, in some cases also for a punishment, are found in all mythologies—Australian, American Indian, Greek, Hebrew, etc. The idea of petrifaction may be connected with the fact that many rocks bear some resemblance to human form. 6 In folk-tales the power of petrifaction 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. Medusa's head.

(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, Polynesia, Scandinavian, Greek, Hindu, Egyptian, etc. There was no limit to the forms which they could take, 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 being able to assume any form in a future life, like the gods. 7 The gods, too, as has been seen, had the power of causing metamorphosis as a punishment to men.

(c) Demons and supernatural beings of all kinds were also believed to have similar powers. The jinn of Arabia, the bhuta of India, the devils of early and medieval Christianity, 4 the horse-heroes and other monstrous beings of popular belief, can assume any shape to carry out their ends. Often the form 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 animals temporarily, but there is a wide-spread belief in their more permanent transformation into animal forms (see ANIMALS, vol. i, p. 403). 8

(d) Animals themselves are sometimes believed to be capable of self-transformation. This is true of the fox in Japanese and Chinese, the tiger in Malaysia (see LYCANTHROPY), and there are many similar and similar animals are well known in folk-belief to have the power of changing into human shape.

(e) Inanimate objects may also be changed into other forms by magical power. The best instance of this occurs in the Transformation Flight group of Märchen, 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 Macduff, G.F., 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 metamorphosis suggests that man's ideas of personality, or perhaps rather of the forms in which personality may lurk, is an exceedingly fluid one. There has been the hazy idea that the human thought when no clear distinction was drawn between man and the rest of the universe, between human and animal, between animate and inanimate, 9 J. Evans, "The Bellicrate Stones and their Folklore," F.L vi. (1891) 6 f.


inanimate. In this stage of thought animate and inanimate are equally believed to be alive; men, animals, and things have the same feelings and passions, or act and speak in the same manner. Or, when the idea of soul or spirit is attained, all are endowed with the same qualities, as the existence of soul or spirit. Such beliefs in the underlying similarity of all things hindered men from having a clear notion of personality. It was not fixed and unalterable; it might assume various forms, as in art, science, or religion. These were all practical, working belief that men, animals, and spirits or gods, as well as inanimate things, might assume some other form than their own from time to time. Hence it is not surprising to the savage if he now sees as a man he sees immediately after as an animal or a bush. Where the idea of spirit or soul exists, and where it is thought that the spirit can leave its containing body, nothing is easier than to believe further that it can enter for a time into an animal or a tree. Other lines of thought also served to support the belief in the solidarity of men, animals, and things, and in metamorphosis. Totemism, with the assertion of the kinship of a human clan and an animal or plant which has peculiar 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 men were animals, as the Algonquins say, 1 and only later took animal form. As the Hareskin Indians think, in the beginning the 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, or vice versa, are degenerate animals with souls which can leave their bodies. 2 Again, men were once animals who became men—a common Polynesian belief. When the totem of one totem disliked 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 totemic in origin or not, it is easy to see how men and animals might be supposed to revert temporarily to the other forms which once 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 haunt of such animals as strange totem, 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 preconceived 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 Lycanthropy, § 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 notion of the enemy of the country was largely moulded out of such cases of mania (see Lycanthropy, § 3).

3 D. Turner, Some a Hundred Years Ago, London, 1884, pp. 296, 520.

The custom of dressing in an animal skin at sacred dances, or before a bear, hunts, or of wearing animal-masks in war, would also aid the belief in metamorphosis. The frenzy of the dance would suggest 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, imitating its howls and songs. In practice the belief in the power of metamorphosis of men is generally limited to the medicine-man, sorcerer, etc., who transforms his victims usually by a special incantation. Self-transformation is caused in many ways, most of them magical. Sometimes, however, it is the result of a divine, supernatural, or demoniacal gift.

See, for a further discussion and examples, the art. Lycanthropy; cf. also Transmigration.


METAPHYSICS.—It is not easy to give a quite satisfactory definition of metaphysics. The name throws no real light upon its nature, having referred originally merely to the order of some Aristotelian text written in the form of a question. The subject is concerned with topics that can be properly dealt with only after the more special sciences (which may be taken to include the vital sciences as well as the more purely physical ones) have been discussed. For the purpose of this sketch, it may suffice to state that the subject of metaphysics is the most fundamental problems of knowledge and reality. It will be convenient to divide the treatment into three parts: (1) the nature of knowledge, (2) the concept of reality and its chief applications, and (3) the bearers of metaphysics on other subjects, either ethics and religion.

1. Knowledge.—The first thing that has to be noticed about knowledge is the ambiguity of the term. It is here employed in a very wide sense; but it is very commonly understood in a narrower 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 among Kant, to contrast knowledge with belief. It is now customary to use the term 'cognition' to include all these modes of apprehension; and it is in this extended sense that the term is here employed. But even cognition is generally distinguished by recent psychologists from other modes of consciousness, which are called feeling, or affection, and willing, or conation. 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 called the terms 'simple apprehension and judgment,' 'immediacy and mediacy,' "acquaintance and description," "enjoyment and contemplation," "experiencing and experienced." 2 It may be well to take the last of these first. Whenever there is knowledge of any kind, there is some one who knows

2 These are the antitheses that are specially emphasized by G. F. Stout, W. Hamilton, B. Russell, S. Alexander, and C. Lloyd Morgan respectively.
and something that is known. Knowledge does not exist in vacuo, 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: he realizes not only that something is apprehended, but that he apprehends it. What exactly is he, and what the something that he apprehends, are matters for further consideration; but the general fact can hardly be disputed. Now, when any one reflects further upon his knowledge, and especially when he considers with what confidence 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, and 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 person or of the being by whom they are apprehended. Some other things are more open 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 the particular 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 are peculiar to us in this way and that are peculiar to us in another way 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, that belief in the taste, smell, colour, etc., is not a very sharp one. Hence, instead of placing objects in one or other of these divisions, we may be led 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, and he may even have some difficulty in distinguishing clearly between the pain that he is experiencing and some other fact that he is experiencing or that he has experienced; but he cannot really doubt that he is having this experience, whatever it may be, and however the object of his experience is to be described. Every man is in some degree a man of sorrows.

1 The lack of words to distinguish properly between the subjective and the objective aspects of cognition has been a great source of confusion. Sensation, e.g., has had to do duty both for sensing and for what is sensed; and it is only very recently that it has been possible to distinguish between perception and concept, perception and concept. Even now we do not readily grasp what the terms mean when he said that all the objects of immediate apprehension (not the objects of subjective activity) may (not being brought to thought (the apprehension of an objective concept). It is largely for that reason that makes it difficult for most people to understand such an ‘idealist’ as that of Plato or Hegel, in which ideas or ‘thoughts’ mean certain objective forms, orders, or universals. The New Realism has greatly helped to make this distinction clearer.

2 Another difficulty 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 appeal 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 always been there. Some of the other pictures, such as that of God, must also be supposed to have been always there. Some may be supposed to have been painted by itself. Some are darts of no particular significance. But there are others which 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 unanswerable objection that he uses is that of actors on a stage. 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 conception 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 of objects as distinct from the self that 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 apprehend objects in which we apprehend 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., a 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 become less. Kant added a more thorough realism—i.e., it is directed simply to the way in which they come to be apprehended by the individual consciousness. 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 Moreau, Gestaltwissenschaft, to distinguish and arrange the different kinds of objects that we apprehend. It is obvious that there is a very great variety of such objects, when this term is understood in its most comprehensive apprehend, e.g., a great variety of sense-data—sounds, colours, pains, strains, and so forth; we apprehend a great variety of percepts—stones, plants, animals, etc.; we apprehend orders, such as those of time and space, interaction, relative differences, causal dependence, etc.; we apprehend hypotheses, valuations, distinctions of beauty and ugliness, good and evil, etc. The study of these corresponds to some extent to the doctrine of categories; but, 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 the problem. It is, however, possible, however, to discuss some of them to a considerable extent without any definite attempt at a systematic metaphysical construction. This brief indication of the general nature of these problems must suffice here. The exposition of the possible, however, to discuss some of them to a considerable extent without any definite attempt at a systematic metaphysical construction. This brief indication of the general nature of these problems must suffice here.

2. Reality.—The study of the theory of knowledge and Gestaltwissenschaft leads to the recognition that, in one sense at least, there is no meaning in the antithesis between the real and the phenomenal. 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, 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 of the parts. This is at least the case when they are parts of an organic unity. We might, in such a case, not be said to know much of the brain if we did 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 an antithesis 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 Gestaltwissenschaft, 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 a scepticism as that of Hume, no doubt, is effectively refuted by the Gestaltwissenschaft, which 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 a scepticism as that of Hume, no doubt, is effectively refuted by the Gestaltwissenschaft, which 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.
philosophical writers. If it is strictly pressed, it means that we have to be content with the theory of knowledge, supplemented by Gegenstandstheorie. The doctrine of the newer Realists, of whom Meinong is one of the ablest representatives, tends in this direction, though the supporters of it vary considerably in their applications. In the case of Kant himself, the attitude is modified by the two circumstances that, on the one hand, he had not fully reached the point of view of Gegenstandstheorie, and that his whole life-long contention against the subjectivism of Hume, while, 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' position. Bergson, again, while agreeing with the Pragmatists that their 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 Schelling. All 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 in it. 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 "Nomismata." 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 popular and paradox: but it presents the doctrine that the cosmos is to be conceived as an unchanging spiritual unity, manifesting itself, especially in human life, in a process of slow development, appears to be definitely indicated; and this is probably most clearly in the conception of a long series of successive embodiments. The groundwork for this view is to be found in the intuitive experience of the cosmos, as well as in the influence of Oriental sources, but helped by the Platonic doctrines, succeeding more fully than any one else in ancient times in arriving at a conception of a cosmic system. The attempt is made by a process from unity to multiplicity and returning into unity again; but his views are difficult to disentangle, and he tends at times 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 conception, 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 describes as a 'block universe.' Leibniz endeavored to remove this defect by his conception of monads, which has served as the basis for subsequent theories of pluralism. The meaninglessness of the term 'monad' and the philosophical conception that this subject are both brought out by J. M. E. McTaggart, Some Fundamental Questions of Metaphysics, London, 1906, and B. Basset, The Value and Destiny of the Individual.

1 Kant's view of its futurity is mainly based on the difficulties which he brings out in his "antinomies." The solution of these is his doctrine of constructive metaphysics, but this subject is too large and difficult to be discussed here. Hegel's dialectic is the most elaborate attempt to deal with such problems. Cf. H. Bergson, "La Théorie de la Réincarnation," B. Russell, and others.

2 The philosophical conception of the contingency of spiritual life ought, no doubt, to be distinguished from the cruder forms of the doctrine of re-embodiment; but this is a subject that can only be treated in a larger work. The "Noomismata" philosophy of the Pragmatists and the "Noomismata" philosophy of the Pragmatists, while agreeing in this, still disagree as to the nature of the monads, with the recognition that they are parts of a world-order, the nature of which is definitely determined by the "block universe."
METAPHYSICS

determined, and which is selected as the best from an infinity of other possibilities. The possibility is to be distinguished from actuality in one of the most difficult problems that are raised by his philosophy; but, on the whole, it must be confessed that his philosophy in general, notwithstanding his ingenuity, is much more remarkable for the number of problems that it suggests than for the convincing character of the solutions that are proposed. His attempt was followed by a great deal of critical work, especially by Kant; and the constructions that followed upon 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 thoroughly going 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 that a coherent view of the universe 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 spiritual significance 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 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 substantial improvement on the general view of the cosmos that Hegel has presented. Most of those who have made attempts at a definitely constructive work are chiefly distinguished from Hegel by the more tentative character of their doctrine. They seem to provide, at most, only the disjuncta membra of a more complete system. Some of them may also be criticized on the ground that they rest on a subjective conception of knowledge in a few cases approximating 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 philosophical endeavor, that it should be so difficult 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 conception of Good has been made more definite by modern discussion. Physical science is helping us to interpret the causal order with more and more definiteness. Such dialectical discussions as those of Bradley, and such attempts to determine the value of metaphysics, whether it be right or not, are made to be justified.

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 our subjects.—It would be a great mistake to suppose that the value of metaphysical speculation is to be measured exclusively by its success in providing us with a coherent doctrine of the cosmos. Any one who thinks seriously to the problems of knowledge and reality is almost bound to make some attempt to think about the universe as a whole; but the discussion of the special 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 concepts of form, matter, potentiality and actuality, together with his general doctrine of categories and causes. The atomic theory was mainly due to Leucippus and Democritus, working out the foundations that had been laid by the Eleatics. Mathematics, physics, and astronomy owed much to the Pythagoreans and, in later times, to the metaphysical analyses of Descartes, Leibniz, and Kant. Some of the most important ideas of modern biology were anticipated by the early hylozoists; and, in many other ways, the foundations of almost every department of knowledge and action can be traced to metaphysical analysis. This tends to be forgotten, too, the fact that, once the results of such analysis have been well 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 labors of those by whom the means of living are provided. Hence it may be worth while to make some reference here to the fundamental concepts involved in several of the most important subjects.

(a) Psychology.—The fundamental sin of psychology appears to be that of studying the growth of cognition in the individual mind. 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 roots 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 it out as one of the special things which it has to deal with. So we may regard society without welfare, though apart from welfare wealth would have no meaning. Naturally, in studying psychology, it is the modes of apprehension, rather than the fact of apprehension, that chiefly call for attention. But, whether we are studying the modes of apprehension as such, or the modes of apprehension in what they concern, the problem is, in part, a problem for psychology. What is it that we apprehend most vividly and most readily? The 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 many stages of growth. Hence psychology is best studied generally; but it is important to guard against the misconception that, in studying the order of growth in our cognition, we are either explaining cognition itself or accounting for its special modes of giving an account of the genesis of our ideas. These truths are one thing; other things have orders of their own. These 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.

(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 called the laws of thought, the aim of which is to ensure fixity of meaning. Obviously, 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 modern logic the doctrine of causation is the chief instrument for the discovery of implications. Hume did much to clear up the general signification of causation by doing away with the unities of time and space, of the presentation and simultaneity, 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 conceived as expressing a necessary order among phenomena. More recent discussions have given still more definiteness to the conception. The dialectic of Hegel is another way in which implications can be brought out. According to this, every conception is to be opposed to another. 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 been made apparent, the working out of the logical implications of the orders of number and space is a logical problem, and the relations contained in these orders are, however, more complex than the relation of a predicate to a subject 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 common and evincing, 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 interpretation is certainly misleading. It may be dodged, 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. On this point reference may be made to the art.

INFINITY.

(d) The natural sciences.—The natural sciences have nearly always presented a stumbling-block in the way of metaphysical construction. This is true chiefly to the appearance of definite order in what are sometimes called the brute facts of the natural world. Hegel compared nature to a bacchanalic dance. For Plato also, and for many others, it has tended to appear as if 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 gulf 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 gulls 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 possible world. But this is at most a postulate; and it is generally recognized that we are not entitled to apply this interpretation 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 definition). Thus 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 regarded as, in any direct way, implying the later. The principle, simply 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 satisfying solution. Still, the solution might be found in the conception of value. Evolution, in particular, is very naturally thought of as a process, though a somewhat discontinuous one, towards what is intrinsically better.

(e) Aesthetics.—In aesthetics 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 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 low estate, a certain licence is permitted. The religious conception of a 'Full' appearance is closely connected with this. See H. S. Chamberlain, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, London, 1909, ii. 34.
(6) 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 valuable—whether it is the good will or pleasure or some form of happiness of the individual life—but almost all recognize that in the moral life men are engaged in the effort to realize something that is intrinsically good, and in the end without it life is unable to make the conception of such an ultimate good perfectly clear; and some are inclined to doubt its 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 valued at all. It can be guided by custom, convention, positive laws, and generally recognized opinions rather than by any clear apprehension of a good that can be either defined or attained. But in ethical science some attempt is made at precision; and this involves a discussion of values 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 doubtful whether any idea 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 preference, i.e., the regarding of one thing as essentially more valuable than another. Thus the problem of values and causation are those that chiefly connect ethics with metaphysics.

Ethical values have important bearings on economics and politics; but these cannot be considered here. Nor can we attempt to appraise the significance of what is described by Nietzsche as the 'transvaluation of all values' (Ueberwindung aller Werthe) without special knowledge.

(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 value 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 of revelation, or on the authority of some great teacher, or simply on the intrinsic force of the moral principle itself. The founders of religions and their most influential prophets have generally connected the teaching with some form of more or less explicitly metaphysical character. Buddhism, which is perhaps the most purely ethical form of religion that has ever had an extensive influence, seems to be rather a more or less metaphysical Indian form of metaphysical construction that had its origin in the Upanisads. 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 reincarnations.

The doctrine of the Pythagoreans, which was largely religious, had a somewhat similar character, and the influence of Thomsonianism was considerable; it can be described as religious, tenets, on the whole, in the same direction; as that of Plotinus even more definitely does. Christianity was perhaps in its origin less definitely metaphysical. It has never 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: 1 Plato reasoned about God. Buddha kept silence about him. Christ made him the centre of the universe. But as a source of spiritual inspiration he has no rival (Creed of Buddha, p. 6).

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 cosmos, by representing the establishment 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 be both 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 moral ideal as attainable in any other way than through the individual choice of what is best.


1 The contrast in this respect is well, though perhaps more emphatically, brought out by H. S. Chamberlain, 1, 187-600.
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. These supplement the primary ideals in a way composed of wholes, which according to the ethics of Butler, the “adaptations of human nature to virtue” supplement the ‘eternal fitness of behaviour’ which had been described by Clarke. The secondary ideals should be stated with definite reference to the order and process of thinking, whereas the primary ideals are descriptions of truth when thought. A wide licence has been taken by logical writers in defining method, making it the study of logic and applied logic; and it is here proposed tentatively to name as secondary ideals systematization, reform, and development. The course of thought must be such as to approach reality in the subility of its complexity, by the process of their interconnection; to reconstitute concepts, judgments, and inferences, in correspondence with it; and to realize the mutual support that these give to each other, as well as rising with the same common.

Method emerged from an outworn analysis 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 method of idealism, and through the connection 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 conditions of perfectness in a knowledge related to an object . . . so, general methodology, as the second part of logic, ought to be the form of science in general, to the way to evolve science from a diversity of knowledge.” (Logik, 189.)

An even more explicit reference to the course of conceptual growth 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 the world, but the ‘idea’ of the development of the natural ‘sense of method’ (cf. J. Brough, The Study of Mental Science, London, 1903, p. 5 ff.,).

The sense of method is an estimate of the extent to which the several faculties proper to a conviction have actually played their part in it.

1. Systematization.—The most general impulse of thinking is to make a double approach to reality, by analysis and by synthesis. This impulse has been recognized in various logical contexts; in Aristotle’s distinction between problems of reason or of essence and problems of fact or of existence; in Descartes’ rule of the unities 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 indefinitely 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 infinitely great and in the infinitely small—the astronomer is distance so great as to reduce a star to a point, the physicist in the universe to the end of a pencil. Galilei, Science and Method, Eng. tr., London, 1914, p. 10.

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 but only approximate idea of the interconnected system of Reality’ (P. Bürgers, in Encyclopaedia of Phil. Sciences, l. 254).

Under this impulse the course 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 more immediate end is reform within the ideal count.

2. Reform.—Analysis and synthesis provide for continuous revision and reconstitution of such idealcount 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 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” (F. H. Brindley, in Monceaux, Eng. tr., London, 2896, bl. ii. ch. iv. 1 & 2. i. 193.)

The ‘perceptions here spoken of are already permeated with the results of a contrary imposition 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 coherences. Its claim is among the inevitable paradoxes of permanence and change.

(a) Individual.—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’ (Occam), ‘the point in the tissue of reality where it accepts the predicate’ (Bossuet), 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 optimal identities, such as independent organs or organisms in biological sciences or physical objects in the natural ‘sense of method’ (cf. J. Brough, The Study of Mental Science, London, 1903, p. 5 ff.).

The sense of method is an estimate of the extent to which the several faculties proper to a conviction have actually played their part in it.
of a single concept—e.g., the atom in chemistry, the cell in biology, the vibration in acoustics—may call for readjustments throughout increasing complexities of science.

3. Development—But in method, as in organic life, the whole may decide the part. Nature is more than a 'tissue of uniformities,' as Mill described it. It is a unity. And the ideal of development means that the system of our thinking reacts upon its results. In perceptual observation, historical narrative, and explanatory conceptions of fact objects and instances are made possible by the growth of knowledge as a whole.

(c) Tabulation.—With the practice of practical control of nature, Bacon urged the tabulation of instances of event.

'[Natural and experimental history] is to retain and diffuse, that it confounds and discloses the understanding, unless it is arranged and presented to view in a suitable order. We must therefore form Tables and Arrangements of instances, in such a method and order that the understanding may be able to deal with them.' (Novum Organum, II. 10.)

If we are dealing with them is not by way of further analysis into the elements of a natural 'form' as Bacon intended, but only as numerical, the tables become 'statistics'; and statistics may be summarized through 'graphs'; and the duplication of these into affirmative and negative may be avoided by the inevitable lapses from accuracy may be regularized as 'probable error.'

(d) Hypothesis.—Method can pursue the synthesis of simple elements required in judgment, while still suspending the sentence or final submission of our judgment. Thus, we are required to retain the data as natural, but the course of thought freely varies its subjects and predicates, expands each tentatively 'form,' causal connexion, or 'law' into exemplifications, or imagined into natural consequences, and verifies these as independently true or real, or as not so. Many recent writers, including Jevons, Sigwart, and Besant, teach that such a development and trial of means is essential for all inductive inference. Thus we, if a pencil of light is a composite of variously colored rays, and is passed through a prism, we shall see the spectrum band; if the process is reversed, we shall reconstitute the untinted whiteness. If collisions are of human origin, they should serve some purpose, and our ingenuity may discover one (e) Colligation.—A hypothesis may command an indefinite number of such exemplifications or consequences, both already known and waiting for verification, defining the theory of elliptical orbits for planetary motion covered many planetary positions already registered, and the possibilities of further registrations. This is the 'colligation of facts by means of appropriate conceptions' (Whewell, Newer Organum Recomposed, bk. ii. iv.), or the discovery of 'types of order' (Royce, in Encyc. of Phil. Sciences, i. 99.): an achievement of intelligence which Whewell considers to be all that is possible in scientific investigation, but which Mill considers as an operation 'subordinate to induction,' that is to say, to induction as inference (Logic, bk. iii. ch. ix. § 3, bk. iv. ch. ii.).

Lotze in his *pure logic*, and independently of 'methods of investigation,' undertook to exhibit a serial order of schemata for judgment and inference in which was shown an increasing complexity of conceptual distinctness. The individual thought would be arranged in an ascending series, in which each higher member attempts to make good a judgment preceding one, due to its failure to satisfy, in regard to its own points of view, the demand of thought to reduce coincidence to coherence (Logic, Intro. § 111).

Thus the categorical form 'S is P,' is followed by the hypothetical, 'if S is X, it is P.' The syllogism, if not a mere method principle, involves the further conceptions which constitute the induction and analogy supporting its premises, and these, again, send their roots into larger systems of classification and explanation. Thus the reforms
METHODISM.—I. HISTORY AND POLICY.

In this article we shall confine ourselves to a description of the origin, growth, and 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 Wesley's 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 May 1738, and the third, in London, on 30th 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 vain path. The Moravians explained his failure by showing him that he had not sought righteousness ‘by faith, but as it were by works.’ His conversations with them left in his mind the unsatisfactory impression 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’ led him to the dominant forces of his life, and explains much that happened in his career. The Religious 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 personal religious life were divided into little 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 incomparably inferior to the Church of England; subsequently it was dominated by Moravian influences, and this connection 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 Homilies; but it was resisted by clergy 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, began to affect 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 unrepented sin. That load was laid down with May 1738, in a ‘room’ in Aldersgate Street, the meeting-place of one of the Religious Societies. In that decisive hour he entered into an experience, new so far as he was concerned, but an old experience not only among Moravians but also 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 the heart 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 own voice, and began his evangelistic work. George Whitefield, a member of the Oxford ‘Holy Club,’ had entered into the experience of ‘consecrated 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 Kingswood. 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 the Kingswood collie, he sought 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 Baldwin Street and Nicholas Street became the ‘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 preaching to multitudes in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and elsewhere. Wesley joined him in his field-preaching. On 11th November 1739 he held a service amidst 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 the formation of these churches was the result of new needs, and that the churches that led to the opening of the ‘Rooms’.

4. First Wesleyan Societies.—While he was still a member of the Fetter Lane Religious Society, Wesley formed a Society of his own type at the Foundery. It was started, probably, in the latter part of the year 1739, and is looked upon as the Mather Society of Methodism. In July 1740 Wesley was practically excluded from the Fetter Lane Society. Those who left 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 Kingswood. 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 antecedents 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 instruction, and to watch in love, that they may help each other to work their salvation.’ In these new organizations the ‘band’ system was a prominent feature; but, in addition, the Societies were divided into various branches containing about 12 persons each, but placed under the care of a ‘leader,’ not only for their

1 I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death (Journal, I, 1730).
own spiritual edification, but also that Wesley might be assisted in his pastoral supervision. At first the leaders visited the members at their homes and made personal visits, but before 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 ‘general rules’ for Methodists, the ‘particular rules’ being later added, and 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 never worshipped numerical success; he was not content to gather together a miscellaneous collection of converts upon any pretexts. He supplemented the work of the leaders by visiting the members himself in their homes, and met them once a quarter in the classes for personal conversation on their religious experience. If satisfied, he gave them that recognition of being members of the Methodist Society.

5. Attitude of the clergy. Those who have studied the constitution of the Religious Societies will know that the boundaries of the divergences between them and the United Societies. One line of divergence was caused by circumstances which Wesley deeply regretted. The Religious Societies were in close connexion with the Church of England, and many of their members were frequent communicants at the churches. Wesley would have gladly preserved this connexion and practice; but such a course was made impracticable by the boundation of the clergy. In some places they arranged among themselves not to partake of the Lord’s Table with 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 Fleet Street Chapel. Charles Wesley, therefore, administered the Lord’s Supper 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 Wesleys. 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 busy himself in the work only to select companies but to the world. His heart responded to the counsel of Lady Huntingdon: ‘Attempt nothing less than all mankind’ (Journal, iii. 48, note 1). But how could that advice be followed by the Local Societies, which were too small to elevate all his strength. Charles Wesley helped him, especially in the opening years of his mission, and a few friendly clergymen gave him occasional assistance; but such help was inadequate. The 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 working powers of the converts. He placed 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 preached with his consent, but the lay-preachers is usually confined to dates 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, L. 446). Wesley’s work as an evangelist, an educationalist, a philanthropist, a social reformer, and a pioneer in enterprises that have deeply affected the condition of the nation must be passed over here. Some idea of the man, and those who were associated with them in his Societies may be gathered from the fact that, when he died in 1791, there were 136,622 members in the Methodist Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, in other parts of the British Dominions, and in the United States of America.

7. Institution of the Conference. It is now necessary to indicate certain facts which have determined the character of the movement. While Wesley was the ‘head of his order,’ and spoke the last word in matters of administration, he thoroughly believed that there is safety in ‘a multitude of counsellors.’ He consulted the bands, the leaders, and persons of experience in his Societies, but the chief evidence of his reliance on the counsel of others is to be seen in the conferences which he held with the clergy who helped him, and with his lay-preachers. He also assembled the stewards and those who were sometimes associated, arose the ‘Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists.’ Towards the end of his life the vagueness of this description of the Conference was seen to be a danger. The power to appoint preachers to the numerous chapels that had been built would revert after Wesley’s death to the Conference so inadequately described. To meet this contingency, on 29th Feb. 1784 Wesley signed a Deed Poll expressing the words ‘the Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists,’ and declaring ‘what persons are members of the said Conference, and how the succession and identity thereof is to be continued.’ One hundred ‘preachers and exponents of God’s Holy Word’ then ‘under the care of and in connexion with Wesley were declared to be the Conference, and they and their successors to be chosen in the manner laid down in the Deed, were ‘forever’ to be the ‘Conference of the People called Methodists.’ This Deed Poll received decisive confirmation in 1835, when the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, and the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lancelot Southcote, were in trials which took place in their courts. In his judgment the Vice-Chancellor affirmed that the Conference had been ‘the supreme legislative and executive body’ in Methodism since the death of Wesley. The Conference in Wesley’s day was more than
a consultative assembly. It took complete oversight 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 the form of "Model Deed" for the settlement of chapels then called "Preaching Houses," published first in 1763, a clause appears which constitutes Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament and his four volumes of Sermons as the standard by which trustees were to judge the orthodoxy of the preachers and stations. We may also add that the rights of trustees were strengthened by the clause in Wesley's Deed 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 Methodist people 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 necessarily desirable. In November 1763, Wesley opened his new chapel in City Road, London. In that chapel the sacraments were administered as they had been in some of the other Methodist chapels in London and the country. Wesley was joined by three preachers in which, being foreign to the rest of his Societies. He saw, 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 appointment of lay-preachers would be the occasion of the division of the Societies led him to a solution of the problem. In 1769 he 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 seven years. The difficulty was solved by ordaining a sufficient number of their lay-preachers, but Francis Asbury, who had been sent out as a preacher from England by Wesley, checked this movement and advised that Wesley should not ordain lay-preachers himself, that he, as a presbyter, had the power to ordain other presbyters; but he hesitated to do so. In 1784 the American crisis became acute; so, 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 exception 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 the remarkable career in the country, the time of Wesley's death, was agitated by the discussions which had accompanied the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people 'fascinated the minds of his nation,' and the strong wish on the part of some to introduce into Methodism a democratic form of government. But the most serious contest was between the claims of the Conference and the trustees of chapels. That contest was settled, for the time being, by the 'Plan of Pacification' and by certain regulations that were passed at the Leeds Conference of 1797. In these documents we find the fundamental principles which still govern the Mother Church of?
Methodism. The pastoral power of the preachers was safeguarded, but its exercise was limited by giving to the Leaders Meetings and lay-court jurisdiction of questions relating to the Society, while matters of finance were placed more completely under the control of the Circuit Quarterly Meetings in which laymen were represented. Thus, in 1785 and 1797, it was insituted that remarkable increase in the influence of power which is a peculiarity of the system of Methodism. The settlement was almost universally approved. Out of a membership of nearly 100,000, about 5000 persons were elected to the General Conference held in London in 1785. It was resolved that the General Conference should be held annually, and that the proceedings of the conference should be published. This arrangement was adopted, and the General Conference was held annually from 1785 to 1797.

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. The connexions in which Methodism is established in connection with the Conference. This great organization is kept together by the unifying power of the Conference. Every attempt to introduce the principle of 'Circuit independency' has been successfully resisted. It is impossible here to describe minutely the organization of Wesleyan Methodism. It is the result not only of the work of Wesley, but of the continuance of his work done by his predecesors for more than a hundred years since his death. We need only note some of the changes which have taken place in the Conference since Wesley resigned 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 Poll. In 1791 the Conference, in accordance with Wesley's request conveyed in a letter, resolved that all preachers who were 'in full connexion' should enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoyed. That resolution almost completely allayed the ill-feeling that had been excited.

13. Lay-representation and the constituting of Conference.—The action of the Conference in 1785, 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 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 assembled in the representative Sessions of the District Synods held in May. These 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 constitution of the Leaders' Meetings. The most striking of the alterations in the Leaders' Meetings is the addition to them of persons elected by the Society Meeting in each place to represent the laymen of the Society. The votes for the laymen and the duly qualified women chosen to attend the Conference represent a wide constituency. As there is a permanent ministerial 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 the Representative Session it is estimated that nearly 60 members of the Hundred will be present, a quorum of 40 being necessary for the transacting 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 200 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 been appointed during the year. New legislation may also be proposed on subjects within the province of the Conference, but such new legislation is not confirmed until it has been submitted to the Representative Sessions of the Districts for consideration and report.

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 some of the principal towns of England. The existence 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 1769. The work gradually increased. In 1785 appointments in the United States, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and America were made. Minutes of Conference. Working in connexion with the Conference, Coke was the leading spirit of Methodist Foreign Missionary enterprise until his death in 1813.
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 present 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.

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<td>8,769</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>3,864</td>
<td>27,703</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. French Methodist</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1,690</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>2,456</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. African Methodist</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>7,797</td>
<td>9,363</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>2,863</td>
<td>26,359</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Australasian Methodist</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>150,850</td>
<td>6,654</td>
<td>4,061</td>
<td>23,080</td>
<td>228,179</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total for Eastern Section, 1910</strong></td>
<td>7,194</td>
<td>59,046</td>
<td>1,358,860</td>
<td>32,059</td>
<td>21,464</td>
<td>373,576</td>
<td>2,211,674</td>
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### II. CHURCHES OF THE WESTERN SECTION.

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>30,755</td>
<td>14,718</td>
<td>3,489,096</td>
<td>30,305</td>
<td>35,950</td>
<td>374,115</td>
<td>3,575,909</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Methodist Episcopal Church (South)</td>
<td>7,577</td>
<td>4,984</td>
<td>1,683,043</td>
<td>16,457</td>
<td>15,980</td>
<td>139,767</td>
<td>1,367,108</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Methodist Church, Canada</td>
<td>2,553</td>
<td>2,639</td>
<td>340,091</td>
<td>3,672</td>
<td>3,678</td>
<td>36,503</td>
<td>234,997</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. African Methodist Episcopal (Zanzibar)</td>
<td>6,774</td>
<td>6,352</td>
<td>690,108</td>
<td>5,093</td>
<td>5,093</td>
<td>50,301</td>
<td>316,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. African Methodist Episcopal (Zanzibar)</td>
<td>3,488</td>
<td>3,724</td>
<td>647,216</td>
<td>5,588</td>
<td>5,588</td>
<td>38,351</td>
<td>236,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>188,437</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>17,812</td>
<td>141,890</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Coloured Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>6,194</td>
<td>234,721</td>
<td>2,957</td>
<td>3,011</td>
<td>23,843</td>
<td>210,699</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. West Indian Methodist</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>19,717</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>9,031</td>
<td>9,031</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Primitive Methodist</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>7,407</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>15,900</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Chinese and Amoritean Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>4,572</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. African Union Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>4,596</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Congregational Methodist</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>15,399</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>8,785</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Congregational Methodist (Coloured)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. New Congregational Methodist</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1,788</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1,219</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Zion Union Apostolic (Coloured)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5,099</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1,694</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Independent Methodist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Reformed Methodist</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal (Coloured)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>1,702</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. British Methodist Episcopal (Coloured)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for Western Section, 1910</strong></td>
<td>45,014</td>
<td>39,075</td>
<td>7,409,726</td>
<td>67,458</td>
<td>68,578</td>
<td>623,146</td>
<td>6,002,185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** 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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Section</td>
<td>7,194</td>
<td>39,045</td>
<td>1,283,800</td>
<td>32,059</td>
<td>31,545</td>
<td>72,576</td>
<td>2,211,674</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Section</td>
<td>45,014</td>
<td>39,075</td>
<td>7,409,726</td>
<td>67,458</td>
<td>68,578</td>
<td>623,146</td>
<td>6,002,185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52,128</td>
<td>78,730</td>
<td>8,693,520</td>
<td>75,517</td>
<td>75,103</td>
<td>896,742</td>
<td>8,223,859</td>
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</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 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, 6,794,471, and, in the Western Section, 25,334,076, making a total of 32,728,547.

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 ‘color question’ has had an influence on the number of churches.

16. Methodist Episcopal Churches.—The success
of Methodism in the United States of America has
been remarkable. We have mentioned some facts
concerning its origin in 1784, and the action of
Wesley in ordaining Cokes as a Superintend-ent,
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. Asbury 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 connexion with the British
Church, but it was not long before it developed in
England. A Conference was held in the States
in 1773, at which time there were 6 Circuitis, 10
preachers, and 160 members. From these small
beginnings American Methodism has advanced to
a prominent position.

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the
Methodist Episcopal Church (South) occupy the
chief positions among the Methodist Churches of
the United States. They separate in 1844, in
connexion with 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 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 Confer-
cences in the States. It consists of pastors and lay-
delegates, who are elected by the Annual Confer-
ences into the General Conference, dating from 1752. The
ministerial delegates are elected by the Annual Confer-
cences, 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 consti-
tuted 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 the charge. Every year a Lay Electoral
Conference determines 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 dele-
gates in the charge; and if there is no Superintendent present, the Conference elects one 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
dean necessary from among the 'Travelling
Elders,' as the former Presiding Elders are now
called. The Constitution of 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 drawn up by John Wesley,
and which first appeared in The Sunday Service of
the Methodists in the United States of America,
published in 1784. Nor can the General Con-
ference establish any new standards, or rules of
discipline, contrary to the present existing
and established standards. 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. Those 'Rules' are, with slight variations,
the 'Rules of the Society of the People called
Methodist,' 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 when it is thought advisable by a majority of
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. If the proposal concerns a change of
the constitution, a vote of both orders in 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, which was founded by a
study of the book of Doctrines and Discipline
(1912), by J. H. Riggs. A 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 visits
of fraternal delegates, representing the Conferences of Great Britain, have
served to strengthen the bond of union between
the Methodists of the two countries. The American
Methodists hold a conspicuous position among
the Churches devoted to the work of Foreign Missions.

17. Early secessionists. We have already mentioned
the first important Methodist secession in England,
taking place in 1797. As the Methodist New
Connexion 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
Staffordshire, and became the gerra of the Primi-
tive Methodist Church. In 1816 a Society,
consisting of 23 persons, was formed by William
O'Bryan in Devonshire out of which arose the
Bible Christian Church. The reasons for the in-
stitution of these two Societies were similar. In
the former ease Bourne and William Clowes,
two earnest evangelists, were indisposed to submit
to the restrictions of Methodist discipline and
manner of work. They sought and found a sphere
in which they could have a larger freedom. They
made no attempt to act. In that way they 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 O'Bryan, the
founder of the Bible Christian Church.

18. Primitive Methodist Church.—Next to the
Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodists
hold the strongest position in Great Britain. 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 his History of Primitive Methodist Church Principles and Polity (London, 1913), says:

'The Deed Poll provides that members shall be formed into Classes, Societies, Circuits and Districts, and that Societies shall have their Leaders' Meetings, and Circuits their Committees and Quarter Meeting' (p. 61).

Dealing with the functions of the Annual Conference, he mentions the Primitive Methodist Deed Poll. First of all, the conference is to be composed of 12 Permanent Members, irremovable from office except for incompetency or incapacity. Next, it is to be composed of others 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 steward. After long discussion and ten years of discussion, it was decided by the Conference of 1876 that the number of delegates to be sent by each to the highest court should be determined by the number of the Districts in being made up into a unit for one minister and two laymen (p. 61 f.).

Kendall is of opinion that the Primitive Methodist polity is a 'modified Presbyterianism,' one evidence of the fact being that the Churches are jointly governed by ministers and laymen, 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 disposition to unite with other bodies, Methodists 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 serious controversies concerning questions of government and administration. The first was occasioned by the introduction of an organ into one of the chapels in Leeds. It and 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 agitation of the years of the agitation was soon 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 1835. 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 immediate cause was the action taken by the Conference in dealing with certain anonymous publications in which the ministerial character of ministers holding high official responsibility was attacked. But, as before, the controversy soon involved the question of the constitution and, especially, the power of the Conference. It is difficult to state the number of persons lost to the Wesleyan Methodist Church through this agitation. The aggressive work of Methodism was paralyzed 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 1897 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 new Church shows the need for change, but it retains the strong marks of original Methodism. The Conference, which is composed of ministers and laymen in equal numbers, meets 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 360. The Conference appoints a General Connexional Committee to have oversight of the affairs of the United Methodist Church during the intervals between the Conferences. The authority of the Church Meeting, the Leaders' Meeting, and the Circuit Quarterly Meeting is great. These meetings are to some extent, independent of the Conference, but the Conference has certain rights which it can exercise in case 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 Missions work is being done by this Church in China, Africa, Central America, and the West 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 1889 a constitution was formed which is fully described in a pamphlet published by the Wesleyan Reform Union Conference, the latest edition being issued in 1886.

In 1885 several small Churches formed a union which held its first Annual Meeting in Manchester. The distinctive characteristics of the churches so united are an unaided ministry, conjoined with the free church-life of the Quakers and the doctrines and methods of Wesleyan Methodism (J. V. Heron, Independent Methodism [Wigan], 1910, p. 3). In 1886 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 South Africa, Methodist Churches have united, and Methodist reunion in England is often sympathetically discussed.

Literature.—L. Polity, III.—Minutes of the Annual Conference of the People called Methodists, published annually, 1744-1914; Reports of Proceedings of Ecumenical Methodist Conferences, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911; Minutes of the Standing Committee with Statements concerning Church Membership, published by direction of Conference (London, C. C. Micrographic Handbook and Index to the Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Methodist Church, 1845-1904); The Book of Public Prayers and Services for the Use of the People called Methodists, 1883; Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church. Vol. VIII.—39
METHODOISM

II. DOCTRINE. - Let us look into the soul animating the body which has been described. Methodist was the offspring of the Evangelical Revival that took place in England during the 18th cent.; its doctrine was moulded under the religious conditions of that age.

1. Methodism and desisn. - A rationalistic desin then largely prevailed amongst educated men—a system of thought which fenced God off from man. Kind 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; and men consequently became godless in a manner as if the Revival swept down these artificial barriers. God was realized in living contact with His children. The sense of the divine was recovered; the transcendent became again immanent to consciousness. Accordingly, 'they, de 1888, 'if a man were Wesley's definition of religion; 'the work of God' was the habitual Methodist designation for the Revival, because in its phenomena God's immediate action upon human natures was striking. 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 the peculiarities of this kind appeared a strange enthusiasm' (see G. Lavington, The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered, London, 1830); 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 freshly recognized; an article was made of the Socinianism which had flourished for a century; the 18th cent. was rife among 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 acceptancce 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 Arminianism. John Thomas, John Mather, and Charles Wesley, in their election and grace, in this respect inheriting the High Anglican tradition. But the spring of their universalism lay in the sense of God's mercy to mankind revealed within its own natures. They could not preach that God 'willeth all men to be saved' under the reservation that He has doomed some, of His mere pleasure, to perdition; as Christ's ambassadors, they cried, without any misgiving, 'Ye all may come, whoever wilt!' The
Weleyan 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, the doctrine of a United Nations of Evangelicals—that of the necessary inherence of sin in the redefined. The current orthodoxy limited the salvation of Christ in the degree of its attainability as well as in the persons by whom it is attainable. John Wesley, in his revulsion against 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)—‘freed’ (as he would say) ‘from the last remains of sin’; on the strength of God’s promise 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 worthy magnify thy holy Name,’ insisting that this is to ask from God no boon beyond His promise. In the midst of controversy, Methodist was set at war with ‘inbred sin,’ inspired by the prospect of its extinction. The Class Meeting, with this ideal before it, became a school of holiness, a fountain of perfect love, a proof of a sanctifying and a powerful spur to moral endeavor. Sometimes the extravagances 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 the Methodism quickened and sustained the race for multitudes. The endurance of the Wesleyan Revival is due to the spiritual breadth and sanity of its program. Wesley declared in the object of Methodism as being ‘to spread Scriptural Holiness throughout the land.’ The hymns 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 leavened the whole Methodist Church.

2. Moravians.—Methodism owes a peculiar debt to the Moravian Brethren; their hand led the two Wesleys out of ‘the legal wilderness’ into the liberty of the sons of God. From this simple people, as well as from William Law, John Wesley learned deep lessons respecting faith and inward religion. 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. Considering 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 ventured in theory, if not in practice, types 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 discretion, into the hand of God. But still the Wesleys, in a temporary, but widely operative, aberration in Moraviansism. In this outbreak Wesley saw the peril of the Revival; he raised a barrier against the ‘Rules of Society’ (dated 1st May 1743), which bear strongly upon public and social duty, and by the mutual oversight secured through the Class Meeting. Thus the experiment in religion was balanced by the practical; its origin was a forward hasty ness its complement and safeguard. Methodist 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.

3. Methodist 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 greater part 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, art. viii. (Of the Three Creeds), xiii. (Of Works before justification), xv. (Of Christ alone without Sin), xvii. (Of Predestination and Election), xx. and xxi. (Of the Authority of the Church) and (Of the Authority of General Councils), xxiii. (Of Ministering in the Congregation), and xxxiii. (Of Excommunicate Persons). The title of art. xvi. becomes ‘Sin after justification’ instead of ‘Sin after Baptism,’ and ‘Ministers’ is changed to ‘Priest’s’ in xxxii.; ‘Traditions’ is paraphrased by ‘Rites and Ceremonies’ in xxxiv., the substance of the art. being preserved with notable alternations in detail. The Civil Magistrates (xxxvii.) Wesley turns into ‘the Rules 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 that of ‘Baptism’ is curtailed, the definition ending with the words ‘sign of . . . new Birth;’ the statement that by baptism persons are ‘grafted into the Church’ is avoided, while the clause recommending ‘the Baptism of young Children’ is retained. Art. ix. (Of Original or Birth-Sin,) is also cut down materially; the Wesleyan teaching on Sanification appeared to continue the assertion 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 revising is to emphasize the Protestant and Evangelical character of the formulary, to set aside the principle of State-establishment, and to eliminate Calvinism.

4. 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, ‘that those who desire to enter these [the Methodist] Societies, who are desirous of 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 approves of Christ and the gospel as the means of his remedy; a deep repentance appears the best guarantee of orthodoxy. To his preachers, however, Wesley prescribed his Notes on the NT and the first four volumes of Sermons (ed. 1787–88, containing 44 Discourses) for the basis of a code of conduct. These standards are introduced into the Model Deed regulating the trusts upon which Wesleyan Methodist church-fabrics are secured, and into the Manual of the Local Preacher also declares his assent to ‘the general doctrine’ contained in the above writings as being
in accordance with the holy Scriptures. While they present no formal confession or dogmatic scheme, the Notes and Sermons contain the full evangelical creed in solution; they are a working standard of doctrine, a preaching ministry, and have proved a sufficient regulative canon for a Church that retains its Evangelical consciousness and is concerned above all things to preserve the life-conveying spirit of these authoritative documents.

A Catechism of Instructions of C.S. for the tenures of office in the Societies to any person holding 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 Methodists.

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 Sacrifice of the Cross, bestowed upon men in the promise of repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,' and certified inwardly by the witness of the Spirit of God bringing peace of heart and the sense of God's fatherly love, and outwardly by a life of holy obedience.

(2) Entire sanctification. — Methodism holds the gospel to be as large in its intensity as in its extension, to be designed for the 'rooting out' from human nature of every plant which the Heavenly Father hath not planted; it encourages the Christian man to look for the perfect cure, in himself and in his race, of sin's disease. The Rules of Society, illustrated by Wesley's social work, virtually include the community with the individual man in the scope of Christ's redemption.

(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 their law of love by their seeking one another's company and finding in one another's love.

(4) Ordered Christian service. — This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments: the Wesleyan Rules of Society were conceived as an appellation of the central highlands of Christ to the situation of the Methodist people in early days. Interpreted with good sense and according to the spirit in which they were framed, these rules are found applicable to later times and to the circumstances of Methodists all over the world. They signify that the Christian man is Christ's in body as in spirit, and is called in concert with his fellows to bend everything in life to the furtherance of God's kingdom upon earth.

The above sketch is a narrative, not a criticism — a narrative of the genesis of Methodism as a product of and a factor in the life of Christendom. The changes which the system has undergone in thought and spirit, due to its wide expansion and the reaction upon it of later religious movements, cannot here be traced. Suffice it to say that through its manifold divisions and different movements a striking identity of doctrine prevails. Euncanonical Methodism retains the stamp of its origin.

MEXICANS (Ancient).—The territory of what is now the Republic of Mexico was inhabited in ancient times — in part it still is — by a great diversity of nations and tribes. The plains of Northern Mexico were the domain of tribes of a low culture stage, living mostly without fixed homes, relying chiefly on the pursuit of game, and to some extent on agriculture. These tribes, of whom we know very little, received from the Mexicans the general name of Chichimecas. The more cultivated nations were concentrated in the central highlands and in the ravines, valleys, and coast-lands of Southern Mexico. Though belonging to different linguistic stocks, and differentiated as to their advancement in culture, art, science, and political power, they were, nevertheless, identical in the special traits of their civilization, forming, so to speak, one great geographical culture province.

The name Mexicans belongs properly to the inhabitants of the city of Mexico or Tenochtitlan, who were otherwise called Aztecs, but the designation was extended to all tribes and tribal factions who spoke the same idiom, and were known to the Spaniards of Mexico by the name of Mexico, i.e., 'speaking intelligibly.' Their abodes in historical times were the central highlands, the Federal District, the States of Mexico, Puebla, and Morelos, and the territory of Tlaxcala, where they lived intermixed with the Spanish nation, with Mazatlan, Matlatzinacs, Popocatape, and other primitive nations. From that central home parts of the Mexican nation emigrated, in the modern period, to historic times, to the Atlantic coast, including as far as Guatemala, San Salvador, and the coasts and islands of the great lake of Nicaragua. Those were the tribes particularly connected with the mythical name of Toltecs. To the Maya-speaking people of Guatemala these emigrants were known.
by the name of Yaqui, which seems to be but another name of the Toltecs, who were commonly designated by the Mexicans as the Tonatiuh mixco Yaqui, that is, those who went to the rising sun." For all these tribes, undoubtedly, the succession of ages of cultural development must be taken into account, since their civilization, at the time of the Conquest, might have equaled, at least in many respects, that of the more ancient nations of the other side of the globe. Their religion had reached a correspondingly advanced stage of development, and was very elaborate, while their pantheon was unusually rich.

1. Religio-idees.—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 practice, 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 shape of the moon, and the varying location of the 'great star'—the morning star—have been treated by the Mexicans in a great number of myths and magical peregrinations. The most prominent and the most widely worshipped Mexican god, of whom the largest number of tales and myths were reported, Quetzacoatl, the 'feathered snake,' the creator of men, the wind-god of the later priestly school, was, in fact, nothing else than a mythical personification of the moon, who, in her decrease travels to the east, i.e., draws every day nearer to the sun, and finally dies in the rays of the rising sun. It was believed that, when the moon was dead, or his heart was transformed into the morning star. The counterpart of this deity, Tezcatlipoca, 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, waxing moon which makes her appearance in the evening sky, and will travel on in the night, as the eye of the night. On the other hand, deities like Quetzacoatl and Tezcatlipoca 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. Xipe Totec, the 'slayed,' the god who wears a human skin, the heir of man and god, and his heart was transformed from well-known ceremonies celebrated in the beginning of the year in the time of sowing, in order to bring about the re-birth of vegetation. The two classes of deified beings next in the one 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 source of human life itself. The other two 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 beloved and admired and, to live in the night and, consequently, were identified with the stars. Xiuhtecutli, the god of fire, who had likewise existed in the 'time of darkness and night,' before the sun, and was, accordingly, named Quetzacoatl, the 'old god,' because in some way the prototype of these 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 had preceded the formation of the present world. The first of these pre-cosmic creations was named Quetzatl, 'serpent.' This was the sun of darkness, or sun of the earth, for the jaguar was considered to be the animal that swallowed the sun in time of eclipse, and, as the earth was the realm of darkness, the jaguar was identified with the earth. The sun then came to an end by darkness, when the jaguars were eating men. The second period was called Ecatonatiuh, 'wind-sun.' This period came to an end by great revolving storms, and men were transformed into apes. The third period had the name Quiahuinonatiuh, '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 Atotonatiuh, '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 caused by the joint action of Quitzontli and Tezcatlipoca, and the earth was revived. It was only then, in the year called Co tochtli, 'one rabbit,' that the present world was created. Its name is Ollinontliuh, or 'earthquake-sun,' because this present world is derived 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 Tezcatlipoca 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., the one who captured an enemy and offered on the sacrificial stone, was Xochiquetzal, the goddess of the moon, for it is the moon which dies 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 Teotihuacan, the ancient city of the sun, and took counsel, asking each other who should take charge of lighting the world. The first who offered himself was Tecutacalli, the moon-god, the moon-god who, in fact, originated the moon, or whose deity would take charge of lighting the world. As no one re-plied, the gods requested Nanahuatzin, the 'bulldog,' the little god, to undertake it, and he consented. The gods kindled a great fire in the teotlaztli, the 'divine stove,' and Tecutacalli tried to throw himself into the fire, but he was afraid and drew back. Then Nanahuatzin shut his eyes and threw himself at ones into the fire, and after him Tecutacalli 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 splendour 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, 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 earth. Then Xolotli, the dog who jumps down from the sky—the god who carries the sertle, or the dead—went to the kingdom of the dead to fetch a bone of the dead. When he had given his message to the demon of the dead, the latter asked him to move four times round the sepulchre in the stone-circle, blowing the conch. The god called the worms to make a hole in the ground, and then the dog vomited the conch. The king of the dead gave the bone to him, but he ordered his ramas to follow him, so that the ground and the worms, which had brought the bone to the Maomanacs, a region situated far in the west.
There the goddess Chicomatzin or Quetzaliztli ground down the fragments on the grinding-stone, and put the pulverized material into a hollow stone bowl, which she set upon a pole. This was the bowl hollowed out of a precious stone, and set with gems. On this pulverized material Quetzaliztli sprinkled blood drawn by piercing her 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 black ant and the red ant gave to the god.

4. Heaven, earth and underworld, and the abode of the dead.—The Maya myth of the origin of mankind, derived from the earth (Italitepec) upwards there were thirteen regions or heavenly spheres (iluicuicati), and from the earth downwards there were nine regions or under worlds (miclanan). 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 Omececatli, Omececatli, or Tonacacahuitl, Tonacacahuitl, the gods of generation. The second of the under-world regions was the Chicuauhapan, 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 tepetl (an onamiquian), the gateway by which the sun entered the under-world region. The most bottom region was the abode of Mixtecatl and Mixtecan, 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 sickness, injury, or the infirmities of age. Men who were drowned, struck by lightning, or caught in a struggle with the gods or magicians 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 the region of the settlements. In the midst of a great mountain in the east, a paradise of vegetation, in order to serve him there. Men killed in war or sacrificed on the sacrificial stone and women who had died in childbirth belonged to a third order, 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 settlements. 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 east, to the region of the settlements. Thus the sun illuminates the under world, and the dead awaken 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 hearth-fire, the maize-god, and the other deities of vegetation, the god who pours down the beneficial rain, and a host of numina and spirits who were believed to dwell in particular places, as mountains, caves, water-holes, etc. In the course of time these cosmic potencies assumed very different shapes in the various parts of Mexico. In Tehuantepec, the earth-goddess, Tepoztlan, the earth-goddess and the fire-goddess of the towns of Quauhtitlan and Xochimilco; Teteo inman, the ‘mother of the gods,’ or Teo, ‘our grandmother,’ also called Tlazotlote, the ‘god of the orphics’; and Tlazqani, ‘mire-eater’ (i.e. sinner); she was generally worshipped as a harvest-goddess; Xochiquetzal, the goddess of flowers and of love, had her worshipers through the land; and a magnificent pyramid dedicated to her is still to be seen in Xochicalco, south of Cuernavaca. All these goddesses, without any doubt, were originally moon-goddesses, but developed into goddesses of...
fertility and generation, into earth-goddesses and patriarchs of women's art. Chalchihuitlicue, the 'goddess whose garments are precious stones,' was the impersonation of running water, brooks, and lakes; Uxtoctauatl that of the salt water, and accordingly the patroness of the salt-makers. Cent fecha, the maize-god, was represented either as a female or as a male deity, and was particularly related to the gods of generation, the authon of life.

6. Religious practices.—The Mexicans were penetrated by a feeling of absolute dependence 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 these punishments were brought down on them by their own 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 Bernardino de Sahagun, the original of which was written in Aztec, he has preserved many prayers directed to several gods, distinguished by a high and noble feeling, and by a very refined and polite language, while another chapter of the same work contains two ancient and very curious songs, which they used to sing in honour of their gods at the different anniversaries festivals (text, Germ. tr., and commentary in J. Zeller, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikan. Sprach- und Altertumskunde, Berlin, 1902-08, fil. 959-1107).

The offerings which the Mexicans were accustomed to bring to their gods consisted of food and garments, flowers, myrrh, and various kinds of aromatic herbs to be burned, 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 ashes (talzquatl), 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 or white wine, and every kind of spices, abstained from sexual intercourse, and did not wash their heads. When the request which they had to make was a very earnest one, they would by piercing their tongue, burning, or the margin of their ears, sometimes drawing blood; they would put threads through the hole made in the tongue, and offer 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 Tiacoloteotl 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 (cineteteotl), 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 imposed 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' (tequiualti). At a certain festival a number of devotees assembled, and, after having obtained the god from the paste obtained by grinding certain seeds, the high priest sacrificed the image and cut it into pieces. The assembled persons ate the 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 them brought 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, as an offering 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 waning moon, is cut into pieces, and her splendour is stripped off. Yet she would revive, and therefore the body of the victim was torn by a man who, in the following ceremonies of the feast, represented the goddess.

The Mexicans practiced to a terrible extent the offering of human hearts, torn out of the bodies of living men. They used for that purpose a stone of a rounded pyramidal shape. The victim was thrown forwards on the top of it, his extended arms and legs were held by four men, and the sacrificer, armed with a big stone knife, made a broad cut across the breast, and then tore the body in pieces. The heart was put in his hand, tore out the heart. The heart itself was presented to the sun, and with the blood they moistened the mouth of the idols, while the heads of the sacrificed were put in rows on poles. The body was delivered to the men who tortured the prisoner and had presented it as a sacrifice. He cooked the flesh with maize, and made a feast of it with his relatives and friends. With the thigh-bone of the dead man he made a bundle that was hung up on a high pole in the middle of the house-courtyard. This was a token of the value of the owner, and probably, at the same time, a fetish for luck and protection.

7. Annual festivities.—The year was divided into eighteen sections of twenty days each and five remaining days. On each of these twentieths they had a feast with many elaborate ceremonies, dedicated successively to various special deities, all these feasts being intimately connected with 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 laborer. 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 altars painted with the emblems of the numina of these localities were attached; and they carried children, who were brought from their parents, to the same localities and sacrificed them to the rain-gods, in order that these divinities might be satisfied with the sufficient quantity for the crops of the new year.

In the second twentieth they celebrated a great feast to Xipe Totec, the god of vegetation, a form of the ancient moon-goddess that was just before sowing, and it seemed to those ancient philosophers to be necessary to fertilize the earth, that she might receive the germ and bring forth the crops. For this important business a sacrifice of value was required. 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 flat cylindrical shape, these-called temazcalte (spinning wheels) were used to provide the water. When the traveler was exhausted, after which he bound him, with extended arms and legs (tatejicatl), to a wooden frame, white and black. This was the blood sacrifice. This was the purpose of the ceremony, to bring the earth and fertilize it. This was the original form of the ceremony. The picture, and as it was formed in certain ancient towns up to the time of the conquest. In Mexico City, however, when the prisoner was exhausted and no longer had power to resist, he was killed by a new method. From this custom this second annual feast was called Tacxotl. 

In the twelfth month, 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 given in their honor was called Tepetiuclatl. It concluded with another fire-ceremony, in which living prisoners were thrown into the flames. The thirteenth feast, called Tepetlhuani, the 'feast of the mountains reaper,' was held on the same day as the fire-gods—the gods of fertility—were honored by sacrifices, and offerings were brought to the rain-gods, i.e., to the gods of the mountains. The fourteenth feast, called Quecholli, 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 Paniquetzaliztli, 'raising the banners,' was the great feast of the god Uitzilopochtli, when the myth of the birth of this god and the victory which he obtained over his brethren, the Centzon Uitzma (the stars), was dramatized by a combat between the warriors and the priests. It was regarded as a day of good luck for humans, for the sacrifice. The fire-snake, the weapon with which Uitzilopochtli had killed his sister Co-yolxanahui, came down from the upper platform of the temple to burn the offerings heaped up on the great cylindrical stone at the base of the stair-case leading up to the platform. The sixteenth feast, Ateomoztli, was dedicated to the rain-gods. The seventeenth, Tittingli, was a commemoration of the death of the god, at which the cimacatl, the 'women-goddesses,' i.e., the female spirits of the women who had died in childbirth, and their patroness Ixmecti, the old goddess, the goddess of fire, played an important part. 

The eighteenth and last feast was called Tzoci, 'increasing,' and was dedicated to Xinticui, the god of fire, who was honored by offerings of all kinds of animals thrown into the flames. The god was represented in this feast by two different figures—at one time as a god of vegetation, clothed in green qetzal-feathers and wearing a mask of turquoise 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 firelast-days of the year, called nemontomi, were deemed unlucky. No feast was celebrated on them, nor any day of importance taken in hand.

Other ceremonies were performed to the deities who were believed to rule certain days, according to the names of days in the day in question, these 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, called tlamacazqui, 'servants of the gods,' and gathered at a sacred temple. The main ceremony consists in a ceremonial intercession on the goddess by Uitzilopochtli and, on the way to meet the god, Teteo innan was accompanied by chieftains called Cuauhcalli (men of the province of the Huaxteca). Ceremonial dances formed by the chiefs were performed. 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 priestess wearing the skin of the victim, was likewise driven out of the town. For four or five days, until he was exhausted, after which he bound him, with extended arms and legs (tatejicitl), to a wooden frame, white and black. This was the blood sacrifice. This was the purpose of the ceremony. The picture, and as it was formed in certain ancient towns up to the time of the conquest. In Mexico City, however, when the prisoner was exhausted and no longer had power to resist, he was killed by a new method. From this custom this second annual feast was called Tlacaxtecaltezcalte. 

A woman representing Teteo innan, the 'mother of the gods,' was seated at midnight and stayed there until she was exhausted, after which she bound him, with extended arms and legs (tatejicitl), to a wooden frame, white and black. This was the blood sacrifice. This was the purpose of the ceremony. The picture, and as it was formed in certain ancient towns up to the time of the conquest. In Mexico City, however, when the prisoner was exhausted and no longer had power to resist, he was killed by a new method. From this custom this second annual feast was called Tlacaxtecaltezcalte. 

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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 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 religions remain. Too much cannot be said of the energies and the fervor of the Roman Catholic priesthood in their attempts to Christianize the natives. The originality of their methods and their enthusiasm for the work resulted not only from the fact that 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.

The native mentality 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 (Ann. Anth., new ser., ii. [1800] 726), are still used among the Mazahua 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 non-English word was selected, the sound of which was similar to a syllable of the Latin word, and the written word was represented by a picture. The first syllable, po, of paternos, was represented by a picture of a flag, which in Nahuiatl was poalli, and the second syllable, ter, was represented by a drawing of a stone, teltl in Nahuiatl. In this way, picture by picture, the native word was known, and each word recalled a similar word or syllable in the Latin.

J. de Torquemada tells us (Monarquia Indiana, Madrid, 1723, xv.) that the Christian priests illustrated the vices and virtues and the instability of life by pictures representing a great expanse of water on which were vessels manned by sailors. On one ship Indian men and women were praying, with garlands of roses in their hands, and they went to heaven accompanied by angels, while on another vessel the Indians were fighting with each other, ogling women, becoming intoxicated, and 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, 1888, bk. vi, chap. 18), the Indians were in war, and unfriendly obedient to their native kings. Their governors and princes exercised arbitrary power, but were restrained by unwritten laws learned down from their forefathers, and by the public opinion. Their punishments were severe, but never cruel. Vices such as drunkenness and untruthfulness arose with the misery and slavery of the Spanish times. In material culture, too, the Mexicans were nearly equal to their conquerors. Spanish government did not add very much to their cultural population, and to-day the Indians are, if not the most refined, certainly the most honest, component of the population of the Mexican territory.


EDUARD SEILER.
MEXICANS (Modern)

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 propaganda.

Class 2.—The casual observer seldom sees any of the native element among the peoples who have become Mexicanized. In this discussion he should consider the population good Roman Catholics. 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 the underlying basis of the religion is based on the native ideas rather than upon the Christian faith. The veneration 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 preponderance 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 throughout Mexico is a time of great religious enthusiasm. In addition to the Passion Plays which have already been mentioned, there is a constant round of festivals, many of which are strongly flavoured by the native elements. The season of prayer and fasting appeals to the natives, some of whom wear the crown of thorns and mutilate themselves. From Holy Thursday until the Vigilia of Easter, the bells of the churches are silent, and the matraces, or rattles, take their place. Each child and adult has a rattle, and the strongest rattles belong to the children. Many of these are of noisy toys, as the Cristo de Dolores. The burning of 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 knife, a devil or a gentleman, are burned in every village plaza. Many of these figures contain jars filled with various objects, and, when the container is broken, the contents fall into the street. The figures are often made of clay and covered with mud. The figures are burnt in the street. The figures are burnt on the Sunday after the day, and are often placed on the street.
Worship by means of prayer, divination, and sacrifice takes many different forms. Human sacrifice has been abolished, although there are a few sporadic cases where it has been reported within the last century. Blood sacrifice is not uncommon among the people of this class, the ear or other parts of the body being cut out with a stone knife, and the blood allowed to drop upon the idols. Offerings of food and drink now form the main portion of the religious practices of the population, and with the change in custom no incense to the gods is also very common. Compulsory intoxication—a common feature of the ancient religion—is still carried out by means of the pulque of the Mexicans, and in the Huichols, the teoscio of the Tarahumara, and the boache of the Lacandon.

Divination is practiced 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 barrel of water, and many other ways. The prayers of the Corn, collected and translated by Prenn (Die Nagard-Expedition), furnish an excellent criterion of the nature of the religious ideas of the gods in general. The dances of the people 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 fertility, in turn.

The idea of renovation, the renewal of the incense-burners and the cleansing of the houses and of the places of worship at certain times of the year, is an ancient practice. Among the Lacandon, at the making of the new year, when the firstfruits are offered, the entire collection of incense-burners 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 Lacandon 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 (q.v.) of Northern Mexico are shamans; the name of the tribe signifies 'doctor of 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 in the pre-Columbian culture, no longer play a part in the religious life, though the Lacandon still make pilgrimages to the ruined structures where they believe their gods reside, carrying with them incense-burners and other offerings. The religious practices are usually carried either on domestic habitation or in a house set apart for this purpose, this house being called topona, '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 influence are those who live in the State of Chiapas on a tributary of the Usumacinta River, which forms a portion of the boundary between Mexico and Guatemala. The early efforts of the Spaniards to Christianize these people met with failure, and they have not been disturbed 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 counterparts of those represented in the pre-Columbian MSS.

A geographical survey of the principal religions of the native Mexicans 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 a striking similarity to that of the tribes of the same name, those of the Cora, and other peoples of Northern Mexico. The rain and the importance of rain are the prime factors in the religion of all these peoples. The symbolism of the Huichols centres in the phenomena of nature. In the Comanche, the Cora, and other peoples of Northern Mexico, the religious ideas of the present native population show a great number of survivals of the ancient religion of the formerly highly cultivated peoples belonging to the Nahua, the Maya, and kindred civilizations.


MICHAELMAS.—1. The origin of the festival and the Michael churches in Italy.—The Martyrology in English, translated by Richard Whytford from a Latin work by de Wordie in 1525, records the Roman and Sarum tradition of the origin of the festival:

'The xxix day of September. In the moti of garsege the restorable memory of saunt Meclihael the archangel where a chiroc hyme is ascendent but is of poor byrding ye tymes of the day is alternatly set by the londre.

The Sarum Missal in the calendar has: '3 kl. Oct. Michaelis anchanguel.' In the text:

'Michaelis anchanguel.' (Miss. eccles. = Sarum, Burmisterland, 1861-83, pp. 257-258.)


The Kalendarsium of the Leofric Missel (B), a Glossbundary MS of the latter part of the 10th century, has: '3 kl. Oct. Sancti Michælis anchangeli.' (ib. p. 31.)


The earlier Galician Sacramentaries carry the evidence back to the 7th century. The Vatican MS of the 7th or early 5th cent. has 'Orationes in sancti Archangeli Michaelis.' The Rheinan MS and the S. Gall MS, of the 8th or early 9th cent. have the title: 'Dedicatio Basilicæ Angeli Michaelis.' (H. A. Wilson, The Galician Sacramentary, Oxford, 1891, pp. 300.)
The fabric 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: 'Fra. Kau O. N. to the Angelus in Salario' (C. L. Feltoe, Sacramentarium Leonianum, Cambridge, 1896, p. 106). Feltoe refers to a 9th cent. MS at Padua, which reads: '29 Sept. Dedic. basil. S. angeli Michalihelis via Salaria' (ib. p. 203). Michelihelis is a late form for the name of Michael. Thus the first printed edition of the Sacramentary, 'Italices Sacramentarium' (17th cent. ed., Venice, 1576, fol. 294 f.), traces the materials of this Verona MS of the 7th cent. to three collections made during the pontificates of Leo I. (440-461), Hilarus (461-468), and Simplicius (468-483). This carries the evidence of the rubric to the 8th century.

The festival is, therefore, in its origin the dedication 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. sec. lat. 2171). In a short treatise, Aduantitiones Festivitatum, the festival is announced thus: 'Adveniret die festi. Sancto Michaeli, sancti Michaelis arcaehangi vel sancto Michaelis angelici.' (MS 2171, p. 25.) And in the Martyrium Legum, a calendar in the same MS under Sept. 29, is: 'iii. (Kal. Oct.), (Dedic. basil. sancti Michaelis arcaechangi)' (G. Morin, Liber Comunius, Anecdotae Medievaliae, i. (1892) 392, 402. A contemporary MS from the same Spanish monastery of Silos in Old Castile (Bibl. Mus. Add. MS 50851) has two hymns: 'in diem sancti Michaelis Arcaechangeli,' where reference is made to the 'scoli.' The first hymn has the line: 'ut glorietur in die suo consortes socios'; and the second: 'Urieio Gabriele Rafaelo sacris.' (J. F. Poynter, H. M. F. Poynter, Bifolco, 1892, 254, 256). The Ambrosian rite in the 12th cent. refers to the 'dedicatio in monte Gargano.' The Kalendarium has: 'iii. k. Oct. a. Michaelis in monte Gargano,' and the ordo pro diecimaria diei: 'dedicatio s. Michaelis in monte Gar- gano' (Borodius, M. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, pp. 11, 17).

i. The Castello S. Angelo at Rome.—Quentin has sifted the further evidence of the Martyrology. The entry in the Martyrology of Bede: 'iii. Kl. Oct. Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis.' This is modified by the Mâcon MSS: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti angelii Michaelis.' By the MS 1848, on one, dedicatio basilice sancti Mikaelis arcaehangi.' The entry by the Bollandists in the MS with the insertion of the words 'miliario sexto' between 'Romae' 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 MSS of Toul and Remiremont read: 'In Monte Gargano, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli.' This is the source of the entry in the Martyrology of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, c. 870; but he adds: 'Sanctus dominus et arcanum sanctus.'

ii. The entry in the Martyrology of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, c. 870, but he adds: 'Sanctus dominus et arcanum sanctus.'

iii. The entry in the Martyrology of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, c. 870, but he adds: 'Sanctus dominus et arcanum sanctus.'

Baronius also identified the Church of St. Michael 'inter nubes' with the Castle of S. Angelo, assigning its dedication to Boniface II. (606) or Boniface IV. (607-614), in memory of the staying of the plague under Gregory the Great (C. Baronius, Martyrologium Romanum, Venice, 1692, p. 541).

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 Salaria, the second to the Apulian church on Monte Gargano, the third to the church of S. Angelo in the sixth mile-stone on the Via Salaria is north of the site of Fide, somewhere between Castel Giubileo and Casale Margeridano. The Casali Sette Bagni, which lies on the hill-side north of the little stream of the Alia, can 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 Gargano.—Monte Gargano 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 12th century. Baronius refers to it under the year 409 (Annales Ecclesiastici, ed. Mainz, 1601-05, sub anno xliii.; cf. his Martyr. Rom., p. 261). The 'Apparition S. Mich. Ang. is kept on May 8. The Liber Pontificalis of Anastasia Bibliotheca, iv. (1893) 392, 402. A contemporary MS from the same Spanish monastery of Silos in Old Castile (Bibl. Mus. Add. MS 50851) has two hymns: 'in diem sancti Michaelis Arcaechangeli,' where reference is made to the 'scoli.' The first hymn has the line: 'ut glorietur in die suo consortes socios'; and the second: 'Urieio Gabriele Rafaelo sacris.' (J. F. Poynter, H. M. F. Poynter, Bifolco, 1892, 254, 256). The Ambrosian rite in the 12th cent. refers to the 'dedicatio in monte Gargano.' The Kalendarium has: 'iii. k. Oct. a. Michaelis in monte Gargano,' and the ordo pro diecimaria diei: 'dedicatio s. Michaelis in monte Gar- gano' (Borodius, M. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, pp. 11, 17).

iv. The Michael sanctuary in Umbria.—The Antonine Itinerary thus notes two stations on the way from Rome to Milan: 'n. 10. Civitas spolitio... mil. vili.' 'This mutation is placed at Le Vene, near Spoleto (Itin. Ant. Aug., ed. G. Parthey and M. Pinder, Berlin, 1867, pp. 298, 378). Wesseling rejects the theory of P. Cursiter and translates it to a sanctuary at Jupiter Clitumnus, and accepts that of L. Holstein that there was a Christian sanctuary on this site when the Itinerary was written (P. Wesseling, Pet. Rom. Itinerarium, Amsterdam, 1735, p. 613). H. Leclercq states definitely that the sanctuary cannot have been dedicated to the 'Angel of God' 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: 'SCE DS ANGELOR QUI FEXIT RESURRECTIONEM. Leclercq says:

'Gedaëk, dente la premère destination de l'étendue, c'est-à-dire, et qui portait primitivement le nom de sanctuarium. Il a été transformé et dédié au Dieu des anges qu'à l'époque de Clitumnus' (DACG, art. 'Angels,' p. 219).

And again, after examining the theory of H. Grisar that these buildings (i.e. the Tempio di Clitumnus and the Church of S. Salvatore a Spoleto) are works of a school of the 12th cent., he concludes:

'Nous pensons donc, jusqu'à nouvelle démonstration, que conformément à l'opinion de Leo Holstein, le tempio di Clitumnus a une destination première de sanctuarium, et qui depuis les heures anciennes a gardé le titre de ces sanctuaires qui hantaient en assez grand nombre la rive du Clitumnus pour avoir dû donner le nom de Sanctuarum à l'île d'étape arrière entre Spoleto et Terni' (ib. p. 2149).
The consecration of the healing water of the Cithamine to the God of Angels suggests a similar origin for the basilica on the Via Salaria, and may perhaps be behind the dedication of Montecassino. The early Christian association of angeles with healing springs is recognized in Jn 5. Leclercq states that there is evidence of the prevalence of the cult of angels in Umbria from the first half of the 4th century. The Old Testament suggests that outside the walls of Spoleto is on the site of a small church originally dedicated to St. Michael in 429. There is another in the parish of Mandorlo near Perga, of the same epoch, called in the inscription: "basilica sanctum 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 Coloscope in the 7th cent., the Church of St. Michael of Khonai. The legend tells us that St. Michael had saved the people of the Lyson valley from inundation by clearing the gorge outside Coloscope. The miracle of Khonai in its present form is of the 9th cent., but it represents the foundation of the present church of Coloscope. W. M. Ramsay has no doubt of the identity of the Church of St. Michael of Khonai with the Church of Coloscope. The raid of the Turks in 1189 swept along the Lyson valley. Khonai on the hill-side escaped them, but the gorges along the valley were destroyed, and the great church was burnt (Nicetas Choniates, Annales de Isaco Agelo, bk. ii. ch. 2 [Hist. Byzant., Venice, 1729, xii. 210]). The legend also explains the origin of a spot called "Isaac's Mountain" (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 Coloscope of pagan power. The association 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 Colosseans against it in the first century (Col. ii. 18). The Ciconians of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Lycia, 355, regarded it as idolatry (Cons. Laod. Can. 35). Theodoret, about 420, says that this disease long continued to infect Phrygia and Pisidia (Interp. Ep. Col. ii. 18). But that which was once coated idolatry, was afterwards reckoned as piety (Cons. Laod. Can. 355)."

ii. Asia. —Michael the Archangel was honoured throughout Asia. His name is preserved in Mikhail near Pymme, in Mikhailitch 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 Akroinos-Nicopolis and Gordium-Edoukias. Sozomen speaks of the cures wrought at the Michaelleon, a shrine built by Constantine on the north shore of the Bosphorus (HE ii. 3). Its ancient name was Hestie, and was traditionally associated with a temple built by the Argonauts (Cedrenus, Hist. Compl. [Hist. Byzant. vii. 96]). It is now Church of St. Michael, near Istanbul, in the district of Sariyer, (ib. p. 417, n.). It is now a mosque, and is called St. Michael's Church. The mound, however, is now represented by Arnaouti. Procopius describes the rebuilding of this basilica by Constantine, and the building of another under the direction of St. Michael at Procrithous on the Asiatic shore. He is called He built another on the Asiatic coast at Mokadion (ib. i. 9). Procopius also mentions the Michael church erected by Justinian at Antioch (ib. ii. 11). It is the ancient town of Phthia, with a house of rest for the sick (ib. iv. 3), while at Perga in Pamphylia stood a ptocheion of St. Michael (ib. v. 9).

iii. Constantinople. —There are important references to the Michael churches of Constantinople and the neighbourhood as in the Insula of Anselmo Banduri (Hist. Byzant. xxii. and xxiv.) and in the Constantinopolitan Christians of C. D. du Cange (Hist. Byzant. xxii.). The latter gives a list of fifteen churches (Hist. Byzant. iv. 3) in the city and suburbs. S. Salvatore on the site of a temple of Saturn, in which had been an image of brass named Michael. The image was broken up, and the pagan festival was transferred to St. Michael (R. Sinker, 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 traditions. If in connection to 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.

i. Headland and hilltop churches. —On the French coast are St. Michel near the mouth of the Loire, St. Michel on the Pointe du Raz in Brittany, St. Michel en Grève to the south of Lannion, the Île St. Michel 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 heathendom. The giant slain by Arthur on the site is said to have come from Spain, the Hades of Celtic mythology (Egils, Celtic Heathendom, p. 90 f.). He is said to have ravished Elen, 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 near the mouth of the Camel opposite Padstow, St. Michael, Mawnan, overlooking Falmouth Bay, and St. Michael-Caer-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 Teignmouth, Devon. With a few exceptions the majority are in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, where the old lore lingered longest.

ii. 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 Augustorium or metropolis of Limousin. St. Michael is also the central church of Castelnaudary 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 Pennocernia, a place-name which bears evidence to the worship of the heathen god of the Britons (Rhyas, Celtic Heathendom, p. 202 f.). It is the Brythonic equivalent of the Irish Cean Cruach, 'the Chief of the Mound,' who bewed before the staff of St. Patrick.
Penkridge was formerly the sanctuary of the Celtic Zeus.

A Michael church may often witness to some pew from the foundation-legend of the Church of St. Michael 'in Monte Gargano.' The legend rests on a ‘libellus’ which was kept in the church. Garganus, a rich citizen, is said to have left a bull from the herd.

‘Quem domus collecta servorum multipliciter per devia queque requirere, inventi tandem in vertice montis foribus culmine unde specundum. Iamque promptus cursus salvatoris: statim corripit ira motus arcum, et appetit illum itaque lusum saeclaeque quendam fuisse retorta: eum a quo lecto est non veris, prostituit.' (Monobritannia, Saxonina, l. 560.; of Hereford Breviser; Canterbury, 1535.; 1 credit., 1011 230).

The sanctuary of the bull-shrines is here vindicated.

The terror is averted by the dedication of the site to St. Michael.

The Abbey of St. Francis of Assisi alludes to the forty days' fast in honour of St. Michael. It was kept 'ad herermum Alvernae.' It was on the occasion of one of these fasts that the birds gathered round his cell. They are called his 'arduus et invencibilis.' (Monobritannia, Saxonina, l. 612.)

The vision of the stigmata is assigned to the same sanctuary.

ii. Bennico itaque anteqnium spiritum redire caelo ... perducentur sapientiam seum: cui nomen Alvernae. Cum egitur in tinta solytium novem quadragesimam ibidem ad honorem archangeli Michaelis leuantire coepisset ... coepit immensam concordiam suam sedentem.

iii. The spring churches. —The dedication of wells and springs to St. Michael may be noted in the Michael churches of Askeville, at the head of the Askevile, in Dorset, at Dartmouth in Lincolnshire, and at Houghton-le-Spring in Durham. In Portugal near Leiria on the Monte de Sao Miguel a warm and a cold spring issue close together from the Olhos de Sao Pedro.

There is a remarkable example of a Michael church in association with a spring at Llanfihangel near Llanwili Major in Glamorganshire. 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 1915) nearly filled up with mud.

iv. The Llanfihangel churches in Wales. —It has been noted by W. L. Bevan (Dios. Hist. of St. David's, London, 1888, p. 36.; op. Willa Band, The Celtic Church of Wales, p. 336) that the Michael churches in 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 W. Davies (op. cit., p. 330) that they mark a second stage in the spread of Christianity in Wales:

The group of Michael churches would therefore represent the village or the lay tribe that had become Christian, but which still belonged to the lay tribe, and so could not be called by the name of the saint, or the tribe of the saint, or of his family. They thus form a group which marks the spread of Christianity. ... The term selected was one that would celebrate the victory of the cross over the Pagan' (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 myths of Wales. Llanfihangel yr Nwy, on the coast north-west of Beaumaris, is within the pre-historic site of Bwth Arthur. Llanfihangel Tre'r Bridd derives its name from the ancient Carmen Tur' Beirro; and is the east of Llanherneymedd. Llanfihangel-yn-Nhowyn, south-east of Valley, is near the seat of Cer-Ellen. Llanfihangel Essiclegog is partially connected with the old site of Blas Berw. This association of the Michael churches of Anglesey with the evidence of the evidence of the churches in Italy and the East, can hardly be accidental. It would seem to support the evidence that the Michael churches occupy the shrines and sites of the Christian heathendom.

v. The Michael churchyards. —The churchyard of St. Michael's at Lichfield is referred to in the MS Historia Ecclesiae Lichfeldensis in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield. It was a venerated site even in the time of St. Augustine:

'Corporibus occorsar sepellendi inselis magnitudinis coemeterium, quod fono Divi Michaelis idictum, fertur inservire; quod fuerat Augustino, qui Angelorum Apostolorum dictum, cum illius insidae partes inveterata, religione et ecclesiasticis fratribus ... MS Hist. Lich. lib. ap. B. E. Savage, The Church Heritage of Lichfield, Lichfield, 1015."

A note 'de Cemeteris' in the same MS speaks of certain national burial-places in the early ages of the Church:

'In primordiis nascentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae cemeteria primum extra paupera et amplissima et apud cemeterium Aelianum sanctum in qua Rex Arthus regis sepultus est; cemeterium Doro-

vemi Cantorum; Eoculi Brighanum; Lindisfruna; atque ados cemeterium Divo Michaeli sacrum Lichfeldensi ab Augusto Angelorum Apostolorum magni publici consensu, deinde very sanctissimis modo occupato.' (ib. p. 14.)

There is a passage in Bede which probably refers to a similar burial-place in the neighbourhood of Hereham:

'Sestamque quassarian, seniores rarcr et rustis circumdare, non longe ab Hugastaldensis ecclesiis ... habebant cemeterium sancti Michaelis archangelici, in quas vir Deus seipsum, ... manner cum passio, agnosceantur a locutione quidem operam dare consenere.' (IB. v. 5.)

The Church of St. Michael at Bordeaux is on the site of an ancient monastery, the soil of which has the property of preserving the bones of the dead.

vi. The Angel Victor in Ireland. —The Genat

Patraice, the hymn of St. Fiacre in honour of St. Patrick, has two references to St. Michael under the name of Victor. In v. 4 it is by his command that Patrick went across the sea:

'As'vest Victor tri gaisnt,'

"Mil con tess for tona,'

"Said Victor to Michael's kinsman, that he should go over the waves' (Irish Liber Hymnorum, B. Bradshaw Soc. xiii. 1898 88., xiv. 1898 28).

In I. 47, an angel sends Patrick to Victor, who stopped him from going to Armagh at his death:

"As'vest fa des co Victor, ba he ar: 'id ra 'hatter,'

"He sent him south to Victor: it was he [Victor] that stopped him;" (ib. xiii. 109., xiv. 36).

The gloss on v. 4 reads:

Victor, i. angel communis Scottiae gentium; ii. angelus Eirenicus gentium, et victor Scottorum;" (ib. xiii. 52).

The translation of the Irish gloss on v. 46 reads:

"i.e. to meet him, to summon him to go to Victor. He was his soul-friend, and he is the common angel of the Isles (aenoc cord oll na Aodgal); i.e. is Michael, the angel Scotoirum;" (ib. xii. 102., xiv. 184).

The hymn seems based on writings by Muirchru Mace Mochar, written in the 7th century, 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 Latin of the Mozarabic Missal for Michaelians:


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 Murchon in honour of St. Michael, says:

"St. Michael was very popular in Ireland. In the Second Vision of Aedmon we read in section 19: 'the three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for wounding every disease from the Irish' — are Peter the Apostle, and Mary the Virgin, and 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.

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 Christname sa capon, At Michaelmas a goose, And somewhat else at New-year's tide, For fear their leases fis loose" (ib.).

Such customs lie deep in the folklore and religious beliefs of a people. Geese have sacred associations. They are "The Good, The Bad, And the Ugly" in the classical bestiaries. Some are "Quibus sacris Junoni" [Livy, v. 47]. The goose-pod, or "fuente de las oces," is still preserved in the cloister court of the cathedral of Barcelona. The cathedral 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 [ERI i. 518]. Geese were tamed to the ancient Britons ('Bilorem et gallama et anserem gustare fas non putant') [Ces. de Rell. Gall. v. 12]. They also have a place in the story of St. Wurburga ('in Wedane mansione, quod est iuxta Hamptonian . . . infinita ancurum silvestriun . . . multituin' [Novus Legenda Angliae, ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford, 1901, i. 423]. The witness of East and West, the folklore and legend of Britain, alike point to the sacred associations of the Michaelmas goose. This established Michaelmas custom rests, together with the rest, on so many of the Michaelmas churches, on a foundation of primitive religion, and in Britain they are no less sacred to Christianity for thus keeping alive the deep-rooted religious convictions of Celtae heathendom.

5. The liturgical St. Michael and All Angels.—The festival of Michaelmas is specially honored in St. Michael, but the words of the officium or introit to the mass in Western countries are: 'Benedicite Dominum omnes anglia.' The festival thus includes All Angels. The English Prayer-Book entitles the festival 'St. Michael and All Angels.' The Collect of the Great Hail of the Treaty of 1564 under the title 'S. Mariae degli Angeli shows the same intention.

The Collect 'Deus, qui miro ordine,' the services of Angels and men in a wonderful order—is common to all the uses. Its subject is the ministry of angels. The gospel, epistle, and postcommunion are also common to all. The Gospel—'Qui patet Angeli referre to the guardianship of the angels, the Offertory—'Stetit Angelus' to the incense of prayer, the Postcommunion—'Beati Archangei tui Michaelis' to the intercession of St. Michael. The Epistle common to the Roman and Sarum and most of the Western uses—'Significavit Deus quaeso operet: sieri cito'—commemorates the Angel of the Apocalypse (H. Bradshaw Soc. xii. 1897) 1556.

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 devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.' The Westminster Missal of 1575 has this Epistle as a First Lesson, followed by the usual Epistle, 'Significavit Deus.' It is a rare instance of two prophetical lessons before the gospel, which in itself shows the influence of Gallican use. This influence is strengthened by its use as the First Lesson in the Missarum Missale Mixtum (ed. Lesley, p. 389).

It also appears as a Matins lesson in the Milan Breviary (Breviarium Ambrosianum, Milan, 1856, pars Aestiva, ii. Prop. de Tempore, p. 405). Wickham T. says it in the Missal 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. 1596).

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.

MICIUS.—'Micius' is the Latinized form of the words otherwise transliterated Mi Tze, or Mo Tze, meaning 'the philosopher Mih.' His personal name was Teih (or Ti). He was a native of the State of Sung, and is regarded by some as a younger contemporary of Confucius (E. Faber, E. H. Parker), and by others as being anterior to Mencius (J. Legge). His opinions are preserved in 71 chapters arranged in 15 books; but 18 of the chapters, in some cases along with their very titles, have been lost. Faber speaks of him as an ancient Chinese socialist, and Parker calls him 'a Quixotic Diogenes,' head of the school of simplicity, socialism, and universal love ('China and Religion, London, 1865, p. 67). It is this doctrine of universal love that is the best known, largely because of the criticism of it by Mencius (q. v.). All social disorders in the empire, and between persons, families, or States, spring from selfishness, and would be impossible if men loved the persons, families, and States of others as they love what belongs to themselves. Such universal love may be difficult; but, if men can be induced to sacrifice their lives for the sake of pleasing their sovereign, how much less difficult should they find it to practise universal love, which, moreover, would be responded to by love. Others would follow if only rulers would lead the way by administering justice in this principle, taking pleasure in it, stimulating men to it by rewards and praise, and discouraging them from opposition to it by punishment and fines. Micius addresses the ancient kings as examples, for equally with Confucius he builds on the ancient books. What gives rise to hate and all its evils is the principle of making distinctions. In spite of the brevity of life and the selfish desire to make the most of it for oneself, each man should be for the other as for himself. There is no one who would not prefer his friend or his sovereign one who practises universal love rather than one who acts on the opposite principle. To the objection that universal love is injurious to filial piety Micius replies that the filial son is one who wishes to secure the happiness of his parents by inducing men to love and benefit them, and that to love and benefit the parents of others is precisely to secure for one's own the same treatment in return (bk. iv.). It is here that Mencius joins issue with the Micht I Tze. Taking Micius's doctrine as in calculating equal love to all, he argues from the actual facts of human nature, pointing out that a man's affection for his brother's child is not merely the same as his affection for the child of his neighbour, and that man is related in a special way to his own parents, heaven having made man to have this one root (Mencius, bk. iii. pt. i. ch. 5, pp. ii. ch. 9). Legge admits that Micius appears to lose sight of the other sentiments of the human mind in his exclusive contemplation of the power of love, but denies that Micius taught equal love to all. It is true that we do not find in Micius the phrase 'without difference of degree,' used by I Tze, though it may be held that I Tze represents the logic of his master's doctrine. I Tze
also exposed himself to Maimonides' criticism by his exaggeration of his master's teaching on simplicity in funerary rites (Maimonides, bk. iii. pt. i. ch. 5). Maimonides did no more than discourage extravagance on the part of the wealthy in the making of his monuments for the dead; he did not mean to assume the right to dictate to men or gods, while he allowed all that was necessary for a decent interment (Maimonides, bk. v. ch. 25).

Among other points worthy of notice are these. In discussing the uniformity, Maimonides holds that men originally were hopelessly at sixes and sevens, each having his own view of right, and that order is based on submissive acceptance of the judgment of the supreme ruler, whose judgment is conform to heaven; if heaven's punishments are to be avoided. Hence the pieties of the ancient kings. Maimonides is firmly convinced of the existence of spiritual beings, the instruments of heaven's righteous administration, and so far affirms the necessity of religious belief for social stability (bk. viii.). Of two chapters criticizing the Confucian school one survives, though Chinese editors are inclined to deny this reference to it; a remark to the effect that the whole Maimonides deserves Legge's praise of him as 'an original thinker,' who exercised a bolder judgment on things than Confucius or any of his followers.


F. J. MACLAGAN.

MICMACS.—See ALONGQUINS (Easterns).

MIDRASH AND MIDRASHIC LITERATURE.—The term midrash (from the root dǎrāsh, 'to seek,' 'to inquire') signifies 'research,' 'exercise,' 'study.' Applied by the Chronicler to historical writings of didactic import, 1 as the Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (2 Ch 13:19) and the Midrash of the book of Kings (2 Ch 24:20), it assumed later, with the advent of the sōfrin, 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 the practical pursuit of knowledge. From the latter usage the Jewish academy received its name bāth hom-midrāsh, 'house of study.' In a narrower sense, midrash is employed to mean any specific exposition of a Scriptural passage differing essentially from the p'rashah, the literal meaning (the plural form in such case being midrāshōth), and the name is then transferred to a collection of such free expositions, known collectively as midrāšot, Midrashic works.

The intellectual activity of the Rabbis with regard to this free exposition of the Bible was developed along two distinct lines, the Hålakâh and the Haggâdah, and a few 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: hålakâh, 'way of acting,' 'habit,' 'rule of conduct'; haggâdah (also known in its Arabic form ʿaqqâdah or ʿagûdâh, 'narrative,' 'explanation.' The Hålakâh confines itself to the legalistic aspect of the Scriptures; the Haggâdah to their moralizing and edifying aspect.

From the midrashic standpoint, the Bible is a mirror, in which is reflected every move 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. 96.) 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 rock, it is possible to unravel all the secrets which lie beneath the surface of the cold letter of the text (Sanh. 34c). The Hålakâh takes up this work of rekindling the mystic spark of knowledge in the legal field; in all other fields of human activity that task is undertaken by the Haggâdah. The Hålakâh relies, for its powers, mainly on the intellectual and logical faculties of man; the Haggâdah on the imaginative and emotional faculties. The Hålakâh strives to preserve the letter of the law by insisting on the observance of all the details in the ritual; the Haggâdah, by a well-defined analysis of the relation of man to his environment, seeks to preserve its spirit.

Midrashic study, therefore, assumes a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is concerned with the evolution of legalism—the Hålakâh; on the other, it centres about the problems of God, man, and the universe—the Haggâdah. The origin of Midrashic study is shrouded in the gloom of antiquity. The Rabbis themselves often assign Midrashic interpretations of Scripture to Biblical personages, but such statements are not to be taken literally. A noteworthy instance of this occurs in the Mishna (Shkîlām, vi. 6): 'This is the midrash which Jehoiada, the high-priest, taught,' etc. By such assertions the Rabbis probably mean to emphasize the continuity and binding force of the traditional law.

There can be no doubt, however, that this free method of inquiry into Scripture was well established during the period of the early scribes, the men of the Great Synagogue, who undertook the reconstructive work initiated by Ezra. 2 The author of Daniel uses Midrashic exegesis quite liberally in interpreting the words of Jeremiah (25:12; 29:10) in his famous prophecy of the weeks (ch. 9). With the advent of the scribes Midrashic study becomes a permanent institution in the Jewish intellectual world and passes through its process of evolution during the succeeding ages. Three historical periods are generally distinguished: (a) the period of the sōfrin, or scribes, 400 B.C.—A.D. 10; (b) the period of the Tannâmites, the early Rabbinical authorities, A.D. 10–220; (c) the period of the Amorâmis, later Rabbinic authorities, A.D. 220–500.

The historical side of the development of Midrashic study has been ably dealt with in the works of L. Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, Frankfort, 1890; Z. Frankel, Hodogetria in Mischmah, Leipzig, 1859, and Introduction in Talmud Hierosolimitanum, Breslau, 1870; D. Hofmann, 'Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midrashim' (Beilage des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin), 1887; and especially in the works of W. Bachar, Die Aguda der Tannaim, Strassburg, 1903; Die Aguda der babylonischen Amorâmis, do. 1878, and Die Aguda der palästinischen Amorâmis, do. 1892-99. Only a few traces remain of the Midrashic exegesis of the early scribes (cf. Mahâh Sōfrin, viii.; Maṭhtah Shâghilah, v. 10f.).

During the second period, the Tannâmites, Midrashic study must have developed to grand proportions, as is evident from the fact that the various schools of Rabbis, begin in the time of H. Wein, Zur Geschichte des Talmud, Wina, 1904, iii. 229.

1 The following passage is of interest as confirming this position. Rabbi Levi says: 'We have received this midrash from the men of the Great Synagogue. Wherever Scripture uses the expression 'and it came to pass' (like the word 'creation' in the Bible) it means calamity' (Miqṭôtah, 100). Parallel passages on the authority of a number of different teachers are found in Megillah Rabbah, xii. 5; Yagîdîr Rabbâ, xl. 7; Rûch Rabbâ, i. p. 13; Eṣrâ Rabbâ, i. 11; Eṣrâ Rabbâ, i. 11 prom.; Pîtâkha Rabbâh, 6. In these the period of the Babylonian Exile is referred to in this way (cf. N. Krochmal, Moseh Nebâhî beh-Zamâhan, Warsaw, 1894, p. 224).
midrash and midrashic literature

was necessary to consider the amplifying or limiting value of certain particles used in the Pentateuch when considering the legal question involved in the passage, in order to include the additions of tradition or to exclude no longer sanctions. Thus the particles 'even,' 'every,' "also," were considered as amplifying, the particles 'but,' 'only,' 'from' as limiting, the original law. Rabbi Akiba's disciples included the most distinguished teachers of the Law, such as Rabbi Bar Nissim, Rabbi Yehudah ben Hasid, Simeon ben Yohai, and Yose [bar Hala, his disciple, Aqiva, followed his methods of exegesis in his Greek version of the OT. From the Minhag of Rabbi Akiba the following Halakhic Midrashim of the school of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai on Exodus, contained in the Midrash Hag-Gadit, and published by D. Hoffmann (Mekhilta de Rabbi Simon b. Yochai, Neukork a. M., 1905); (ii.) the Sifre or Torath Kohanim, of which a complete running Halakhic commentary to Leviticus, and was edited by Rabbi Hyya (middle of 2nd cent.; cf. Hoffmann, 'Einleitung,' p. 22); the Sifre was issued in 1546, and the standard edition is Sifre, Commentar zum Buch Levitischen, herausgegeben von R. Abraham ben David und I. H. Weiss ... herausgegeben von Jakob Schlossberg, Vienna, 1862; (iii.) the Sifre Zuta, the Halakhic commentary to Numbers from the school of Rabbi Akiba, existing only in fragmentary form in various collections, foremost among which is the Yalkut Shimoni, the editio princeps of which uses the expression Zuta, smaller, to distinguish this Midrash from the Sifre to Numbers mentioned above (cf. Hoffmann, 'Einleitung,' pp. 59-66); and (iv.) the Sifre to Deuteronomy, which is the legal commentary to this book issued from the same school. It is usually bound with the Sifre 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 some are primarily Halakhic, the Haggadic content in each instance forms no mean proportion, for the Rabbinists felt themselves bound by no rigorous division-line in arranging their materials. The later Misha and Talmud are similar extensive collections which comprise the greatest efforts of the Rabbinists in the realm of Hidduschen and Haggadah.

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 21:24) means a money-compensation. This, however, is a mere assertion; perhaps we are actually to understand the passage in its literal sense. Says Rabbi Elazar: "Scripture in one passage (Lv 24:20) the two injunctions, 'thou shalt not killest a beast shall make it good,' and 'he that killeth a man shall be put to death.' For what purpose is this collection?—in order to establish a line 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 Hanoch adds: "In the case where one's beast has repeatedly inflicted death on several human beings, Scripture specifically imposes a fine on the owner to escape a deserved death-penalty. In this case, where the Scriptural penalty is only the loss of an eye, there is all the more reason to believe that the text meant to allow a money-compensation." (cf. Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, Midchutim, 8.)

The binding force of the decisions of the Rabbinists with regard to their interpretation of the Mosaic law is clearly expressed in the following

"Concerning the authority of the words of the scribes, Scripture says (De 17:19): 'According to the tenor of the law which they shall teach thee.' It does not say which the Torah they shall teach them."

1 Cf. J. Winter and A. Wünsche, Die jüdische Litteratur, Trèves, 1861, i. 371-410; and J.E. v. 534.

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shall teach thee, but rather which they shall teach thee. . . .
Further on it says, 6 Thou shalt not turn aside from the
sentences which they shall teach thee, to the right hand, nor to
the left; which means that thou shalt listen to their opinions in
reverence to what is right, if they tell thee that it is left, and
in reference to what is left, if they tell thee that it is left; and
not to turn aside from the right hand, and concerning the left
that it is left, and concerning the left that it is right, thou must
yield to their opinion. (Midrash Sheshat Rabbâ, I, 2).

The Haggadáh. — The Haggadáh is the expression of the
philosophy of Jewish life, and, as a result, had a wider appeal
than the more abstract Halakháh. With a keen appreciation of
the cosning powers of the Haggadáh, Rabbi Isaac
informs us:

'Generations before, when the penny had a freer circulation,
there was a desire to listen to lectures on Mishnah and Talmud;' he
told us, 'when the penny was scarce, it is only desire for
Scripture and Haggadáh.' (Pesiqta of Rambah, Babadásh
hass-Shemash)

The Haggadáh Midráschar 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 Haggadáh Midráschar. They are, however,
frequently introduced by several proems
—opening remarks generally based on some text in
the Haggadáh— which is rather a characteristic of the homiletic
Midráschar. The latter are collections of homilies or sermons
which are delivered during the Sabbath and festival services
in the synagogues, and which were based on the
portion of the law read during such service. The homiletic
Midráschar therefore, differ essentially in structure as well as in
the treatment of their subject-matter, from all the other Midráschar
works. They are regularly introduced by proems in which
a passage from the Haggadáh or Prophecies is
explained, and the context. Several homiletic works (notably the
Tanákháh) also resort to a Halachic exordium. The lesson of
the day is then attached to the opening verses of the portion of the
law read during such service, 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 Mesianic era. The two
cycles of homiletic Midráschar are in existence: (a) those originating in the three-year-cycle of
Scriptural Sabbath readings then in vogue in Palestine—the Schénirás cycle—and (b) those based on the readings during the special Sabbath in the Jewish calendar (occurring before Purim and Passover) and on the festivals and fast-days
—the Pesiqta cycle.

3. Exegetical Midráschar. — Of these the oldest and most important is B'rachatáh Rabbâ, a Haggadic
commentary on Genesis. It is the first in the collection
known as Midráschar Rabbâ, or Midráschar Babadá, which comprises ten Midráschar 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 cen-
— the period in which the different Haggadic Midráschar were reformed. Of the Haggadáh Midráschar
Babá, there is no date during the oldest as well as the
richest from the point of view of subject-matter. Like most of the Midráschar, it had its
origin in Palestine, and was put into its final form no later than the 6th century. Older authorities associate the work with Rabbá Sheshháh, a Palestinian
of the teacher of the 3rd cent. (with whose remarks the
book opens, but he cannot be responsible for the
work in its present form. The historical and
legendary content of Genesis furnishes ample
material for Haggadic exposition. The ten
Midráschar works forming the collection B'rachatáh Rabbâ were printed for the first time in Venice,
1545. The standard edition is that of Wilna,
1578–87. The collection was translated into

Etzeh Rabbáh, a Haggadic commentary to
Lamentations, is also a very early exegetical
Midráschar, and is included in the Midráschar Rabbâ. This work (as well as B'rachatáh 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, Etzeh Rabbáh, Wilna, 1899.

Sikh hosh-Shirin Rabbâ is an exegetical Midráschar
to Canticles, included in the Midráschar Rabbâ. The
entire work is an elaborate allegorical rendition of
the relations between the shepherd and his bride.
Rúth Rabbâ (also included in the Midráschar Rabbâ) is
an exegetical Midráschar to Ruth. The book is
introduced by a series of proems, and the conversion
of Ruth furnishes many a beautiful lesson to the
Rabbinical commentators.

Kohélet Rabbâ (also included in the above
collection) is an almost complete exegetical
commentary on Ecclesiastes. It is a book
of much of the material found in the Talmud and in
various earlier Midráschar works, and mentions
several sources by name—a sign of the late origin of the
Midráschar.

Finally, Ester Rabbâ is an exegetical commentary
on Esther included in the Midráschar Rabbâ. This is one of a number of extant Haggadic
Midráschar to the book of Esther, very popular
because of its use during the Jewish festival. The
others were published by S. Buber, Sammlung
apocryphischer Commentare zum Buche Esther, Wilna,
1886, and Agadische Abhandlungen zum Buche
Ester, Cracow, 1897.

Besides the above-mentioned Midráschar to the
Five Scrolls, Buber published several other extant
Midráschar to the books of Canticles, Ruth,
Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, in Midráschar Sotsa,
Berlin, 1894.

There are still extant several Haggadic Midráschar 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 is Midráschar Tehillim, a Haggadic commentary to the book of
Psalms. It is also known as Sbhara Tébb, 'He
that seeketh good' (Ps 119), which are also the
opening words of the book. This Midráschar is
especially rich in the rhetorical devices employed by the
Haggadists—analogies, legends, tablons,
maxims, etc. A critical edition was issued by
Buber (Midráschar Tehillim, Wilna, 1891). A
Midráschar to the book of Samuel has, likewise, been
preserved, known as Midráschar Shlomóh. It is a collection of Haggadic comments on the book,
gleaned from various parts of Rabbinic literature.
The first edition of the work was Constantinople,
1517. A critical edition was issued by
(Smidráschar Samuel, Cracow, 1853). Midráschar Mihaíl is an incomplete Haggadic Midráschar to
Proverbs. The comments in this Midráschar are exceptionally
brief, so that the work approaches the character of a
Biblical commentary. A critical edition was

issued by S. Buber (Midrashische Werke, Wilna, 1899). The Midrashim to the books of Isaiah and Job are mentioned by older authorities, and, of the latter, extracts are found in the collection, Yalkut Rabbi, (to Is 61:11), and in a few other midrashic works. Several fragments of a Midrash to the book of Jonah have been published by A. Jellinek (Beitk. der hebr., Leipzig, 1853-57, l. 96-105); and by C. M. Horowitz, (Sammlung kleiner Midrashim, Berlin, 1881).

Finally, there are in existence a number of works known as Yalkutim, "collections," which are in the nature of the Talmud to all the books of Scripture, and which give (with their proper sources) a wealth of aggadistic material for each of the books. Three of these works are very important: the Yalkut Shimoni, frequently known merely as Yalkut, ascribed to Rabbi Simeon, the preacher (last edition, Wilna, 1838), the Yalkut ha-Midrash, ascribed to Rabbi Machir ben Abba Mari, only portions of which have appeared (Buber, Yalkut Machiri . . . zu den 150 Psalmen, Berdyazov, 1890), and the Midrash ha-Din, of which the part to Genesis has been published by Scherdel (op. cit.), and the part to Exodus by D. Hoffmann (Berlin, 1913-15).

4. Homiletic Midrashim. — The purely homiletic Midrashim (i. e., the cycle based on the triennial readings of the Pentateuch in the synagogues of Palestine) are: (1) the Tanhûmah, (2) Aggadath Bereshith, and (3) the four remaining works of the Midrash Rabbi on the four last books of the Pentateuch. The Tanhûmah (the best known of the Hamaqidei Dr., "Let him teach us," because of the frequent use of this formula to introduce the Halakhic exordiums in the Midrash) is a complete homiletic commentary to the Pentateuch, extant in two versions: (1) Yalkut ha-Midrash, and (2) the Sifre ha-Te'amim. A third version is known to have existed. A critical edition was issued by Buber (Midrashic Talmud, Wilna, 1885), S. A. Schneidewin (on Exodus, Wagdyt Rabbi on Leviticus, Brachah ha-Rabbah on Numbers, and Pekudei ha-Rabbah 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 most interesting of the homilies for popular sayings and parables that illustrate the lesson of the day. The other three works include many homilies that are already found in the Tanhûmah collection. Aggadath Bereshith is a collection of homilies of great dimensions and to portions of the Prophets and Psalms, and was edited by Buber (Aggadath Bereikha, Cracow, 1902).

Two collections of homilies of the Pesidtah cycle have been preserved: (1) Pesidtah be-Kahana, and (2) Pesidtah Rabbi. The first consists of thirty-four homilies on the lessons for the first six Sabbaths and the feast days. It was edited by Buber (Pesidtah . . . von Be-Kahana, Lyce, 1889). The Pesidtah Rabbi is a later work, and also contains homilies for the special days of the Pesidtah cycle. It was edited critically by M. Friedmann (Pesidtah Rabbi, Vienna, 1890).

5. Style and content of the Haggadic Midrashim

In order to make their teachings most effective, the Rabbis resort to well-known rhetorical devices. Foremost among these is the use of the ma'ashah, "analogy." The analogy, or extended metaphor, is a well-known figure of literary composition; in the hands of the Rabbis it reached the zenith of its didactic powers. 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 institutions of Rome as depicted in the ma'ashah an interesting volume of no mean size has been written (I. Ziegler, Die Konstantinische Zeitgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit, 1869). On the comparative side, Paul Fiebig has commented an interesting volume on the differences between the Rabbinic and the NT use of the ma'ashah (Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu, Tubingen and Leipzig, 1904). The analogy was most helpful in explaining difficulties in the textual 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 ma'ashah.

A narrative once asked Rabbi Yose bar Halafta, "Why does Scripture say: 'He gave wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge and discretion unto them that know understanding?"' Rabbi Yose replied, "Let me give you an analogy. If two men, one poor and one wealthy, were to approach thee to borrow a sum of money; wouldst thou lend the money to the poor man or to the rich?" "Of course to the rich man," the speaker replied, "for, in the event of its loss, he still has assets from which, whereas the poor man could not get a penny." Thereupon Rabbi Yose replied, "Would that the evil spirits would lend the money each month with interest! If the Holy One, Blessed be He, were to grant wisdom to simpletons and fools, they would decimate this wisdom from the public baths, the temples, and at other unspecified moments; He therefore granted wisdom to the wise, who conserve it to its utmost value in the synagogue and the academy" (Ezrah Rabbi, 1:5).

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 ma'ashah:

Rabbi Judah, the son of Simon, explained, on the authority of Rabbi Levi ben Parah,—This may be compared to the son of a drunken man who committed a thing in the public bath, and the keeper of the bath does not desire, for the sake of his name, to reveal his name, but desires that some handsome youth should dress in white. Similarly the Pentateuch does not mention the names of all the participants in the sedition of Korah, but merely describes them in the following manner, "And all the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown" (Nu 16:2).

Another form of the ma'ashah 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 fowls, and of creeping things, and of fishes (1 K 4:32). In the Talmud two collections of parables are mentioned: a collection of fox-fables, and a collection of date-tree parables (cf. Sukkah, 28a; Babba Bathra, 134a). The OT uses the parable in the speech of Jotham (Jg 9:11) and in that of Jehoshua (2 K 12:14). A collection of fables will illustrate its use in the Midrash. In the following, the fable of the fox and the fishes is effectively employed by Rabbi Aijba:

During one of the persecutions, when the study of the Torah was forbidden under penalty of death, Pappus discovered Rabbi Aijba busily engaged in its study. Pappus asked him, "Rabbi, dost thou not understand that this is forbidden?" "I understand," answered Rabbi. "What mandate?" Whereupon Rabbi Aijba replied, "Let me give thee an analogy in the following story: A fox wandered along the side of the bank of a river, and beholding the fishes, said, 'Come out to me, and I shall hide you from all harm in the crevices of the rock, where you will never fear capture.' To which the fishes replied, 'Thou, who art the most clever of all, dost not learn anything more than I, who depend on the element of water, and thou wouldst have us trust the dry land.' Similarly, the life of Israel is wrapped up..."
in one element—the study of the Torah, as it is written. "For he is thy life, and the length of thy days" (De 30:19), and there wouldst have me leave because of personal danger"

Another means of impressing a lesson is the aphorism, maxim, or proverb. The OT already contains extensive gnomic literature in proverbial form. The wisdom of the great Ben Sira later added to this material. The *Sayings of the Jerusalem Fathers* is a historically arranged gnomy written in the Tanaitic period, and comprising the most important maxims of the learned teachers from the time of Simon the Just to the period of the Amoraim. A later author, Rabbi Nathan, is said to have made a large collection of such maxims; and in the *Abodh of Rabbi Nathan* (ed. Schechter, Vienna, 1887) a substratum 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 included 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, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth" (Mt 5:5), is very frequent in Haggadic literature (cf. *Tanahma, Birkath, 33; Tehillim, xxii. 2; and Midrash Tosefta, l. 17). Similarly, "No man can serve two masters" (Mt 6:24) has 10 instances in *Tanahma, Berakhot, 23; Tahillim, xvii. 5; and in the Talmud (Birkath, 55b), only a few of these gems can be quoted here:

"He who doeth not mitzvot maketh a loud noise" (Tahillim, l. 31, and in the Talmud, Birkath Mitzvot, 55b). "Say to the bee, I want not thy honey and I crave not thy sting" (Tahillim, l. 3. Midrash Tosefta, l. 17). "Woe to the woman who doeth not her work" (Tahillim, l. 14). "Woe to the living and to the dead who doeth not his work" (Tahillim, l. 16). "Woe to the woman who doeth not her work" (Tahillim, l. 12). Similarly, the Rabbis take great liberties in punning on proper names.

"Wherefore was the prophet called Jeremiah? Because, during his life, Jerusalem was left in a state of ignomia" (desolation) (Kol hath, Birkath, l. 2). "The name of the daughter-in-law of Naomi was Orpah because she turned her back (orey) to her mother-in-law. The name of the other was Ruth, because she apprehended (yadhath) the words of her mother-in-law (Ruth, 11.9)."

The Rabbis decide from a pun that the language of the creation was Hebrew.

"The she shall be called Woman (achathah), because she was taken out of Man (nabu)" (Gen 2:22), from this it is evident that the Torah speaks in the holy tongue. Rabbi Rhinosan and Rabbi Bikiyah 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 *yeva* from the word *yeva*?" "Why doest thou ask? Because it is the word of the anthropos (Gr. * anthropos*), man, or *chaburah* from *chabura* (Heb. for *man*). "But one does say *achabah* (Heb. for *woman*) from the word *cha* (Birkath, Birkath, xviii. 4)."

The Massoretic variations of the Heb. text of the Bible open up new channels for Haggadic exegesis.

The Midrash often asks explanations for the number of collections of Rabbinic proverbs the work of M. Schutz *Sentences et proverbes du Thalmud et du Midrash*, Paris, 1876* deserves mention.

The Midrash also employs the well-known kabbalistic method of exposition, *genukrad*, 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 that transpired during the destruction of the Holy City:

The story is told of Miriam, the daughter of *Nagdimon (Nicodemus)*, whom the sages had granted an allowance of 250 (two) gold dinarai for to dole out her daily dainty expenditures, and who disdained that for her; in the words: "They gave the daughters..." said Rabbi Eleazer. "So sure may I be of seeing Zion's consolation as I am that I saw her sometime before the destruction. For when I went to collect the gold in his box, I found the filling of the stall of horses and I applied the Biblical verse to her case, 'if thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth from the forecourt of the stock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherd's tent' (Cass 19) (Ekhah Rabbi)."

The supposition of this is based on the well known alike by Rabbi and priest. Many are the stories told of demons infesting wells and desert places (cf. *Tanahma, Birkath, 27; ib. Kedoshim, 9), often driven out through the opportunity of the Rabbis who called magical force to help in the work. Very often the heathen practices of antiquity are recorded. Thus, in Ekhah Rabbi (proem 23), it is said, 'The Arab slays a lamb and inspectors the liver for the purpose of auguring with his heart.' This practice is well known to students of Kulturgeschichte. Philosophy, primitive conceptions of science, natural history—all to the 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.

**SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ.**

**MIGRATION.**—See RACE.

**MIKIRS.**—I. 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 Mikir, 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 79,000 were classed in the returns as Hindus, 11,982 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 Nowgong and Khandi Hills; a few have settled in the plains of Nowgong and Khandi Hills, and further north along the Darrang district, and follow plough cultivation, but the main strength of the tribe is found in the hill region of the Khandi Hills, Khasi and Jaintia Hills (15,600), Nowgong (45,000) and Sibsagar (25,000) districts. They are essentially a hill race, practising the form of cultivation by axe, fire, and hoe known to all the 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 those once occupied the

*2* 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 villages in the eastern portion of the Jaintia Hills, as subjects of the Jaintia Raja; and a still clearer tradition relates that, being harassed by warfare between Khâsi (or Jaintia) chiefs, they resolved to migrate into territory governed by the Ahoms, and thereupon to move into the territories 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. 1765. As the figures just given show, large numbers continued to live in the Khâsi and Jaintia Hills and along the Kâmarây border, which they call Nînpî, the territory into which they migrated in the east being called Nilip. They are a peaceful and unvaried 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 Khâsîrs or Dimâsâ, 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 present the ordinary features of the Tibet–Burma or Assam type: 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 often (but not always) flat, with a nasal index of 85-1 and an orbito-nasal of 107-7. The face is prominent and the hair is worn long, and only a thin mustache is worn. The front of the head is sometimes shaved; the hair is gathered into a knob behind, which hangs over the nape of the neck. The body is muscular, and the men are capable of prolonged exertion. They are largely employed 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 carrying from Assam 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 asses, the latter being 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 in a large extent by other races in Assam. Tobacco and betel-nut are also commonly used.

3. Marriage and inheritance.—The Mikirs are divided into three sections, called Chintong, Ronghang, and Amri. 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 Khâsi and Jaintia and Kâmarây Hills. The whole tribe, wherever settled, is divided into five large exogamous groups, and these into sub-groups. The five main groups are called Ingî, Terâng, Lekthô or Inghî, Terrôn, and Tinmâng. Within each of these groups intermarriage cannot take place. The scheme of society is that of the patriarchal, the first-born children being counted to the father's group. The usual marriage, however, 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 Khâsi, among whom the strictly patriarchal system prevails. Ordinarily the son on marriage brings his wife home to his parents' house; but, if he has a wife, or his father's, he must live in the eastern part of the now Kâmarây, or to have lived in that of the boys, when promiscuous intercourse and illegitimate births were common. This practice, however, no longer obtains anywhere. The marriage is 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 are none, the brothers; after them the deceased's collateral of his own exogamous group. The wife and daughters get nothing, but retain their personal property, ornaments, clothes, etc.

4. Gods.—The religion of the Mikirs has been to some extent affected by ideas borrowed from the Khâsi, and in a larger degree by Hinduism. One of their gods, Pîrthâ Pîcô (the god of thunder), bears a Khâsi name; but borrowings here are chiefly noticeable in the funeral ceremonies and the methods of divination. His divinity has been contributed the names of Jom, or Yama, as the god of the dead, and the abode of spirits is called Jom–pôr, or Yama's town. Possibly Mahâdeva may be the original of the Bamb–kêthô (=the great god), who is a house-god worshipping the sacrificial sacrifice; and one of the gods, called Arrâm–pêrô (=the hundred–god), includes under this name Kamâkyâ, the Hindu goddess of nilâch, and above Guhâti. The 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 ârâmû ("god") may be generally defined as "mighty 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 an impressive kind, such as mountains, waterfalls, deep forests, rivers, great boulders, places where a river disappears underground, have each their ârâmû, who is concerned in the affairs of men and has to be placated by sacrifice. Such realities 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, connected 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 Hémphû ("head of the house," or ') who owns all the Mikir people. With him is associated Mukrâng, who is slightly lower in dignity. These two gods, the preservers of men, are approached by the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Every body can sacrifice to them at any time, and Hémphû must be invoked first in every sacrifice, being the peculiar owner of men. Peng, another house-god, lives in the house, and gets the offering of a goat, sacrificed once a year in the eastern part of the now Kâmarây, on maize, rice, and a clouded rice-beer are placed for him above the verandah of the house, and the first fruits of the harvest are offered to him. Arrâm–kêthô, already mentioned as another house-god, but lives in heaven, not, like Peng, in the house itself. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of a castor pig once in three years. Both Peng and Arrâm–kêthô have to be specially invoked to take up their abode in the house, and their permission to it is generally due to the action of a diviner (uchê), called in on the occurrence of a case of sick-
ness, who declares (after the appropriate incantations) that Arnâm-kêthê or Pêng wishes to join the household. If it were not for this, Mikir families would generally be satisfied with Hemphä and Mûkraâng.

The village or communal gods are called Rékâlângô (= 'mountain of the community') or Ingôông-pl (= 'great mountain'), and Arnâm-pârê, already mentioned. The Mikir villages are nomadic, moving from place to place to graze the soil in the neighbourhood of the village. Rékâlângô is the god of the hill on which the village stands, the deus loci, with whom they have to be at peace. He is worshipped in the field, and only men eat the sacrifices, which is a fowl or goat per house once a year. Arnâm-pârê is the name of a god who takes a hundred shares of rice, rice-flour, betel-nut, and the red spathe 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 cow. These two gods figure particularly at the Rông-kêr, or great annual festival, celebrated for the most part in June at the beginning of the rainy-season cultivation, or is some villages during the cold weather, when the festival is given in common 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), which is common among the neighbouring Nagâ tribes.

The gods named above are all invoked and propitiated to grant prosperity and aver misfortune, both generally and specially. The nature gods also take their 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, guillaume, phthisis, stone, diarrhœa, dysentery, smallpox, black and white leprosy, elephantiasis, etc. Each worship has its appropriate ritual, often of a complicated character. Among these deities perhaps a trace of Hinduism may be discovered in the name for smallpox, pi-dmix, 'the mother's flowers'; in Assamese and Hindi the goddess of smallpox is known as 'mother' (Mâti, or Siâl Mâi). It is difficult to draw the line which divides the gods, demigods, demons, etc., from the demons or devils, Ai-tê, 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-âphê, 'the head or master of words,' a power probably 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 forms of words by the worshipper, 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 behind, and the meal of the gods is supposed to be eaten by the animal's heart. The word for 'sacrifice' is tottê, 'sacrifice to, or make offerings to.'

5. Diviners.—The most important person with reference to the worship is the diviner (uchë, fem. uchê-pl), who decides on the deity to be invoked. In the village there is also the chief diviner, who for some cases has a hereditary function: say one may be an uchë.

The diviners are of two kinds—the inferior, generally a man, called song-kësiing-âbâng, 'he who inspects grains of rice,' whose art is acquired by inheritance, and has no supernatural power; and the superior, called lôdé or loddës, invariably a woman, who works under the inspiration or afflatus of divine powers.

The services of these persons are generally sought in cases of sickness, the lôdé being inquired of in the more serious cases.

The hümber practitioner proceeds by arranging grains of rice, taken at random from those left over from the last meal, in small heaps the grains of the heap are then counted, and, if the odd numbers predominate, the meal is good. Owners are sometimes used instead of grains of rice. Another way is apparently borrowed from the Khâis, is to arrange in a circle, equidistant from a point marked on a board, as many little heaps of day as there are gods suspected in the case, each heap being called by the name of a god. An egg is then sharply thrown at the points marked in the middle of the board, when it breaks and the yolk is scattered, that heap which receives the largest splash of yolk, or towards which the largest portion of the yolk and longest splash points, indicates the god responsible for the affliction. Another mode is to hold up in the hand a long iron knife of special form, called the midjêr, which is invoked by a spell to become luminous and to speak the truth. The holder then asks questions of the god just as to the probability of the sufferer's recovery and the god responsible for his sickness, and the midjêr shakes at the correct answer and name.

The lôdé 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 witchcraft (midjêr) is suspected.

She bathes her hands, feet, and face in water in which the sacred basil (Ocymum sanctum), the toad of the Indian languages, has been steeped, and begins to shave and toaw. A pound of rice-beer is brought, of which she drinks some, and begins to call out the names of gods, and they are now inspired and, when questioned, indicates, by indirect and riddling answers, the enemy who has bewitched the sufferer, or the gods to whom sacrifices must be made.

Charms are much used for the treatment of disease, as they are everywhere else in India, and do not present any special features. Oaths and impregnations take the place of exorcisms. There are bonds a man puts on himself if he swears falsely or fails to perform a promise.

6. Funeral ceremony.—The most elaborate celebration is the funeral ceremony, of which a long account, full of details, is given 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 (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 of the next child. In these 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, the bones being dug up and duly cremated. When a person is killed under fight, the body or clothes are found, they are buried at a distance from the village, because the tiger is supposed to visit the burial-place. Such persons cannot gain admittance to Jîm-âng until elaborate funeral and expiatory ceremonies are performed for them. Being killed by a tiger is generally imputed 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 person's spirit, for whom food, specially prepared by the uchêpl, or divining woman, is set apart; the insistence upon the due performance of the rites in order to place the spirit in the proper place, either Jîm-âng; and the use of dancing, which is marked by the wearing of a peculiar costume (chomang-kun) as adopted from the Khâis, in the ceremony. If the deceased is a person of unusual importance, a still more elaborate ceremony is required, and the remains are placed in the model of the houses in which they lived, after the Khâis, are set up.

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 having seen the 'shade' or 'image' (ārjōn) of a dead man; a sickly or neurotic person catches such glimpses in the house, on the road, etc. Phārālī, 'spirit,' is used both of living persons and dead. The Mikirs, indeed, have a nice insight in my spirit. I saw him,' where phārālī 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 they are thrown away. After a death a chant is composed, setting forth the praises of the life and the virtues of the dead, and ending: 'You will now meet your grandparents, father, deceased brother, etc., and wilt 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 'Jon's town' is that everything is different from the earth-life. An idea, perhaps borrowed from the Hinayāna, in small towns, that the spirits of the dead do not stay for ever in Jon-arong, but are born again as children, and this goes on indefinitely. On the other hand, Stack records, in the words of his informant, the following:

'The Mikirs have the names of their dead relations to children born afterwards, and say that the dead have come back, but they believe that the spirit is with Jon all the same' (Mikirs, p. 29).

8. Conclusion.—The unwarlike character of the Mikirs has prevented them from becoming, like their neighbours, the Nágas and Kukis, 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 communication by 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 led to the conclusion that they should be classified with those tribes which form the connecting link between the Nágas and the Kuki-Chins, and that the preponderance of their affinities lies with the latter race, especially with those dwellers of the Arakan Boma 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 summarised in the volume in the series of Assam Ethnographical Monographs entitled The Mikirs, from the papers of E. Stack, edited, arranged, and supplemented by C. J. Lyall, London, 1895.

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 coast of India founded separate States, and the names of a number 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 century B.C. He died probably about 290 B.C., but we know neither the boundaries of his kingdom nor how far he was merely over-lord, 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 in India; and he is there remembered, characteristically 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-Parānya ('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 coming to the Buddha to have his doubts resolved, so in this work the Greek king is represented as putting puzzles in religion to Nágasena, a wise teacher among the Buddhists of his time. In all probability it was with the Sakka Parānya that in his mind the author of the Milinda-Parānya, whoever he was, framed his work.

The Milinda-Parānya 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 who has the great interest of the encounter of wit and wisdom which he will find in the following books. Bk. ii., 'On ethical Qualities,' and bk. iii., 'On the Removal of Difficulties,' contain a number of questions, put by the king and answered by Nágasena, on the elementary principles 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 Pali canon. In bks. iv., the Megdaco-Parānya, or 'Dilemmas,' the king submits to Nágasena the various difficult questions which he has met in the course of his studies. The discussion of these difficulties leads up to and culminates in the meaning of nirvāṇa, and closes with an eloquent peroration on that subject.

Having thus brought his reader up to the brazen plateau of emancipation, the author proceeds in the next book, the Anuvāna-Parānya, '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 spiritual treasures enjoyed by the arahant who has reached in this life the ideal state. The next book, the Dhutangas, 'Extra Vows,' is devoted to an exposition 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, five with the earth, five with water, and five with fire. The total number 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 consider-able 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, and is based on the ambiguity of words. Then the author, though he naturally avoids the blunders so often repeated 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 one's own efforts, or by a 'priest' or a 'monk'—does not stand on the ancient Path. His description of the arahant, whom he calls a gṛhi (a term not found in the older books), lays more stress on those qualities afterwards ascribed to the arahant (q.v.) than on those belonging to the Path, or mentioned (of the

1 See the authorities quoted in Rhys Davids, Questions of King Milinda, l. (SBE xxxv.) pp. xvi–xvii.
arahan) in the Nikāyas. His Buddhism has advanced beyond that of the Nikāyas. The ethics of the Aryan Path are barely referred to; the doctrine of causation, the necessity of seeing things as they really are (yathābhūtaṁ pi jñānam), is not mentioned, notwithstanding its cardinal importance in the earlier teaching. The author devotes a whole book to the dhutangas, a term not occurring in the Nikāyas, and in that book seeks a spiritual form as opposed to the earthly teaching. All these peculiarities of style and mental attitude are uniform throughout the work. It would seem, therefore, most probable that it was the work either 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 5th 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 passages in Trencenker'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. 102 of the text) Buddhaghosa seems to have the better reading. Nagasena is also quoted in the Abhidhamma-kosāvyakhyā, a Sanskrit Buddhist work which may be dated in the 6th cent. A.D. There are also several incidental references in Canymahendra's Commentary of Indian books. When we know the dates of the latter, and can be sure that the references really occur in them, those references may have importance.

At the beginning of the work (p. 2 of the text) there is a table of contents giving the titles of the subdivisions of the book. The editor, V. Trencenker, also gives us titles, which differ, however, from those in the table of contents given in the text. In Mahatmabhagavata's translation into Sinitees the like wise gives titles, presumably from the much older Pāli MSS which he used. These titles differ from both the other lists. Trencenker, who has certainly made an glaring mistake (p. 392), gives names in Pāli, with the titles he thinks may be 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, Trencenker's titles to the divisions of the Milinda cannot be relied on as original.

B. Nanjio, in his most useful catalogue of Chinese Buddhist books, gives under no. 1353 the title of one called Nāsim Bāhū King, 'Nāga sena's Trencenker'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 (bāhū), but Pāli (bāhikkha) or some other Indian dialect akin to Pāli. J. Takakusu has discussed the date of this work, which purports to be a translation of some Indian book with the same title. It is first mentioned in a catalogue dated A.D. 780-814. 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 translator's name is lost, and we register it as belonging to the Eastern Tamil dynasty (A.D. 317-427).

So we have a book known to have existed at the end of the 5th 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 really one. This bears to the Pāli text the following relation.

The translation into English by the present writer consists of 580 pages. The Chinese corresponds more or less to 20 of these pages (one recension omitting about 34 of the paragraphs corresponding in Chinese and Pāli are these on pp. 40-135 of the English version. But there are seven or eight omissions, and three additions of whole 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 there 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 arahant-ship, in which he (or they) took no 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 5th cent. A.D. The doctrine of an emancipated life in this life by strenuous mental exertion was, not unnaturally, yielding place to a doctrine of salvation in the next life through bhikṣu, personal devotion to a deity. The psychological details of the old system of self-control rather bore 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 have 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 all 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 compara-

2. See the comparative table given by F. O. Schrader, Die Fragte des Konigs Menandros, p. 120 f.
son has been made between the words used and the ideas expressed in the Pali Milinda and those found in the canon on the one hand and the commentaries on the other, we shall have more valuable internal evidence than is yet available. The lists of about a hundred words peculiar to the Milinda published by the scholar publisher in 1886 was necessarily incomplete, and has since then been improved upon.


For the historic Milinda see V. Smith, Early Hist. of India, Oxford, 1914.

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 in 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 tameable animals, and these are in 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 and the rearing of the young of the household. The young animal yielding milk and the young animals in the two continents where they were not known (in America and Africa) the human mother had to suckle her young two or three years until they were able to walk at her side and partially take care of themselves. The effect of this upon her mother and all social life was to give the woman the side in her favor; but on the other hand increased her burdens and retarded the growth of population." (Women's Share in Primitive Culture, London, 1895, p. 131).

The two continents here referred to are America and Australia, and E. J. Payne has succinctly summed up the conclusions drawn from the social results of the absence of milk-producing animals (Hist. of America, Oxford, 1892, pp. 287-292).

These results may be contrasted with the corresponding condition of the people inhabiting the European, Asiatic, and African countries, 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 not clear, however, whether the diverse practices of both have to any greater extent than in the case of the races regarded as the highest, been influenced by the evolution of man's religious attitude towards milk. Consideration of the subject from this point of view can be approached 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.

In the religion of the Toda tribes of India the sanctity of the dairy among these people is the chief element in their religion. The gods take part in the churning, and the dairy organization marks off two groups of persons. One important group of institutions of the Toda belong to the Tarthalor, but their dairymen are Teivalū (W. H. R. Rivers, The Toda, London, 1906, p. 650). The milk of the buffaloes 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. 283). The dairymen are given milk to drink when they are not certain of death (W. E. Marshall, A Phrenologist amongst the Toda, London, 1873, p. 171), and the dead body is taken into the dairy (Rivers, 339 f.). From these facts, carefully marshalled by Rivers, it is clear that these people have developed a sanctity of milk to its highest point. With them it is an essential feature of organized worship. There is nothing like this in any other part of the world.

It is the highest specialized use of milk in religious observance. 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 idea. Colonies of milkers, in India, do exist. 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 Uroyoro, a section of the Bantu people in Africa, affords the nearest approach. In the first place 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 thirsty. The Kaftir 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 leaven' (ib. p. 106).

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 practice.

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, Zoological Mythology, London, 1872, p. 131), the fact remains 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. 226-226). This view is confirmed by the usages to which the products of the cow were put. According to Vayu, a house is purified by plastering the ground with cow-dung, and land is cleansed by the same process; cows alone make sacrificial obligations possible by producing sacrificial butter, and among six excellent productions of a cow which are always made, milk and sour milk are included (Institutes of Vāsishthi, SBE vii. (1900), xxii. (1883) p. 56-61).

On the other hand, the evidence from the Panjáb is that, when a cow or buffalo is killed after calving, the first five streams of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall on the ground in honour of the goddess (D. C. J. Ibbetson, Punjabi Ethnology, Calcutta, 1885, p. 114). It is also a protective from the evil eye, and has various uses in magic and divination. This suggests that in the Panjáb milk is on its way towards a definitely religious position.

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 (GP, pt. i, The Magic Art, London, 1911, ii. 524.)

The best examples are found in Russia, where the cows ping on Midsummer eve drive the cattle through the fire to protect the animals against 'witches and wizards, who are then 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, Bress, son of the Fomorian Eithna. 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. de Arbois de Jubainville, Irish Mythological Cycle, Eng. tr., Dublin, 1893, p. 96). Included in this tradition are the following ritual observances—the restriction to 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 occurs elsewhere (G. Plummer, Vice Sanctorum Hiberniae, Oxford, 1910, vol. i. p. cxvi, and K. Meyer and A. Nutt, Voyage of Bruce, London, 1895-97, ii. 186). The legend of the Dun Cow of Whitham near Preston is of 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 parallel, and it will 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 Pails' 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-pail 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' (Ance. Lore of Ireland, Dublin, 1893-1901, iv. 511). The milk was poured on the ground is attested by J. G. Dalyley (Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Glasgow, 1855, p. 163), and W. Gregor states that at death a loaf of milk in the house was poured out on the ground (Folklore of N. E. of Scotland, London, 1881, p. 206). This must have originally been an offering to the earth god as in the Punjab. In Ireland it is called an oblation 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 Valay 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 afterwards prohibited by canon law (Dalyley, p. 193, quoting Gratian, Decretal., p. 111), but it may be surmised that it originated as one of the sacrificing rites of ancient pagan religion. St. Bridget was in some degree identified as the special patron of milk, as appears in the beautiful milkingsongs of Scotland (A. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, Edinburgh, 1900, i. 261-275), and she was at her best in milk (Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore, ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890, 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 'Burd Ellen,' preserved by R. J. Jamieson (Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, etc., Edinburgh, 1806, p. 125), is the verse:

'Tak up, tak up my bonny young son,
Ger wash him wi' the milk of the cow.
Tak up, tak up my fair lady,
Ger row her in the milk.

Lady Gomme has analyzed the different versions of the children's game of 'Green Gravel,' 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 formula in the game rhymes include the line,

'Wash them in milk and clothe them in milk.'

(6. 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. 519), quotes a passage which speaks of baptism as '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 beginning metaphorically described?... and, in spite of a useful parallel from the Pir-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. 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. 597f.), 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 Thessos. Id. v. 53 ff. and 56 ff., and to this day comes the conclusion that 'of a rite of immersion in milk we have no evidence.' This, however, cannot be quite true if St. Bridget represents, as there is strong evidence to prove, an early Celtic goddess who has brought into her Christian attributes and rites of pre-Christian origin. There is the further example of the Picts in Ireland saving themselves from the poisoned arrows of their Pict-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. 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. 597f.), 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 Thessos. Id. v. 53 ff. and 56 ff., and to this day comes the conclusion that 'of a rite of immersion in milk we have no evidence.' This, however, cannot be quite true if St. Bridget represents, as there is strong evidence to prove, an early Celtic goddess who has brought into her Christian attributes and rites of pre-Christian origin.

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. This survey seems to make it clear that the unique example of the Tedog 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 in solemn and important occasions. This would be the normal position of milk in religious thought. A goddess 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 itself.

LITERATURE.—This is given fully in the article.

L. GOMME.
MILK (Civilized Religions).—x. As food and sacrifice.—Since man is a mammal, milk is universally regarded as a nutritious beverage, and is naturally used for food. In the animal, milk is a natural product, and in the plant, it is a natural fertilizer.

The Egyptians, like many other ancient peoples, knew the value of milk as a food. They used it as a beverage and as a milk-based dairy product. In the Bible, milk is frequently mentioned in the context of sacrificial offerings and as a symbol of purity and fertility.

Laban was a dish so relished as an article of diet that Abraham is said to have offered it to his messengers (Gen. 18:6), and Jacob to his father Isaac (Gen. 25:19), and Joseph to his father Jacob (Gen. 43:11). Milk, honey and laban along with wheat, barley, meal, beans, and lentils were furnished as food to David and his men (2 Sam. 17:24, 25). It is natural, therefore, that laban and honey, the two most delicious viands known to them, should enter into poetical descriptions of abundance, fertility, or prosperity (see Ps. 128:2, 3, Job 20:23, 24, Sir 33:10). The natural use of these articles of food is sufficient to account for these poetical allusions.

The strongest arguments of the mythological school rest, however, on the highly-coloured language of Joel and later apocalyptic writers, and upon supposed Assyrian parallels. In Joel 4:13-15 (RV 39) we read:

1 And it shall come to pass in that day that
The mountains shall drop sweet wine,
And the hills shall flow with milk.
And all the waters of Judah
Shall flow with water.
And there shall come forth from the house of Yhwh
And water the valley of Shittim [?] in the Sidonian Oracles, ii. 744 ff.
For the earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best
Fruit is countless store of corn, wine and oil.
Tea, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of incense honey.
The trees shall yield their proper fruits, and rich flocks,
And vine and lamb shall see and taste.
He will cause sweet fountains of white milk to burst forth [?];
and again, ib. v. 281 f.:
But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things.
An amber stream, a distilling honey and milk shall flow from rock and fountain for all the righteous [?].

In view of the aridity of the desert, it would seem to need no mythology, but only a little poetic exaggeration, to lead to the designation of Palestine by the nomads as a 'land flowing with milk and honey.' The use of these viands in the life of the Hebrew nation easily accounts for the poetical use in Deut. and Job, and these in turn furnish the point of departure for the later more hyperbolic language in Joel and the Sid. Or. Unless we can find some outside parallels, there is, then, no need for the mythological hypothesis.

Most of the Assyrian parallels hitherto cited turn out to be unreal. Thus a passage cited by Zimmern simply enumerates honey and laban along with oil, wool, gold, and silver as desirable things. Another passage deserves more attention. It is part of an incantation for driving the demon of sickness from a man's body. It runs:

Laban from a pure stable they shall bring.
Milk from a pure cow shall they bring.
Over the pure laban from the pure stable utter an incantation:
May the man, son of his god, become pure!
May that man become pure as laban!
Great shall his good fortune be.
Milk shall he drink like laban.

It is clear that no mythological meaning can be involved in this passage. It is the purity of the laban and the milk that is emphasized. A mythological quality is as much out of place as it would be in the Avesta, when milk is enumerated among the foods which the wise man may be given to a woman who has...
brought forth a still-born child, in order to effect her purification (see Vendidad, v. 62, vii. 67). Milk is here only one of several ingredients—meat, bread, wine, water, and fruit—that had to be drunk or urine, the milk can hardly have been chosen for mythological reasons. Another fragmentary text which has been frequently cited on the basis of an indefinite reference by Friedrich Delitzsch runs as follows: 2

"Crown of . . .
For the shepherd of the black-headed [people] . . .
I pray a prayer . . .
A sceptre of leps lamli may his hand [grasp] . . .
A sceptre of leps lamli may his hand [grasp] . . .
Honey and labar abundantly . . .
The mountain bearing produce . . .
The steps, the field bearing fruit . . .
The orchards bearing fruit . . .
On his left hand may the gods Sin . . .
To the king in person may they do 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 is that of the Hebrew seers.

The other passage which has been thought to show that, whether the Babylonians and Assyrans held mythological views of milk and honey occurs in an incantation. The part in question reads:

"Pure water bring into its midst.
The exalted lord, the great serpent of heaven,
By his pure hands shall establish thee,
To a place of purity shall bring thee,
With his pure hands shall bring thee,
Into honey and labar shall bring thee,
Water of an incantation he shall put to thy lips,
Thy mouth with an incantation he shall open."

Her next line has a passage that moves in such a realm of heavenly unreality that it may fairly be regarded as based on a myth, but the mythical part does not centre at all in the honey and labar, but in the action of the god. Honey and labar 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 not necessary part of any myth.

The Semites probably had their origin as a separate people in Arabia, 4 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 desert, the eastern shore of the Golden Age, 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 a fertile land like Babylonia and Palestine may have been designated as a 'land flowing with milk and honey.' 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 a 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. 6 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 a descriptive phrase employed by the dwellers in the desert to describe fertile lands—a phrase which survived both in Babylonia and in Palestine, and which came only in post-Exile 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 play in the early time a prominent role. Milk was offered in sacrifices, and was used in certain incantations, as noted above. Homage was rendered to it, 7 and it was regarded as a divinely purified provision in the breasts of females, as was the seed in males; 8 a prosperous woman was "rich in children and rich in milk." 9 The cow was regarded as a beneficent animal guarded by Ahura Mazda as he guarded all other things on which the prosperity of people depends, but in no sense a heavenly animal. So far from Jews having borrowed a myth from Persians, as Usener 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 nurture as one full of milk, 10 and the earth is a mother who can pour forth milk for her suppliants. 11 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 mixed with soma, sometimes sour, and was sometimes offered as a sweet milk with soma, but sometimes milk alone. Thus Rigveda, viii. iv. 8, addresses Indra: 12

"With honey of the bees is the milk mixed; 13
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, lighting to the clouds, the sun to the sky, and the mountains (Rigveda, v. lxxxv. 9). This reveals a high estimate placed upon milk and honey as foods, but lacks any mythical element, 14 as does the passage (X. lxxv. 3) in which the sky (dyum) gives milk to the All-God. The Sanskrit poets often allude to the ability of the swan to separate milk from water; but this, as C. R. Lauman has shown, has no mythological 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. 15 Similarly the religious teachers of India often use as an illustration of a changing existence the relationship between sweet milk, sour cream, and buttermilk, not because they saw anything mythological in them, but because they illustrated change in forms of existence. 16

In India, then, it can only be said that milk and honey were so highly valued as food that they

1 Yasa vi. 17, vii. 26, viii. 3, xvi. 8.
2 Yand. xxiv. 6, 7; Yand. xxv. 13, 49.
3 Yand. vii. 16. 59.
4 Cf. Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. i. 219-220.
5 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
6 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
7 Cf. Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. i. 219-220.
8 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
9 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
10 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
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19 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
20 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
21 Yand. vii. 3, 4941.
naturally formed a part of the most valued offerings to the gods. Perhaps the proper mixture of these virtues is supposed to have some magico-religious significance, for on passage (Rigveda, ix. 11. 1) says that they were mixed by the atharvins; but there is no trace of such a myth as some have supposed for the Semites.

5. In Egypt. — In Egypt, as already noted, the sky-goddess was pictured as either a woman or a cow with full breasts; this was only to symbolize her nurture of her earthly children. If milk had by any means been thought of as mythologically significant, we should expect to find it prominent among the foods promised to the deified kings to whom the pyramid-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 Re. The goddess is once thus addressed: 'O mother of this king Pepi ... give thy breast to this king Pepi, suckle this king Pepi.' The goddess replies: 'O my son Pepi, my king, my breast is extended to thee, thou mayest suck it, my king, and live, my king, as long as thou art little.' Milk was, then, the food of the celestial only during their heavenly childhood. When Pepi was grown, he was grown 'bread which cannot dry up' and 'beer which cannot grow stale.' Later he is given a 'snared fowl.' Bread is called 'the bread of the god. Pepi is invited to sit down to the thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of geese, thy thousand of everything wheresoe which the god liveth.' Another source of food for the deified king is the tree of life situated in a mysterious cave at a distance, and this king Pepi sought and attained. This tree of life is probably a survival from a desert and oasis life similar to that of the Semites. Milk plays a very little part in these Egyptian myths. It is only the food of the deceased during that part of their celestial life which corresponds to childhood on earth.

6. In Greek and Roman literature. — Among the Greeks and Romans, as among the Semites and people of India, milk and honey were deities and were usually represented and their use given back to an early time. Libations of milk and honey were, according to the (Hindu) gods, poured out for the dead, and such libations appear to have continued into the Christian era. In case of pestilence milk and honey were among the offerings presented at the sacred mountains of Pelion and Ida; and, before eating, milk, honey, and bread were offered to Hestia. Milk and honey were also symbols of plenty and prosperity. Thus Pindar (442 B.C.) says:

'Bojose, my friend! Lo, 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 aecelian flutes.'

Though here metaphorical for sweet poetry, the metaphor is in use of milk and honey, as does in course of time both milk and honey became symbols of plenty. Thus Tibullus (18 B.C.) says:

'They make themselves give honey, and beyond the sheep bring udders of milk ready to the hand of the careless.'

Similarly Ovid:

'Sweet milk, holy milk, new milk, nectar ran.
And yellow honey distilled from the golden beak.'

With these poets milk and honey have become emblems of the Golden Age, but with many others they are simply symbols of plenty.

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 reality this time cannot have been borrowed from the Persians. Possibly it may have come from Semitic Mesopotamia through the Hittites, since Hittites appear to be mentioned in the (Odyssy) but we know as yet too little of Hittite ritual to regard this as more than a remote possibility. Possibly, too, it may have been carried to the Ægean lands by Phoenicians, but it is quite as probable that the uses of milk and honey developed in the Ægean lands independently of Semitic ideas.

7. Among Christians. — The many references to milk and honey in Patristic literature collected by Usser in are clearly echoes of Joel and the (Hose). Some curious Christian myths connected with the milk of the Virgin Mary are, however, still current in Bethlehem and its vicinity. There is at Bethlehem a cave called the 'Milk Grotto.' A legend has it that the Holy Family passed the night 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 sojourn in the grotto not only increases the milk of women and animals, but cures them of barrenness. In reality the legend arose to Christianize a grotto that was originally a shrine of Ashotereh.

All about Bethlehem the limestone crumbles and forms little white pebbles about the size of peas. These are accounted for by a myth that in a drop of the Virgin's milk fell on the rock, and that these pebbles 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 decked with white and is called 'Mary's thistle.' These myths are the outgrowth of the transfer to the Virgin of the old grotto of the mother-goddess, and are really much more exotic to Christianity than the quotation in the Patristic 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. 1 Co 3, He 13, P 27). By the twenty-fourth canon of the Third Council of Carthage (397) 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.


GEORGE A. BARTON.
MILL, JAMES AND JOHN STUART.—

The two Mills, father and son, occupied 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 in politics.

JAMES MILL.—Next to Bentham, James Mill was the force that moulded the early expression of utilitarian doctrines. He was a Scot by birth, the son of humble parents (his father a country shoemaker and his mother a farmer's daughter), born on 23rd June, 1806, at Nether Bridge, on the North East of the parish of Logierait, Forfarshire, on 6th April 1773. By his intellectual ability and his indomitable power of work, 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 determined to keep him long. Being appointed tutor to the only daughter of Sir John Stuart of Fettercairn (Member of Parliament for Kinross-shire), he came under the special notice of Sir John, and went with him to settle in London around 1807. He was not long in London before he made his presence felt. In 1803 we find him active in originating The Literary Journal and making many contributions to it. In 1804 he published his pamphlet on the Corn Trade. Thenceforth he contributed articles, in an unceasing flow, to innumerable periodicals and magazines—The Philanthropist, The Annual Review, The Westminster Review, The London Review, The Edinburgh Review. But his most outstanding essays were written for the Supplement to the fifth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the chief of them being on 'Government,' 'Education,' 'Jurisprudence,' and 'Laws of Nations.' A reprint of the Encyclopaedia Britannica 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, on its publication, produced a great impression. The immediate cause of this was his appointment to a post in the India House, in the department of Examiner of India Correspondence, where he became head of the office in 1836. 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 1820. 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 teachings of Bentham himself. William Mill was on terms of the most intimate friendship, and the master regarded him as his most stalwart disciple. So staunch a Benthamite, indeed, was Mill that it has been doubted whether he was anything more than a brilliant rephrasing of Bentham's opinions. That, however, does Mill an injustice. He was no mere echo, but a voice. His psychology alone proves it; and he was potent as a political force to an extent that even Bentham hardly equaled. When he died (his death took place in London, on 23rd June 1836), he was generally admitted to be the great inspiring spirit of radicalism and the man on who could have made the radical propaganda a 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 polemics set off.

MILL's fame as a psychologist rests on his consistent experimentalism, his thoroughgoing application of association to the phenomena of the mind, and his uncompromising insistence on the power 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, may be said on his 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, his happiness is regarded as the supreme virtue. How, then, explain this? In the first place, Mill has recourse to the distinction of Bentham had made so much between motive and intention, and maintains that, while our intention in benevolence is disinterested, our motive is interested; in other words, a benevolent action pleases the individual, gives him satisfaction, else he would not do it, but it also promotes the happiness of others. Nor is there anything new in acting benevolently towards another—what else is it than the individual identifying another's happiness with his own? And what more could be demanded of him? 'Can any greater degree of social love be required,' asks Mill, 'than that love of others should cause us pleasure; in other words, that their good should be ours?' (Frag. on Mackintosh, p. 284). Then, again, there is the ethical principle of transformation (the phrase is not Mill's) to be considered—the principle that we see at work in the miser, whose nature is so changed by his traffic with money that the original desire of money for the pleasure that it can procure him becomes ultimately the desire of money as such. 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, he has come, through continued intercourse with mankind, to expect a return of help, to submerge the thought of his own pleasure and make benevolence itself his end.

What, then, of conscience, with its intentions and its vaticinations? Conscience to Mill is not a simple and elementary faculty in human nature, but the product of association. That gives 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 intelligences, and render them fit to be worthy citizens. Hence, he took a practical interest in the educational movement of the time, and entered into a keen polemic into the controversy between the Lancasterian and the infant systems of education; he tried to establish a school (but failed) on the principles of Bentham laid down in his Chrestomathia ("Study of useful things"); and he was one of the small number of ardent educators who originated the University of London. But his claim to honour as an educationalist rests on his broad-minded theory of education, as developed in his Encyclopedia 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 Helvetius 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 in the sphere of international law. His Encyclopædia attacked the modern theory of Pictet within its limits, almost perfect. It might be elaborated at points and more fully illustrated, but it is everywhere wise and suggestive. Particularly striking are his handling of the rights of nations in the time of war, and its statement of the possibility of an effective court of arbitration in international quarrels.

As a philosophical politician Mill achieved fame by the nature 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 Macintosh attacked it on the ground of its extreme advocacy of popular representation, which seemed to ignore the danger 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 the individual 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 parring what belongs to another. The members of a government are themselves men, with men's selfish passions and readiness to tyrannise 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 not themselves elected by themselves and representing them that the interests of governors governed can be identified. Yet this identification of interest is liable to be broken through, if the representatives are not themselves watched. A representative of the 'interests men, if left entirely to their own actions, will have 'sinister' interests and may become as selfish and oppressive as an individual may be. The safeguard lies in 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 8th May 1873). His early education was conducted solely by his father, who, although constantly occupied in literary and exacting work, did not grudge his son to act as schoolmaster to his son. His method of teaching was altogether of 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—that lasted throughout his life. There is nothing 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 fifteen 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 stiff 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 ceaseless questioning, was gradually 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 moment by making the boy a teacher. He was set to superintend the education of his younger sister of the family, whereby 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 the culture and politics; and, through excursions in the Pyrenees and elsewhere, aroused in him an enthusiasm for natural scenery 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 La Dumont's Traité de législation (London, 1822). 'The reading of this book,' he says (Autobiography, p. 64), 'was an epoch in my life; one of the turning points in my mental history.' At this time also he studied Roman law under J. J. Adams, the jurist. At the age of sixteen, the youth was beginning to feel his intellectual independence. Burning 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 part in 'The Political Economy Club.' This was the development of young Mill's thought and mind further aided by a variety of powerful intellectual agencies.

In 1828, 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 till he reached the position of Chief of the office in 1856—two years before the abolition of the East India Company.

A turning-point in his life was his break-down in health in 1838. There is little doubt that hard work, long-continued and uninterrupted, and the 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
The stimulus to the student derivable from a study of his Logic is undoubted. The epoch-making 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 disputed—even Bain, his intimate friend and associate (see his Dissertation on Leading Philosophical Topics, London, 1903, pp. 21-28); and empirical logic has made great advances since his day. On the other hand, it must be allowed that these advances were rendered possible only through a new and widening mental outlook and deeper and intenser sympathies.

In psychology Mill upheld the associationism of his father, but gave a more attractive expression of it as 'mental chemistry.' He carried forward 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 man as a thing which is 'the permanent possibility of sensations' and of mind as 'the permanent possibility of feeling.' In the case of Mill, however, there is a peculiarity: it is conscious of its states. He must accept, as it is given in our experience, and as it must appear to us, as inexplicable—no further account of it is possible. He was unbending in his opposition to those who base truth on intuition. Not that he denied the fact of intuition, but that he demanded it be tested by experience, so that it may not become (as it had become to a school of philosophers 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; and all the various topics that arise 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 conjointly with their practical applications, and a transformation took place. Not only do we have a realistic and scientific handling of such things as labour, capital, rate of interest, money, international trade, and all the other points that the ordinary political economy dealt with, but also a stimulating discussion 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, so interlinked with all the other branches, that its conditions and its influences are not only free but subject to interference and counter-action from causes not directly within its scope; while to the character of a practical guide it has no pretension, apart from other classes of considerations.' (Autobiog., p. 230).

That is, doubtless, absolutely correct.

Mill's utilitarian ethics, as expounded in his Utilitarianism, is extraordinarily significant; both the matter and the style fascinate, not less than the glow of conviction that permeates the whole. Justice has been done to the book; if opponents, because they have failed to see (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 considers 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 position that there can be 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 radical democrat, he loved the people and worked for their progress 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 acutely conscious of their tendency to tyrannize and their selfish disregard of just deserts. 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 assert their rights. He saved the people’s jealousy and suspicion of the educated and refined classes of society; hence, he stood fast by the principle of plurality of votes, as determined by the official position and social position. He was very sensitive to the tendency in the masses to act unscrupulously and in an underhand fashion; therefore he opposed vote by ballot.

On the other hand, he was a strong upholder 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 best to himself, so long as his mode of living did not interfere with the rights 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.

Life:—John Milton was born in London on 9th Dec. 1608. He was the eldest son of John Milton, a London scrivener, whose conversion to the faith of the Anglican Church had led to his being disinherited by his father, a yeoman of Shotover 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
St. Andrews), and at St. Paul's School, under the older and the younger Alexander Gill, a mystery of Latin, a competent knowledge of Greek, and probably of Hebrew. 'From the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever forsook my nightly studies for bed before midnight' (Defensio Secunda, 1654). In English poetry he was familiar with Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas (1602), and probably also with Spenser and others. Milton was not attracted by the dialectical and theological studies of Cambridge. The lines At a Vacation Exercise and some Latin pieces show that he took part in the prescribed work, but his favourite studies were literature and classics, 'posing orators and historians,' the 'smooth elegiac poets,' from whom he passed in 'riper years' to 'the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato and his equal (i.e. conscience). Exercitavit in the knowledge of the classical poets he added now the Italians, 'the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura,' the 'lofty fables and romances' of Boiardo and Ariosto (Apology for Smutynum, Intro.). On the work of another Milton looked out through Italian windows, but he was familiar (later, at any rate) with Geoffrey of Monmouth and probably with Malory. The poems of this particular Milton and Latin, these witness to the double source of Milton's poetic inspiration—classical literature and the Biblical Christianity of Paritan England. The finest expression of these, not always entirely compatible, tastes is the tender (an epithet so rarely applicable to Milton's poetry) and beautiful ode, On the Morning of Christ's Nativity (1629); while some lines of the At a Vacation Exercise and the short odes, On Time and At a Solemn Music, show the poet of Paradise Lost 'mewing his mighty youth' and meditating the sublimest flights of religious song:

Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
That every day I might to toil a grave
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe thy fancy in soft sound:

Bach where for others the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each bard with his work and store
(At a Vacation Exercise, 29 ff.)

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,

'Where thongs of knights and barons bold
In weeds of peace high triumphs hold' (O Allegro, 121 ff.),

and to the company of friends, among whom the first place was held by Charles Diodati. The young Italian girl, too, of whom we know only that her first name was Emilia, seems to have touched his fancy and occasioned the writing of his earliest Italian verses. The experience is perhaps referred to in the seventh of his Latin elegies. During these years he also extended his knowledge of English poetry from Chaucer and Dryden's Shakespeare, to Shakespeare (at Cambridge) he had already written his famous lines for the Epistle to Dr. Travers, Jonson, and the later Elizabethans. All the poems written at this period bear witness to this native and Elizabethan influence, and some of them, At a Solemn Music and II Penseroso, are composed in a lighter, more secular and Epicurean vein than 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 The Masque Presented At Ludlow Castle (1634), which he composed at the invitation of 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 Queen is rehandled by a poet of a higher moral temper and a no 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; but 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 less its dogmas than its practice, the manner of Land and the justification of Episcopacy, with the Court and its arbitrary policy. His intense and ideal love of liberty was awakened, and the first notes of the coming storm were heard in Lycidas (1638), the most passionate, poignant, 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 than on controversy and theology. In 1640 the prospect of the Grotius whose, Adamus exult 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 indicates his sense of Italian preciosity. At Naples he met Manso, Marquis of Villi, Tasso's patron and Marino's, and in a Latin poem addressed to him prays that he may find a like patron when he undertakes to sing of

reges,
Artemisque etiam sub terris bella movens,
Ant dieum invitans soccall luctus pacem,
Magnum nobis Henas, et (O modo spiritus aditis)
Francum Saxum Britanniam sub Marte phalanx
(Opera, Livres, 80 ff.)

But Milton was not destined to sing of kings or the knights of 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 Genoa to plague 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 ardour and vehemence was that concerning Church government, and the rival claims of a Presbyterian and Prelatical organization. In the first pamphlet, Of Reformation in England (May–June 1641), he raises the question why the English Reformation had lagged behind that on the Continent and attacks the English bishops and their 'policy' from Crumpler and Ridley to the promoters of the war with Scotland, closing with an amazing denunciatory prayer. Of Prelatical Episcopacy (June–July 1641) is an examination of the origin of Episcopacy in reply to a
tract by Archbishop Ussher. Of the other pamphlets two, Animadversions upon the Remonstrant’s Defence disclaiming the very name (July 1641) and An Apology against a Pamphlet called a Most Modest Con- stitution of the Animadversions of the Remonstrants against Sacramenius (March–April 1642), were contributions to a controversy on Episcopacy between Hall and certain other little-known Puritan divines, of whom Thomas Young was one. The most fully reasoned and interesting statement of Milton’s ideal Presbyterianism is contained in The Reason of Church Government urged against Prat- taty (Jan.–March 1641–42). Two undercurrents of thought run through the main stream of controversy, rising to the surface from time to time, the one with unmistakable and eloquent distinctness, the other with less observable yet sufficient clearness. The first of these concerns the great poem which he was meditating; the other shows him full of high thoughts concerning the mysteries of love and marriage. The Puritan movement had heightened men’s ideals both of purity and of marriage, and Milton was as impassioned a champion of chastity as he was an enemy of asceticism. Love had touched his fancy in youth, but, when in May 1643 he married, it was clearly the act of one who had not much of the idealist in him; his marriage was determined by an ideal regard for the wedded estate; and the result was, what, as Milton himself complains, is more often the fate of the chaste and unworlly student than of the libertine, the discovery that the ideal world he had chosen was to be found none of the qualities that he had so fondly anticipated, no intellectual helpmeet, but an “unconversing inability of mind,” “a mate and spirits mate,” begetting “that melancholy despotism” which usually attended “married persons.” (Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, i. 4). Others have experienced the same misfortune and in the end managed to work along; but Milton was by no means a man, and he turned passionately round to discover an escape and that one which should enjoy the approval of his own conscience and the Christian Church. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce Restored (Aug. 1643) was written (anonymously and without licence) before his wife had given any definite ground for separation. An enlarged and improved edition appeared in February 1644 with a signed introductory letter to “the Parliament of England with a second tract, The Journal of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, followed in July of the same year, vindicating Milton’s position against critics; and to the same end he issued in March 1645 Tetrachordon, a discussion of four passages in Scripture, and Colossians, a savage onslaught upon a certain Joseph Caryl, one of the licencers. Incidentally the divorce controversy called forth the most famous of Milton’s pamphlets, Areopagitica, A Speech . . . for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing (Nov. 1644).

The outcry which the divorce pamphlets evoked opened Milton’s eyes to the interval that separated his ideal Church from the Presbyterian Church which its adherents were seeking to invest with all the divine and institutional authority of the overthrown Episcopal Church of England, and helped him to formulate his own conception of Christianity as independent of any visible and authoritative Church. He never, therefore, identified himself with the Independents, but from this time to the close of the Commonwealth his sympathies were with that party in politics and, when the death of the king completed the rupture between them and the Presbyterians, Milton came forward as the champion of regicide and the impugner of all connexion, whether of authority or endowment, between Church and State.

On 13th February 1649—a fortnight after the execution of Charles—appeared The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so throughout all ages, and that the authority, who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due and wholesome deposite and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or deny’d to do it. And that they do, of late, so much blamably and by that did it themselves.” The sting in the tail of this bold title is intended for 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 Salmasius and other impugners of the king’s execution Milton replied in his first and second Defensio pro populo Anglicano (1651, 1654). The Defensio contra Maronius (1650) 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 experiences of the Presbyterians, led him to disapprove of Cromwell’s attempt to combine religious endowment with a wise though still limited toleration; and his own conception was expanded in the Defensio Secunda (in the middle of a eulogy of the Puritan and his associates) and, after Cromwell’s death, in A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes (Feb.–March 1659). When the Rump superseded Richard Cromwell and the question of tithe was raised, Milton published his Considerations Concerning the likeliest Means to remove Holdings out of the Church (Aug. 1659), a bitter onslaught on the clergy, Presbyterian or Independent, who claimed titles or fees instead of trusting to the ‘benevolence and free gratitude’ of their flock. Milton’s last religious works were the short pamphlet Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery (1673) and the body of his De Doctrina Christiana, on which he had been busy for many years, but which was not printed till 1825.

Throughout the rule of the Commonwealth Milton’s life had been the twofold one of a private student and tutor (to children living in his house) and of a servant of the State as Latin secretary to the Council of State (1649–59). The incidents of his private life are few. In 1652 his wife died, and in 1656 he married Catharine Woodcock, whose early death in 1658 is referred to in the most touching of his sonnets. His marriage with Elizabeth Minshull in 1663 was a convenient arrangement.

During all these years Milton had written very little poetry. From 1640 to 1642 his mind had been full of his great projected work, and the commonplace-book preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, shows the steady trend of his thoughts towards a drama on the fall of the Titans and the sketches of the drams are set down, and his nephew, Edward Phillips, reports that the speech of Satan at the opening of the fourth book of Paradise Lost is part of the original scheme. The interest of controversy and the shock of his unhappy marriage interrupted the work and it was not resumed till 1658. In the interval the only English poems which Milton wrote were some sonnets on public events and persons and his incidents in the dignified manner of his Italian predecessors, in similar forms, and in Italian form, for even the device of running the sense on from octave to sestet which has been
thought a device peculiar to himself) had been borrowed by Italian poets known to Milton. In 1658 Paradise Lost was resumed in epic, not dramatic, form; this new version was composed in Milton’s own words, edited, corrected, and completed in 1665; and published in 1667. It was followed in 1670 by Paradise Regained, an epic poem in the brief past. In the book of Job, Milton, nurtured on the Bible but also deeply influenced by the ancient classics, transforms the tragic theme of Job into a Christian parable. The poem is a version of Seneca’s Agonistes, but Milton’s work is more complex, combining elements from ancient and Christian traditions.

2. Thought and work. Of Milton’s early political and religious views, little is known. As a boy, Milton was trained in the classics, and his education was influenced by the humanistic tradition. Milton’s literary works, such as the Ode on the Honourable Mr. Wren and the dedication of Paradise Lost to Charles II, reflect his commitment to the Stuart monarchy. However, as a Protestant, Milton was critical of the Catholic Church and advocated for a more radical form of Protestantism. His religious views were shaped by his personal experiences and his engagement with the public sphere, as evidenced by his political writings and public lectures.

In 1658, Milton published his first major work, Paradise Lost, which is a significant achievement in the history of literature. The poem is a masterpiece of epic poetry, and its themes and ideas have had a lasting impact on Western culture. Milton’s work is characterized by its use of allegory, its exploration of human nature, and its celebration of the power of the human imagination. Milton’s later works, including Paradise Regained and the epic poem Samson Agonistes, further develop his themes and ideas, and his influence can be seen in the work of later poets and writers.

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Milton’s religious views were characterized by his commitment to the Protestant faith and his belief in the importance of individual liberty and reason. His work is a testament to the power of the human imagination and the importance of the individual in the face of adversity. Milton’s influence can be seen in the work of later poets and writers, and his legacy continues to inspire new generations of thinkers and writers.
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different passages are duly compared and when all are interpreted in the light of the Christian 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 expediency, the difficulties and practical means of obviating these 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 apriori principles set forth in glowing and harmonious but elaborately Latinized 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 within a general absence of the mellower wisdom that proceeds from experience and charity. There is much to inspire and delight in these pages baring 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 expediency to sheer opportunism.

The diviner pamphlets have nothing to say upon the difficult problems of children and the mutual relations of the family and the State. They combine elevated reflexions on the ideal significance of marriage as a spiritual rather than a carnal union (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. God cannot have at any time permitted sin. The later commentaries have not 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 moral 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 Churches asserted was a curtailment of the liberty which even the 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. 1. 10).

The Areopagitica was an overflow from the divorce controversy, and is a magnificent apriori 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, lay outside Milton’s ken; nor could he foresee all the evils that have attended the freedom allowed to a Chanavist or a commercial press to deceive and to pervert.

The same lofty but apriori 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 unenforced clergy and a universal toleration of all religious bodies, the Roman Catholic Church alone excluded. Of the original and inalienable rights of subjects and the duties and responsibilities of kings Milton writes with all the passion of a mind nurtured upon classical republicanism and OT history, and heated by the fires of civil war:

‘There can be slain
No sacrifice to God more acceptable
Than an unjust and wicked king’.  
(Geneva, Her. Pers. 923, tr. in The Tenure of Kings and Magnates).

The doctrine of the civil contract is buttressed by precedents from the turbulent annals of Israel, the early history of the Britons, the rebellions in Scotland and Holland. Of the real difficulties of the problem, as Hobbes saw them, of the fact that somewhere in every society there is and can be an authority against which no rights can be pleaded, Milton shows no suspicion. He was at work recasting with the utmost confidence the government of England at the moment of the Restoration. His sympathies were aristocratic: the best should rule. Of the difficulty of securing this he knows nothing. Hooker’s claim for a divine sanction attaching to usage and expediency is spurned by Milton’s contempt for tradition; confidence in apriori reasoning, and conception of the Bilde as the sole oracle of God, of authority in all fields of thought and experience. His Latin orations and English pamphlets on the issue between parliament and king may be regarded as an enduring contribution to the political thought of the 17th century. Milton’s denunciation of an endowed clergy—a subject on which he found himself at variance with his hero Cromwell—and his claim for complete toleration of all religious differences were the natural outcome of that conception of the purely spiritual character of ecclesiastical authority with which he set out, of his growing dislike of the Presbyterian clergy and their claims to usurp the privileges and influence of their Anglican predecessors, and of the purely individualistic character of his philosophical Christianity. From rejecting ecclesiastical discipline and authority Milton was driven outward by a ruthless logic to the denial that any is due, in religion or ethics, to the collective consciousness of Church or society. Yet without such collective consciousness, however imperfectly developed, is either religion or morality possible? For Milton every man is his own Church; his creed, the product of his own study of the inspired text. The true heretics are those who follow a Church against their conscience and their convictions based on Scripture. Congregations of the unconverted men, meeting to worship together, Milton seems to assume there will always be; but for the service of a clergy, except to teach the young and to exhort the careless, there is no need.

‘If men be not all their life-time under a teacher to learn logic, natural philosophy, ethics or mathematics, which are more difficult—certainly it is not necessary to the attainment of Christian knowledge that men should sit all their life long at the feet of a pulpit divine’ (The likeliest Means to remove Heresies).

Let there be a voluntary, simple, itinerant clergy living by the labour of their hands and the free-will offerings of the richer congregations.

This conception of Christian doctrine as something as definable and demonstrable as mathematics (but easier of comprehension) is crucial for a right apprehension of what Milton was in quest of throughout these years of theological and political polemic—that justification of God’s ways to men which was to be the occasion of the last poem. For a study of that thought as finally articulated we must go to the De Doctrina Christiana. ‘Joannes Milton Anglus Universia Christi Ecclesiae Nominum Omnibus Fideliumque Gentium Proficientibus’ are the dedicatory words 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,
from a study of the text of Scripture, a complete and articulate body of divinity and morality.

The creed so formulated is, as might have been anticipated, at variance in essential respects with the creed of orthodox Calvinism and of historical Christianity. Milton's faith might be described as Protestant Christianity accommodated to the spirit of the classical Renaissance, for the prince of this fortieth century stands most resolutely aloof from orthodox Calvinist Protestantism. He is just those in whom the latter seemed to compromise the dignity and liberty of the human mind which the Renaissance had re-asserted.

In this respect Miltonian Arianism, 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 thought and teaching concerning the divinity of Christ regarded on its psychological side. For the expression of the transcendent worth ascribed to 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 by the ardent flame of love which throbs in Dante's Divina Commedia or Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress or Thomas à Kempis' Mirror of the Interior Life, or many of the other works of the great distinctly Christian works of feeling and imagination. A high and an austere monothelitism is of the innermost texture of Milton's soul.

The same stringent, 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 after the Fall—his refusal to sacrifice the false freedom, the licentiousness 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 fall. 'For man will hearken to his glowing lies, and easily transgress the sole command of his direction of his obedience: so will fall he and his faithless progeny. Whose fault? Whose but his own?' Ingros, he had of me All he could have; I made him just and right; Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall' (Paradise Lost, Bk. II. 35 ff.).

The redemption purchased by Christ is in the same way freely offered to all, to an elect, predestined number. To all, God gives grace, 'though not in equal measure, yet that for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation': 'for I will clear their souls dark What may suffice, and soften story hearts To pray, repent, and bring obedience due, To prayer, repentance, and obedience due, Though ashamed with sincere intent, Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut' (ib. 188 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 obstruction to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good,' that slavish submission to sin and the devil which constitutes, as it were, the death of the will. Yet the divine image in man's soul is not wholly extinguished:

'the power and efficacy...not only from the wisdom and holiness of many of the heathen, manifested both in words and deeds, but also from the condition of man himself, as the death of man shall be the death of every beast of the earth, v. 6. whom sheddest man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man. Thereby we see what his perfection is in understanding. Ps. xix. 1 the heavens declare the glory of God, which cannot be destroyed. Man retains sufficient liberty at least to engage after righteousness, at least to make him responsible for his sins, though his power is so small as to afford him no subject for boasting.

In accordance with the same high regard for the liberty of the human mind which the Renaissance held, Milton refuses to accept the orthodox distinction of faith and works and the ascription of justification 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 works 'of the law.'

'For Paul does not say simply that a man is justified without works, but without the works of the law, but 'by faith which worketh by love,' Gal. v. 6. Faith brings forth 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 ii. 17, 20, 24 (ib. 25). The same spirit makes 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 abolished, but the entire Mosaic law, including the Dealogne (Is. i. 26 f.), 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 'Thou shalt love 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 Dealogne is included the Fourth Commandment (Ex. i. 10, ii. 7), on which all the rest is said to be based. In so great a matter, he says, the Mosaic law is laid so much stress. In his first pamphlet Milton had joined in the general condemnation of the Book of Sports and its instigation to 'gaming, juggling, wassailing and mixed dancing' 'this day which God's law, and even our reason, hath consecrated.' But in The Elysian Meads to remove Hervelinges, 'the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient resource of worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number.' Our rigid observance of it is the necessary 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 by its own authority for the voluntary assembling of its members, whereas, relinquishing all worldly affairs, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious service as far as is consistent with the duties of charity' (ib. 3).

Such are some of the most important divergences of Milton's creed from the orthodox Protestant Churches around him. Of this creed 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 fully in De Doctrina: and the purpose which Milton declares he has in view—'To justify the ways of God to men'—is theological in purpose. His poem is not an attempt to reconcile the heart and the mind to truths already accepted. It is a restatement in poetical form of these doctrines in such a way as will finally justify God and mankind. 'Therefore thou art inexcusable, 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 Divina Commedia or the De Doctrina of Lætherius. Take a number of those poems of 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 today read Paradise Lost with any desire to discover Milton's creed, or, if they do, will accept with any conviction, any such willing suspension of criticism as it is the function of poetry to begot, his justification of God's way to men, this truly terrible and harrowing rendering of Paul's 'as in Adam all died.' The time is past in which Milton's poem was read as if it were the Bible itself, the poetic presentation of those momentous events as if they actually occurred, to his judgment of the justice or injustice of which was forbidden. Now we can see 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 this 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 poetic genius, mythopoeic faculty working as freely on the seamy material of Biblical record and ecclesiastical tradition as did Homer or any primitive poet when shaping and embroidering popular myths. But the result has nothing in it that is Christian. The splendid scenes of the opening books—Satan and his companions debating in hell, Satan voyaging through chaos and descending through the heavenly bodies in the first freshness of their creation, the scenes in Eden, the war 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 notions 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 disposition in heaven, in the story of the Temptation and what follows, the poet can no longer feel, despite frequent beauties, a steady subsidence of the creative power of the opening; the didactic displaces the epic poem. The magnificent promise of the opening books seems fulfilled. The great characters that were brought upon the stage achieve nothing. Even the Satan of the Temptation strikes us as 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, rich in character, there is none of the wonderful creative power of the great epics and characters in the longer poem; and its austerity of tone marks its limits as a religious poem, for obe'nce, temperance, and unworldliness are Christian virtues only as they flow from or lead to charity, and but little of the radiance of Christian love illumines 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 personal passages in Lycidas and Paradise Lost. Unfettered by Scriptural details or didactic purpose, Milton pours into the artificial mould of classical tragedy all the passionate feeling with which he reviewed 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 execrable justice or injustice of which was forbidden. Now we can see 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 this 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 poetic genius, mythopoeic faculty working as freely on the seamy material of Biblical record and ecclesiastical tradition as did Homer or any primitive poet when shaping and embroidering popular myths. But the result has nothing in it that is Christian. The splendid scenes of the opening books—Satan and his companions debating in hell, Satan voyaging through chaos and descending through the heavenly bodies in the first freshness of their creation, the scenes in Eden, the war 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 notions 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 disposition in heaven, in the story of the Temptation and what follows, the poet can no longer feel, despite frequent beauties, a steady subsidence of the creative power of the opening; the didactic displaces the epic poem. The magnificent promise of the opening books seems fulfilled. The great characters that were brought upon the stage achieve nothing. Even the Satan of the Temptation strikes us as 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.

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Of Belial down with insolence and wise—
all round utterance in the severely moulded lines and choruses of this tragedy, not a lament, as Treitschke called it, but the 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 heroically hath finished
A life heroic (Samson Agonistes, 1706 ff.).

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 anima naturaliter 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 distinctively Christian notes—humility and love. Milton's soul was as proud as Dante's; he was less conscious of the fall of man. It has the presence 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 Chaucer like Bussy, an Anglican like Herbert, a Roman like Crashaw and Vaughan and 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 bring 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, with all his defects, is an ethical and religious poet because of the conviction which his poetry expresses 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 or sin than to have resisted the more sublime mystery than the Redemption which reconciles us to God' (P. Chauvet, La Religion de Milton, Paris, 1899, p. 241). All his acts and writings were inspired by his desire that the Kingdom of God might come on
MIMAMSA

The 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 Brâhmans. The Mimamsa system is most closely related to the Vedânta, and in them both the subjects of ancient Indian speculation which meet us in the Brâhmanas and Upanisads are methodically developed.

The two systems form a connected whole in the sense that the Mimamsa comprises the ritualistic doctrine of works, the Vedânta 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 Vedânta, and in the second place probably to the form in which it has been cast, that the Mimamsa has a place in India among the philosophical systems; for with philosophy its particular subject-matter has nothing to do.

Mimamsa as a name of the ritualistic system is an abbreviation of Purâna- or Karava-mimamsa, 'first explanation', or 'explanation of the function of work'. These names are explained by the connexion of the system with the Vedânta, which on its side is termed Upanâya- or Brahma-mimamsa, 'second explanation' or 'explanation of the All-Soul', also Sûtrakara-mimamsa, 'explanation of the incarnation' (of Brahman). The oldest and most important text-book of the Mimamsa is the Jaiminiya-dharmasastra of Jaimini. H. Jacobi places the composition of this work (and the composed) by the union of the Vedanta- and Brahma-sutras between c. A.D. 200 and 450 (JAOS xxxi. [1911] f.f.).

The teaching of the Mimamsa is to give rules for the correct interpretation of the Vedânta texts whose subject is the Brâhmanical ritual. Since these texts contain in great parts an imperfect and obscure description of the ceremonies, and, besides, are scattered at every point with speculations on the mystical meaning of the separate acts and on the implementation, the assistance of rules was, in fact, absolutely necessary for the sacrificer, who believed that he had to dread the most serious consequences from the least mistake in ceremonial observance. The Mimamsa offers a solution of all doubts which might present themselves with regard to the details of the sacrifice, and also proceeds to remove the discrepancies which are actually found in the Vedas texts. Yet, however, according to the view of the Mimamsa, they are in every instance only apparent. The system, moreover, discusses at the same time the rewards which are offered in the sacrifice; so that the Mimamsa is a compendium of the special theology of the Brâhmanas.

The Mimamsa does not recognize the existence of God. Nevertheless this fact interferes as little here as in the Sâkhya and the other systems with belief in the supernatural beings of the popular Indian faith. As we ask on what authority the instruction given with regard to the sacrifices 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 reason and truth. It is opposed to the entire personal wishes, for the most part quite worldly, which were continually presented to the gods by the authors of the ancient Vedas. In reality the teachers of the Mimamsa associate the world with the Vedas in such ancient hymns as with the ritualistic texts of the second period of Vedântic 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 they 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 arrangement. This methodical and established scheme, which the Mimamsa also adopt as their standard, contains the following five divisions: (a) the proposition, (b) the doubt as to its correctness, (c) the erroneous method of treating the proposition, (d) the refutation of the erroneous method by the true argument, (e) the result of the investigation. Occasionally also, for the purpose of establishing the special doctrines of the Mimamsa, questions of philosophical import are discussed. The subject 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 word 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 Vedas 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 the sounds, could not be the result of human activity—i.e., such a connexion would hold sway only within the narrow horizon of a school to which one language alone was known.


R. GARBE.
MINÆANS. See ARANES (ANCIENT), SABÆANS.

MIND.—Questions of empirical psychology and of the relations between body and mind are discussed in other articles (e.g., 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 an exposition 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 our 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 the fundamental 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 and briefly illustrated it, 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 draw 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 scientists or in the efforts of common sense to obtain knowledge, shows us three, and only three, fundamental processes which are 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 implicitly 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 to his professional knowledge has 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 ‘knowledge about.’ ‘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 more 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 that which is more than the immediate hearing of the music.

Knowledge about includes, on occasion, mental processes which may vary 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 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 well question whether all knowledge which is not of the ‘knowledge of acquaintance’ is of the grade of conceptual knowledge. For the dual classification of knowledge about concerning which we should all 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 is confused and inarticulate. But if, for the moment, we neglect the intermediate cognitive states in which we or less mingle ‘knowledge of acquaintance’ and conceptual knowledge, or possess conceptual knowledge in imperfect degree, we may readily admit that this traditional dual classification of cognitive states is sufficient to call attention to a distinction which is of 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 of 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 in general prepared to use scientific processes that in the case of further development will involve deductive methods. Thus, in particular, a conceptual knowledge of universals leads, in the mathematical sciences, to the assertion of propositions. Some of these propositions may appear at the outset of a science as axioms. Whether accepted as necessarily true or used merely as hypotheses, these propositions, either alone or in combination, may, and in the mathematical sciences do, form the starting-point for a system of rational deductions. The type of knowledge involved in this deductive process will be, in the main, the conceptual type. In what sense and to what degree ‘knowledge of acquaintance’ enters into a process of mathematical reasoning we have not here to consider. All will admit that the sort of knowledge which dominates such a deductive process is ‘abstract,’ is concerned in reaching results which are true of the propositions that themselves form the premises of the deduction. And so our knowledge concerning numbers, the operations of a mathematical science, and similar cases for exceptionally good instances of what characterizes conceptual knowledge in its exact and developed form.

In the inductive use of scientific methods we find a more complicated union of the perceptual
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 with experience, the test involves appealing at some point to perceptual knowledge, or 'knowledge of acquaintance.' The processes of experiment used in an inductive science might seem to be typical cases of processes not involving perceptual knowledge. And experiments unquestionably do involve such knowledge. But an experiment reveals a truth, because it brings concepts and percepts into some sort of active synthesis. Upon such active synthesis depends the process of validation which is used as the basis for the definition of truth used by recent pragmatists (see ERROR AND TRUTH).

In so far as we insist upon this usual 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 degree to which, in our actual cognitive processes, perception in its various processes (either we may ascribe to beings of some higher order than ours), the two can ever be separated. These two questions have proved especially momentous for the theory both of knowledge and of reality.

The relative value of the two fundamental types of cognition, Plato, as is well known, held that conceptual knowledge is the ideal type, the right result an expression of reason. Conceptual 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 that conceptual knowledge has only a sort of 'credit value'; perceptual knowledge furnishes the 'cash of experience'; perceptions are 'bank notes'; perceptions, and perceptions only, are 'cash.' The statement of Bergson goes further, and declares that, if we had unlimited perceptual knowledge, i.e. 'knowledge of acquaintance,' and no imperfections, then conceptions could have 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.

(3) On the question whether the two foregoing types of knowledge, however closely linked in our mental processes, or whatever may be the case, can be separated—i.e., whether a knowledge by 'pure reason' is possible on the one hand, or a knowledge of 'pure experience' is ever attainable on the other—they hold different conceptions.

2. Interpretation through comparison of ideas as a third fundamental cognitive process. It is an extraordinary example of a failure to reflect in a thoroughgoing way upon the process of knowledge that until recently the third type of cognitive process to which we must next refer 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, what he perceives is not the word or expression of the sign 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 who reads, what is made present to the consciousness of the reader is a 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 in my mind when I hear and understand this cry essentially differs from that in which 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 hear it, 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, and in my knowledge of the possible meaning of his idea, consists neither in the percept of the sign nor in a concept of its object which the sign arouses, 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 fellows' perceptions as never present within my own field of awareness. My knowledge of the nature 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 at least in ideal and in a largely different metaphysical context) for Spinoza, it is at least in possible for philosophy, or for the individual philosopher, to attain a purely intellectual insight into the realm of 'ideas' or into the nature of the 'substance.' For the same forms of mysticism, as well as for theories such as the one set forth in the Kritik der reinen Erfahrung (Leipzig, 1888-90) of K. H. L. Avenarius, a mental transformation may be brought about through a process which involves no scientific correction and gradual suppression of erroneous intellectual illusion; and, at the limit 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.
MIND

characterizing our human world. In brief, man's knowledge, both of himself and of his neighbour, is a knowledge which involves an interpretation of signs. This thesis, 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.

The type of knowledge involved whenever signs are interpreted is a fundamental type of knowledge which cannot be represented either to perception or to consciousness in the most manifold ways, and will appear somewhat more clearly through the illustrations given below. It may be useful to point out here that, while all our interpretations, like all our perceptual and conceptual knowledge, are subject to the most manifold illusions in detail, it still remains the case that, whenever one is led to attempt, propose, or believe an interpretation of a sign, he has actually become aware, at the moment of his interpretation, that there is present in the word or sign, in some significant idea, plan, purpose, undertaking, or intent, which, at the moment when he discovers its presence, is from his point of view not identical with whatever idea or meaning is then his own.

If somebody speaking to me uses words which I had not intended to use, I may misunderstand the words, or I may not understand them at all. But, in so far as I take these words to be the expression of a meaning, this meaning is one that I just cannot find to be my own—i.e., these words do not express my ideas, in so far as these ideas are by me interpreted as my own. The cognitive process here in question is one at least distinguishes, that part of the objects, ideas, or meanings in question into two distinct regions, provinces, or modes of mental activity. One of these regions is interpreted at the moment as 'my own present idea,' 'my own purpose,' and so on; the other is interpreted as 'some meaning not just now my own,' or as 'some idea or meaning that was once my own'—i.e., as 'my own past idea,' or as 'my neighbour's meaning,' or perhaps as 'a meaning that belongs to you and your world,' or, if I am religiously minded, 'to God.' In each case the interpretation that is asserted may prove to be a wrong one. Interpretation is therefore fallible. So, too, is conception, when viewed as a cognitive process, and so is person character as 'acquaintance with' is no guarantee of its accuracy, whether mystical apprehension or ordinary observation is in question. The fact for our present purpose is not that our human knowledge is at any point infallible, but that there is the one type of cognition here defined as interpretation. Interpretation is the knowledge of the meaning of a sign. Such a knowledge is not a merely immediate apprehension, nor yet a merely conceptual process; it is the only social process whereby the knower at once distinguishes himself, with his own meanings, ideas, and expressions, from other selves, and at the same time knows that these selves have their contrasted meanings, while one of them at the moment is expressing its meaning to the other. Knowledge by interpretation is, therefore, in its essence neither mere 'acquaintance' nor yet 'knowledge about.'

There is another way of expressing the distinction of these three kinds of knowledge which proves useful for many purposes. Knowledge of the first kind, 'knowledge of acquaintance,' may for certain purposes be characterized as 'appreciation.' Conceptual knowledge, owing to the means often employed in making a concept explicit, may be for many purposes called 'description.' In each case, as will be noted, the main character of the
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 well to note that every interpretation has three aspects. For the one who interprets it is an expression of his own meaning. With reference to the object, i.e. to the sign, to the sign itself, to the fact that a 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 the cognitive act involves meaning, an expressive act, and what one may call a directed 'sense.' In general, when an interpretation takes place, there is an act $B$ wherein a mental process $A$ is interpreted, and $B$ is rendered to a third mind. That the whole process can take place may be ascertained. That 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 on his plans, insights, and intentions, he may express his present self to his future self, the process being well exemplified when a man reminds himself of his own thoughts and purposes by consulting a memorandum made yesterday for the sake of guiding his acts to-day. Every explicit process involving self-consciousness, involving a definite sequence of plans of action, and dealing with long stretches of time, has this threefold character. The present self interprets the past self to the future self; or some generally still more explicit social process takes place whereby one self or quasi-self has its meaning stated by an interpreter for the sake of some third self.

Thus, in brief, knowledge by interpretation is (1) an expression (by an 'interpreter') of (2) the idea or meaning of (3) other mind. Now the idea, (2), 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 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 the man's ideas compared and belonging in one sense to the 'same self'; but they differ as the ideas of 'past self' and 'future self'; or, in various other ways, they belong to different 'quasi-minds.'

Thus the 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 what takes place when two 'ideas' are 'compared,' whether these 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 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 mere conception, whether simple or complex. It is, for James and his allies, a 'leading,' an 'active tendency,' a 'fulfillment of purpose,' or an effort towards such' and such a result, a situation, a 'sitting,' a situation, a 'sitting,' a situation, an intention. The term 'idea' has, in Bergson's phrase, its 'credit value.' Eventual sense-data may furnish the corresponding 'cash.' The idea is the seeking for this 'cash.' When the wanderer in the woods decides to adopt the idea that a certain 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 to his mind the perceptions of the 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 may 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. It is just this 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, and which consists 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 feeling,' but by a perception which, merely at the moment of home-coming, pays the 'cash' then required by some then present concept of home, but by a process involving a comparison of his ideas about his home, at the moment 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. It is that he is comparing his ideas of present success or failure with his ideas of his past efforts. This comparison is essentially an interpretation of a portion of his own past life, as he remembers that life, taking one of his present successes or failures, as he now experiences them. A third cognitive process is then involved. This interpretation comparest at least two ideas: (1) the past idea or 'leading' (e.g., the past search for home by the path through the woods); (2) the present success.
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 one's own future ('and henceforth I need search 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 and of my own conscience') can also be made upon every such act of comparing two ideas and interpreting one in the light of the other.

(1) Unless such processes of comparing ideas were part of some regular and well-worked out and useful and complete scheme, 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 of the various aspects of our present mind will depend upon an explicit process of comparing ideas. The simplest comparison of ideas—which is the case upon which the recent pragmatism lays so much stress—the comparison upon which the very 'truth' or 'success' of the comparison, namely, which is expressed by saying, 'What I sought at a past moment was the very same as what, at the present moment, I now find,' is an instance of an act of interpretation, is not reducible to the two other types of knowledge.

(2) All such processes of comparison are equally characteristic of the cognitive activity which goes on during our explicitly and literally social life and the work of his own 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 literat social life, neither past nor future time can be known to us through any process which is not a reduction essentially in terms of perception, of conception, and of the ideal 'leadings' of the pragmatists. The self, the neighbour, the past, the future, and the temporal order in general become known to us through a third stage 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 other 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 cognition gives us an immediate sense of the 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 to 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, sometimes in a very confused way, a mixture of different hypotheses about different kinds of 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 for the theory of the soul whether the kind of soul which is in question is viewed as in existence an object of immediate acquaintance, or 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 immest nature, an object which can be known only through some adequate conception. To take two common and explicit facts that he is speaking now in perceptual 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 more directly verifiable in terms of immediate perceptions.

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 his neighbour's individual mind from his own expects, nor can he consistently, that his neighbour's mental states, or that anything which essentially belongs to the inner life of the individual mind of his neighbour, can ever become, under any circumstances, a direct perception of his own. If, in fact, if my neighbour's physical pains ever became mine, I should know them by immediate acquaintance only in 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. At 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. My acquaintance with my neighbour's states of mind would be a knowledge neither of himself as he is in distinction from me nor of myself as I am in distinction from him. For this general reason 'working hypothesis' is appropriate, which belongs to the mind of my neighbour can never be 'converted into the cash of experience.' My neighbour's mind is never a verifiable object of immediate acquaintance, precisely as it is never a veritable object of universal ideas. The one sort of knowledge for which recent pragmatism has no kind of place whatever is a knowledge, statable in pragmatistic terms, concerning my neighbour's mind.

James himself follows a well-known and ancient philosophical tradition by declaring that our assertion of the existence of the existence of our neighbour's mind depends upon the argument from analogy. Because of similar hypothesized experiences, which belong to the mind of my neighbour can never be 'converted into the cash of experience.' My neighbour's mind is never a verifiable object of immediate acquaintance, precisely as it is never a veritable object of universal ideas. The one sort of knowledge for which recent pragmatism has no kind of place whatever is a knowledge, statable in pragmatistic terms, concerning my neighbour's mind.

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its conceptual constructions are capable of immediate verification in terms of certain facts of immediate experience. But my neighbour's immediate states of mind can never become for me objects of immediate acquaintance, unless they become my 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 analogy; but the analogy in question is essentially unverifiable in the required terms of immediate perceptions. For my neighbour can immediately perceive only his own states, while I, in so far as I am not my neighbour, can verify only my own states. From the point of view, then, of the argument from analogy, my neighbour, in observing his own states, does not verify my hypothesis in the sense in which my hypothesis about him demands verification, namely, in terms of the experience of the self who makes the hypothesis. From this point of view, the problem of the mind of my neighbour remains hopeless.

It is possible, of course, to say of the foregoing argument from analogy what is also said both by common sense and by science, on the basis of a theory of truth which is in its 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 much a fact as any other fact in the universe. If this fact of the real analogy is granted, then it may be declared that my hypothesis to the effect that my neighbour's mental states of mind are actually true. This, however, is precisely the type of truth which William James's pragmatism undertakes to reject.

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 expressive in terms of the favourite metaphor of Bergson and the pragmatists, namely, the metaphor of the conversion of conceptual credits or bank-notes into perceptual cash, i.e., into immediate data of experience. For interpretations are not reserved merely to immediate data, nor through the analysis of conceptions. This is true whether I myself am the object of my 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 of my own purpose or intent or the ideas of another man or 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 call myself, I have also become aware, not immediately but in the temporal process of my mental life, that ideas have come to me which are not my own, and which need further expression and interpretation. These are already 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 seems to me, and I make the further 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 of our own, and which, for our own needs for a possible interpretation, while the interpretation which at the moment we offer is itself not complete, but requires further interpretation.

In literal conversation our neighbour utters words which already express to us ideas. These ideas so contrast with our own present ideas that, while we find the new ideas intelligible, and, therefore, view them as expressions of a mind, we donot fully know what they mean. Hence, in general, our neighbour has to ask us more or less incidentally or persistently, whether or not this is what he means — i.e., we give him back our interpretation of his meaning in order to see whether this interpretation elicits 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 conceivably capable of direct verification.

Nor does what the pragmatists are accustomed to call 'the successful working' of this hypothesis consist in the discovery of any fact about my experience which we get with which we get into merely immediate relation. Our interpretation of our neighbour satisfies our demands, precisely in so far as our interpretations, which are never complete, and which always call for new expressions and for further interpretations, lead to a conversation which remains, as a whole, essentially 'coherent,' despite its endless novelties and unexpected incidents. 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 a consistent series of interpretations, which we obtain, 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 reason of things which is expressed in a coherent process of interpretation.

Or, again, an interpretation is not a 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 inanimate 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 expect to get definable perceptions from 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 to be not my own, but which may be 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 all conflicts and novelties and surprises, retain such a character. Thus, in dealing with other minds, I am essentially enlarging my own mind by getting new interpretations, both of myself and of my neighbour's life. The contrasts, 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 mind. The coherence of the whole system of interpretations, ideas, plans, and purposes shows me just as positively that I am dealing with a mind, i.e., with something which through these expressions constantly interprets itself, while, as I deal with it, I in turn constantly interpret through this very process interpret myself. It will and must be observed that this Alter, with which I have to deal, both in reflecting on my own mind and in seeking for new light from my neighbour, is never merely single, 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 single 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 soul: many members, but one body; many gifts, but one body, essentially a 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 unity, in its cognitive aspect as interpretation: pay rather that ye may interpret (1 Co 14).

5. Metaphysical theories of the nature of mind.

(c) Predominantly perceptual theories. — The nature of mind may be defined by a given metaphysical 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 prominent, not least of all, in the efforts to give any abstract conceptual description of what constitutes the essence of mind. They depend upon ignoring the fact that what is most essential to the mind is known through the cognitive process of interpretation. They depend, further, upon making common words, and, in an effort to give any abstract conceptual description of what constitutes the essence of mind. They proceed, finally, upon the assumption that the essence of mind and the essence of body are identical.

Since, in general, any one who forms a predominantly perceptual idea of what mind is very naturally 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, on a basis of an argument from analogy, in common less forms of so-called ‘animism.’ Leaving aside all the historical complications, we can say that much of the animistic theory of mind thus proceeds, within ourselves, certain interesting processes which include many of our feelings, embody many of our experiences, and characterize many of our activities. These activities, which in ourselves we more or less directly observe, are closely connected 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, strives and longs. It feels pain and pleasure. 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 in question. They resemble one another and differ from one another, much as the organisms resemble and differ from one another. An analysis of this analogy, on the basis of many motives, leads us to regard the world about us as containing many minds which are not connected with human bodies — at least in precisely the same way in which our minds are connected with such bodies. When the vast mass of superstitions beliefs which have made use of such analogies and such experiences can be more effectively controlled through the advances of the human use of 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 ‘hylozoicism.’ 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 our relatively immediate ‘knowledge of acquaintance.’

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 Upanishads well suggests both the origin and the logical basis — such as it is—of an allegory, it represents the question arising within the body as to where and what the soul most is. The question is disputed among the various bodies 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, leaving the organism. When the eyes go, blindness ensues; when the heart and mind continue, and various other organs, and when the breath starts to leave the body, the other members together cry, ‘Stay with us! You are the life, you are the soul, you are the self; all the world is the self.’

The allegory 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, the doctrine, that of some, that at least we all have intuitive knowledge, this object being the self. The entire history of mysticism, the history also of the efforts to discover the nature of mind through intuition, can be summarized by means of these instances and that which Bergson has discovered the true self through the experiment with breathing, and of the latest vision of Bergson, who defines the nature of mind, and also its contrast with body, in terms of the élan 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 acquaintance. That which has been the 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.’

1 Bhadaranyaka Upanisad, t. i. 7-14, tr. in P. Deussen, Sächrige Upanisadish des Veda, Leipzig, 1897, p. 567.
2 Eng. tr., London, 1813.
Motives which as a fact are not stable in purely perceptual terms have joined with this fondness for defining mind in perceptual terms to make it appear as if the theory of mind ought to be stated in expressly 'plurality of 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 the whole as unique. This unity is also sometimes
asserted that we know, or that we 'know intuitively,' upon occasion, the fact that we can never
be entirely acquainted with the conditions of our
neighbor'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 uses becomes,
for the critical consciousness, questionable.
In consequence, the problem of Solipsism has re-
maind in modern times a sort of scandal of the
philosophy of mind.

The solution of the problem of Solipsism lies in
the fact, upon which Peirce so well insisted, that
no one of us has any purely perceptual knowledge of
the whole. If knowledge of mind is not
stable, in the case either of the self or of the
neighbor, in terms of merely immediate acquaint-
ance. If the truth of this proposition is once
understood, the entire theory of mind, whether
for metaphysics or for every psychological, is
profoundly altered. Until this inadequacy of
knowledge through acquaintance meet the real
end of human knowledge is fully grasped, it is
impossible to define either the mind of the
world, either the individual self or the
neighbor.

(b) Predominantly conceptual theories.—As is
the case with every highly developed doctrine, the
conceptual form is very naturally assumed by
any philosophical theory of mind which seeks
for theoretical completeness. The conceptual
theories of mind have been in history of two
general types: (1) the purely conceptual, i.e. the
abstractly 'natural' metaphysical theories; and
(2) the more inductive 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 in detail.

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 inde-
pendent minds or selves, whose nature it is either
to be themselves persons or to be beings which
under certain conditions can assume the form of
persons.

Of those various important theories which are
expressed in the predominantly conceptual form
which of Aristotelian is very distinctly 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 distinct individual
self upon which more modern forms of monad-
ology are based.

Whatever special forms the conceptual theories
of mind may assume, the well-known problem
remains: How are these conceptions of the various
mental substances, or principles, or monads, which
are each time in question related to the sorts of
experience which they are supposed to interpret, the
varieties of the natural history of mind, have at any
stage of knowledge discovered or may yet hope to
discover? From the point of view of modern prag-
matism, conceptual theories of mind might be
entertained as 'productive hypotheses' if they led to
verification in perceptual terms.

In fact, the modern physical sciences, in con-
ceiving the nature of matter, deal with manifold
problems, but use conceptual hypotheses regarding
the nature of matter which are, in a large measure,
subject to pragmatic tests. Molecules and atoms
and, of late, various other types of conceptual
physical entities, which were formerly supposed
to be incapable of becoming objects of a physical
experience, now appear to come within the range
of the experimenter's verifications. Therefore the
processes of the experimental verification of phys-
ical hypotheses have, on the whole, a direct relation
to the sort of knowledge upon which the pragma-
tists so much insist. The 'conceptual credits' of
physical hypotheses are, on the whole, verifiable
in terms of the 'perceptual cash' of laboratory
experience. When this is not the ease, there
is a tendency to destroy them by a more rigorous
Hence physical hypotheses, at least regarding
what is generally called the phenomenal nature
of matter, have generally proved to be topics for
an inquiry within the strict realm of inductive
science.

But it has been, in the past, the reproach of the
conceptual theories about the nature of mind that
no pragmatic test can be discovered by which one
might learn what it is to be a mental process to an
observer of mental processes and, in particular,
of his own mental processes whether minds are
'soul substances,' or Leibnizian monads, or not,
or whether the introspective observer of his own
sentations or feelings is or is not himself a Leib-
nizian monad or Aristotelian 'entelechy'; or,
again, whether he is essentially persistent and in-
destructible. Thus, from the pragmatic point of
view, the majority of these conceptual hypotheses
are without the incertitude of promising to prove more verifiable than they thus
far have been. In consequence, the outcome of
conceptual views regarding the real nature of
mind has been, for many reasons, on the whole
conceptual. In fact, the whole theory of mind
cannot be adequately conceived, and could not be so
conceived even if one's power to perceive mental
processes were increased indefinitely, unless another
type of cognitive processes were concerned in such
an enlargement. For a mind is essentially a being
that manifests itself through signs. The very
being of signs consists in their demanding inter-
pretation. The relations of minds are essentially
social; so that a world without at least three
minds in it—one to be interpreted, one the
interpreter, and the third the one for whom or to whom
the first is interpreted—would be a world without
any real mind in it at all. This being the case,
it might well be expected that a true conceptual
theory of mind would fail precisely as a perceptual
theory fails. Such theories would fail because they do
not view the cognitive process as it is and do not
take account of the fundamental role of all needed
in order even in the most rudimentary fashion to
grap the nature of an intelligent mind.

(c) Theories making use of the cognitive process
of the interpretation.—Despite the inadequate
development of the doctrine of mind, far
in the history of epistemology, there have not
been lacking theories regarding the nature of
mind according to which mind is an object to be

1 See Royce, Problem of Christianity, ii.
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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 in essence a mode of self-expression which programs itself known either to its fellows or to minds above or below its own grade.

That theories of mind which are based upon such a view have existed, even from very primitive times, is manifest wherever in the history of religion a constellation of oracles, discovery of the future or of the will of the gods through divination, or, in fact, any such mere 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 known laws of physics for 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 not true, but true when such assert that it is conceptually possible regarding how to cause rain or how to cure diseases do 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 perceptual 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 fascinatingly placed in the setting of a modern evolutionary theory by Bergson, makes comparably 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 belies a theory of mind which is founded upon a fundamental cognitive process) persisted throughout the history of human thought. This was mind-body, or the mind as a part of a machine in a fashion which enables us to distinguish its expressions with sufficient clarity from those which have had their origin either in the conceptions of primitive magic or in the conceptions 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 a great part of the history of the philosophy of mind has been devoted. Both ideas have been subject to the misfortune of being too often viewed in a reducible either to concrete terms or to purely perceptual terms. If the self was defined in predominantly conceptual terms, it tended to degenerate into a substance, a monad, or a mere thing of some sort. Under the influence of a too abstract epistemology (such as the Kantian) the self also appeared as the 'logical ego,' or else as the 'pure subject.'

The fortunes of the idea of the community have been analogous. In religion this idea has proved one of the most inspiring of the ideas which have gradually transformed tribal cults into the two greatest religions which humanity possesses—Buddhism and Christianity. In ancient philosophy the community, viewed as the soul 'writ 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 communities as persons that represent 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 and the soul of the humanizing virtues—that virtue 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 idea of 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 other, both to itself and to the other, when such ideas are introduced into the hypothesis regarding how to cause rain or how to cure diseases do not work—in this case fairly adequate to express the situation both epistemologically and metaphysically.

LITERATURE—The epistemology of Charles Peirce is discussed at length by the present writer in The Problem of Christian Philosophy, London, 1925, if in his essay on Pragmatism, a treatise which can be found which will serve as a guide to the understanding of Peirce's theory of knowledge, and its relation to the metaphysical theories of the nature of mind.

MINIM.—Certain persons of Jewish origin were 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; that the view is now generally, though not universally, held that they were Jews, is unimportant. Only in this theory has the support of Graetz, Jost, Weiss, Bacher, and Levi; the chief opponent is Moritz Friedländer. The writer of this article, from an independent study of the evidence, decides for 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 Siphre, § 115, p. 35a, quoting Nu 15:9, 'And ye shall not walk after your heart,' says, 'This is Minim'—meaning that this is the state of Minim, who are under the influence of the principle of conduct, characteristic of the Minim. This is the earliest attempt at a definition of the term, although the word itself was in use earlier. It amounts to saying that a Minim (singular Min) is one who follows 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 Minim, accordingly, disregards the authority of the Rabbi, as teachers of religion and expounders 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 thousand, three hundred and sixty Minim, and the Apostates, and the Traitors, and the Apostates, and the Scribes, and the Apostates of the Minim... Gehenna is shut in their love of the world, and in their accumulated sins of generation and generation’.

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 (Meṣroḥim) are political informers, the Apostates are those who willfully and openly transgress some part of the ceremonial law, thereby proclaiming their disloyalty. Apikōrinim 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 Minim 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 Minim given to such persons? Various derivations of the word have been given, some of them more fanciful than others. The best explanation seems to be that proposed by Bachr (in Al. and Bes. 120a), who says that the word is derived from the root min, ‘lowly,’ and that the name was given to them as the lowest class of Jews. This derivation is not accepted by J. F. Hamburger (in Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus, 194 ff.), but it is a serious doubt of Friedländer’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, 294 have severely handled Friedländer’s hypothesis; as well as his peculiar method of proof, and have given with great accuracy the choicest passages from the Talmud and Midrash. The evidence for the view that the Minim were Jewish-Christians may be briefly summed up as follows. In many places 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 definitely 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 Friedländer does not produce any. (1) In a famous passage, Bah. Ḥak. Zer. 108a, which is one of three other passages (see also Ḥebbd. 39b and B. Ḥebbd. 28a) in which Rabbi Elezer (end of 1st cent.) was arrested for Minim. He accounted for this afterwards by saying that he had once met one of the disciples of Jesus the Nazarene, by name Jacob of K’phar S’khanah, who told him amongst other things that ‘Thou hast taught Jesus the Nazarene taught me.’ Also, in the same treatise, p. 27a, the same Jacob is called ‘Jacob the Minim,’ and it is said that he offered to cure a sick man, while in Tos. Ḥul. ii. 22 f. the same Jacob is said to have worked to cure him in the name of Yeshū ben Pandira, i.e. Jesus. (2) In Bab. Shabb. 116b 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—that of Two Powers 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 proved by a passage in Pesh. T. Rab. xxi. 1006: ‘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 supplemented by many others, seems conclusive in favour of the Jewish-Christian interpretation; and this view is strongly confirmed by a passage in Jerem. ‘Unper sodl poortas Orientis synagogas inter Judaeos haeretum est, quae dicunt Monesereum, et a Parthis usque usque damnamur; qui volgo Nazarens nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum, illum Deum, natos de virgine Maria, et sum dicunt ses qui sub Fonti Filii passus est resecrunt, in quem et nos credimus; sed domum et Judaei sages et Christiani, nec Judaiz sunt nec Christiani (Ep. xiv. [xxix.], 13 [FL xxii. 264]).

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 mention is made of the Minim, the author of the statement intended to refer to Jewish-Christians. 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 were at times not only aware of the Minim 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 and quoted are: (1) in Ber. 52a, 53b, most of which contain either polemical dialogues between a Minim and a Rabbi or allusions to heretical interpretations of texts, although a few are anecdotes of events in connection with the Minim. It is not possible here to give a full glimpse of the whole of the literature relating to the Minim; the material is sufficient only to give a few glimpses
of them, and to throw some little light upon their relationship to their Jewish brethren. The Minim, as stated above, were apostates who concealed their apostasy, and it was necessary, therefore, to have some means of detecting them. This was the object with which the Formula against the Minim in the Antiochene Syriac is introduced. It is stated (Bab. Ber. 286, 29a) that E. Ganadlus (president of the synod of Sanhedrin at Jabneh) said to the Rabbis: 'Is there anyone who knows how to compose a Benediction of the Minim?' Samuel the Little stood up to it. The following year he forgot it, and sought to recall it for two and even three hours, and they did not call him up (from the lection). The Benediction of the Minim was an addition made to the Eighteen Benedictions (Sh'moneh E'rotah Bekah'hah), which are short prayers, some of them very ancient, forming the nucleus of the Jewish liturgy. The twelfth in order, as composed or adapted by Samuel the Little, runs: 'May there be no hope for the Minim.' Those who were Minim could not, of course, join in this prayer, and would be detected. The introduction of this formula marks the official condemnation of the Minim by the Rabbis; and the date may be placed at A.D. 80, or thereabout. This does not imply the separation of the Minim from the synagogues of the Jewish people, and it is probable that the majority of the Jews at and after that time, were still to be found, as Jerome says, in all the synagogues of the East. But it is true, nevertheless, that the Minim to some extent possess a separate organization, with synagogues of their own.

The reason why a formula of detection against the Minim became necessary about A.D. 80, was, in part, that the Temple had been destroyed ten years before. As the Temple stood, Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and other places where the Temple was not, engaged in the Temple observances equally with non-Christian Jews. After the destruction of the Temple, however, it was possible to argue that the Temple was the symbol of the old covenant law, and that the survival of the church was the survival of the old covenant. This was the link which connects the original Jewish-Christian churches with the Minim. The latter, in fact, follow the rules of the Temple and its sacrifices. The former, on the other hand, follow the rules of the New Testament and the new covenant.

The hostility towards, and dread of, the Minim, were at their height in the 2nd cent.; afterwards they declined, till in the 4th cent. we find comparatively friendly relations with them. The Minim of Cæsarea applied to R. Abah to find them a teacher, and he sent them R. Aphra'el, a Babylonian Jew of unshaken orthodoxy (Bab. Abodah Zarah 4a). The meaning of this gradual change is that at first it was not evident to the Rabbis that the Christian Church would not develop on Jewish-Christian lines. When, in course of time, it appeared that the Minim did not represent the strength of the Christian movement, there was the less reason to dread it; there was a reason to regard them from a Gentile Christianity than from a Jewish form of it. Of Gentile Christianity the Rabbinical literature takes scarcely any notice. Space does not allow of illustration of the polemics between Minim and Jews, or of the association of the latter with the former as being not only apostates but liens. It must suffice to say that they appear to have been a dwindling sect, in Judaism but not in Christianity. In their theology they departed from the strict monothelism of Judaism, and held a doctrine—called the Doctrine of the Two Powers in Heaven—which corresponds with the relation between God and Christ set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews. No mention is made in any of their polemical discussions of the Messiahship of Jesus, nor is there more than one very slight trace of the doctrine of the Trinity (Jr. 12d, 13a). Jerome identifies them with the Nazarenes, and the corresponding name of the sect is found in two passages (Bab. Abodah Zarah 6a; Bab. Ta'an. 27b). The name Ebionite does not occur in this Rabbinical literature.


MINISTRY (Early Christian).—An attempt will be made in this article to collect the more important facts in connection with the ministry as far as the first five or six centuries of our era are concerned. About the facts of his life 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 advanced, as to the institution of the ministry by our Lord, and its development in subsequent ages. But a discussion of these theories is not part of the design of the article.

1. 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 § 5). The qualification of an apostle seems originally to have been that he should have seen our Lord, and have been his 'witness' ( Acts 22:30, Ac 1:5). 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 'accompanied' with [the Eleven] all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among 'or 'ever,' cried them, 'beginning from the baptism to that day, and he was received up from 'or 'ever,' that he might become a witness with them of Jesus' resurrection (Ac 13:22). St. Paul received his qualification, though in a different way, as his conversion (cf. Gal 1:1, An apostle, not from men, but by Christ Jesus, and God the Father). That St. Barnabas and the others mentioned below (§ 2) had seen Christ is not stated, but is quite probable. Hesychius says (Eus. HE ii. 1) that Barnabas was one of the Seventy. This qualification may have been waived in the sub-apostolic period.

Hort (Christian Ecclesiæ, p. 28) thinks that the word 'apostle,' which 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 19:12, Lk 22:30) were indications of the extended signification of the name which we find in Acts. It is clear, however, from Lk 1:1 (where the heading is Mk 3:14) that Mk 3:14 is a later addition that He intended more than a mere mission to the villages by the designation appears almost certain from such passages as Lk 22:34, where He speaks of commission for future service, I Cor. 4:9). 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 (Acts 11:28); those at Antioch, 'prophets and teachers,' including Peter, those at Antioch, 'prophets and teachers,' including Peter,
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Barnabas and Saul, also Symeon Niger, Lucas of Cyrene, and Manaen (Ac 13: 19); Judas and Silas (19); and an untrusted name of 1 Cor 12: 26 (see § 2), below which are mentioned as a class in Eph 5: 21 (see § 2), possibly in 1 Th 2: 21; also in Rev 2: 20. They are coupled in Eph. and Rev. with apostles. They are described as receiving revelations (1 Co 14: 21). Christian prophets and also mentioned (Ac 21, Philip's daughter). But it may be doubt if prophets 'ought to be described as a class of the ordinary Christian ministry. Their office was purely charismatic (see below, § 3). It is otherwise with 'evangelists.' These are mentioned in Ac 2: (Philipp, Eph 4: 11 (see below, § 2), 2 Ti 4: 5 (Timothy). This name would seem to be given to those who, though not apostles, because they had not the qualification stated above, yet were itinerant officials and not of the local ministry. Euzebius (HE iii. 37) gives the name to those who 'occupied the first place among the successors' (διαδοχις) of the apostles and were itinerant preachers of the gospel. But they had only laid foundations of the faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors (προστάτευτες) and then went on to other countries and nations. A few lines later he talks of 'pastors or evangelists,' (τιμιφλοφόροι) seems to mean by the former the local, by the latter the itinerant, ministry.

Apostles and prophets are also mentioned in the Didache (§ 10-16), a manual probably of the beginning of the 2nd century. These were normally itinerant officials, and were perhaps identical in the Didache (§ 11). The value of this evidence is discounted by J. A. Robinson (JThSt xiii. [1912] 383), who thinks that the writer does not describe the conditions of his own day, but those of the early church. The theory, however, is very doubtful (for Robinson's earlier view see his Com. on Ephesians 2, London, 1904, p. 96, n.).

The function of the itinerant ministry was evangelistic (cf. 1 Th 2: 7. 1 Ti 1: 27). The itinerants might settle for a time at a place, as Timothy settled at Ephesus, Titus in 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.).

II. THE LOCAL MINISTRY. Under this heading are included in the NT the 'apostles,' the 'presbyters,' and the 'deacons.' For other names of these officials see § 2. The functions of the local ministers were administrative and pastoral. Thus baptism seems to have been especially entrusted to it (cf. 1 Co 14: 14, and perhaps Ac 19: 7). In the beautiful story of St. John and the young robber related by Clement of Alexandria (Quis dixit, 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 (Ac 16: 4, cf. 1 Ti 9: 1), in Cepheus (Tit 1: 2). So St. Peter, writing to the churches in most of the provinces of Asia Minor, uses the participle ἐγκαθίστασις, 'exercising the bishop's office' (1 P 5: 2). That the 'bishops' are the same as 'presbyters' in the Apostolic Age seems to follow from a comparison of Ac 20: 23 with 20: 29, where the same individuals are called by both titles; and of 1 Ti 5: 21 with 5: 22-23, the first of which passages describes the qualifications of 'bishops,' the second of which gives regulations for 'presbyters' as for those who have already been mentioned in the Epistle; and of Tit 1: 8 with 7: 1 (appoint presbyters in every city ... for the bishop must be blameless). From the use by St. Peter of exorcism when speaking of presbyters (see above, and 1 P 5: 1). The same thing is apparently found in Clement of Rome (Cor. 42, 44), where the local ministers are called 'bishops and deacons,' and yet they are spoken of, and their 'episcopate' (ἐπισκοπή). 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 also (§ 15) the local ministry is called the 'presbyters' and the 'bishops.' Perhaps 'presbyters' expressed the rank, and 'bishop' the function.

Hort (pp. 84, 85, 189-212) 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 20: 28 and deduces the conclusion that the same holds good in Phil, where ἐορθοδοξος and διδακτεος have a similar sense. He does not deny that those who have become the name of the officers before the Pastoral Epistles were written, but he thinks 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 have used it for members of a corporation, and the same thing appears from the papyri. A. Deissmann thinks (Bible Studies, Eng. tr., London, 1901, p. 154 f.) that the Christians of Asia Minor may have adopted the term, not from the Jews, but from the Greeks. In Egypt, as Deissmann shows (p. 233), pagan priests were called 'presbyters.' It may be added that inscriptions also prove that the title ἐπισκοπή was used for certain officials in Greek-speaking countries of bishops and deacons.

Thus Irenaeus (Herm. iv. 2, referring to Ac 20: 32, speaks of St. Paul meeting at Mileteus bishops and presbyters from Ephesus and the other cities; and the last few words are no doubt due to the plural 'bishops,' as to Irenaeus the idea of more than one bishop (in the sense in which the word was used in his day) in any city would be quite foreign. Clement of Alexandria, at the end of the century, was also ignorant of the identity; he speaks (Ped. iii. xii. 97) of commands in Holy Scripture given to presbyters, bishops, deacons, widows (in that order), as to distinct persons. In Quis dixit, 42, he speaks of a single 'bishop' in one of the cities of Asia in St. John's time; this is doubtless historically correct, yet we may notice that a few lines later he calls the bishop 'the presbyter.' This is an instance of that fluidity of phraseology which we shall have occasion to notice below (§ 41). The other Fathers had learnt that the bishops and presbyters of the NT were the same persons (see references in Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 96 f.).

(c) Deacons.—These ministers are mentioned in the NT in Phil 1, 1 Ti 3: 8, 12-15, only. They are not found in the Epistle to Titus. They are also mentioned, together with 'bishops,' in Clement of Rome and the Didache (as above). The usual view has been that they represented the local church's appointment is recorded in Ac 6. Others think
in the NT inferior to the 'bishops and deacons.' Interpreters are mentioned in 1 Co 14:19, for those who speak with tongues (cf. 1Co 13). But there is no indication that an ecclesiastical office is intended.

2. Fluidity of phraseology.—It is important to remember that the names of certain offices were not stereotyped in the Apostolic Age. Many theories have been erroneously built on the supposed identity of offices in different centuries, because of the identity of names. In the earliest age the names of the orders of the ministry are in a fluid condition, even if the functions and duties of the offices were fixed, which is doubtful.

(a) The name ‘apostate.’—This is used in the NT of the Twelve (see above, § 1). It is also used of certain other persons who had no authority with the Twelve in the early Church—Paul, Barnabas, probably James the Lord’s brother (see Lightfoot, Galatians; pp. 84, 96; cf. 1Co 15), probably also Andronicus, Junias, who were ‘of note among the apostles’ (Ro 16); but some think that the latter was the name of a woman, perhaps Silvanus, who was associated with St. Paul in writing to the Thessalonians (1 Th 2); cf. 1Co. Timothy might have had a name the same designation but that he is excluded from it by 2Co 1, Col 1, doubtless because he had not seen Christ (see § 1). The name is also used in the NT of messengers simply (2Co 8:19, Ph 2:2), and of our Lord Himself (He 3:1; cf. 7:1). In the Syriac-speaking churches it was given to any missionary; and so the Greek-speaking Irenaeus says (Hær. II. 21. 1): ‘After the twelve apostles, and our Lord, we must have sent forth seventy others.’ Tertullian (Adv. Marc. iv. 24) gives the Seventy as well as to the Twelve (‘he chose also seventy other apostles besides the twelve’). Note that St. Luke (10:1), in describing the appointment of the Seventy, says that Jesus ‘sent them forth’ (ἀπεστάλει), whereas the name ‘apostate’ comes at once. It means ‘one commissioned.’ Certain persons, called ‘false apostles,’ arrogated the name to themselves (2Co 11:1, Rev 2:2).

(b) The names ‘bishop’ and ‘junior’—We have already seen that the name ‘bishop’ was used in the 1st cent. in a sense different from that which it afterwards acquired. And we may notice how fluid the phraseology with regard to both ‘bishop’ and ‘presbyter.’ Our Lord called a ‘bishop’ in 1 P 2:21; St. Peter a ‘presbyter’ in 1 P 5:2 (ὑπερεπίσκοπος), St. John in 2 Jn 5, 3 Jn 1. In the 2nd cent. the term ‘presbyters’ came to be used somewhat as we use the term ‘the Fathers.’ We may also notice how much of the change from ‘presbyter’ to ‘old man’; so much so that it is not always easy to determine in any given passage which translation ought to be taken. In 1 P 5:9 St. Peter, who has been addressing the presbyters, suddenly says: ‘Likewise, ye younger, [men], be subject to the elder’ (ὑπερεπίσκοποι Κλέμεντος). Clement of Rome (Cor. 1) says: ‘Submitting yourselves to your rulers (ὑπερεπίσκοποι), and rendering to the presbyters (Lighfoot; ‘older men’) among you honour, etc.; and so in § 21.

A little later Polycarp, after saying that ‘the young men must be blameless, goes on to exhort the Philippian to submit themselves to the presbyters and deacons’ (Phil. 5). The association of the presbyterate and old age survived for a long time. It is found in the Apostolic Church Order (Bohairic version), where it is said that presbyters should live ‘after the manner of old men’ (§ 18: H. Tattam, Adept. Const. in Coptic, London, 1848, n. 30). The ordination prayer of a presbyter in the Testament of Our Lord (c. 150?) speaks by a paronomasia of ‘the Spirit (masc.) of the presbyterate who does not grow old’ (1. 30). Pseudo-Pionius (4th cent.) in the Life of Polycarp (§ 17: Lightfoot, Adept.

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, in a real sense, 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 12:2, Peter bids those who are assembled in Mary’s house tell of his escape ‘unto James the brethren’. In 15:12, James presides over, or at least takes a large part in, the apostolic council, and gives the decision, i.e. interprets the evident sense of the assembly. In 21:18 Paul and his companions visit him assembled with the presbyters in a formal meeting. In Gal 1:19 he is, perhaps, called an apostle: ‘... and Cephas and James and John are...’; he and Cephas are visited by Paul at Jerusalem. In 2 Cor 11 he is named before Cephas and John, and the three are ‘reputed to be pillars. In 2Th 3:1 the Jewish Christians who came from Jerusalem to Antichrist are said to come ‘from James.’ Of the Patriarchs and Prophets the earliest to bear witness to St. James’s position in Jerusalem is Hegesippus, known as the father of Church history (c. A.D. 160). He says that ‘JAMES, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the apostles’ (Eus. HE ii. 23). He describes the appointment of Symeon, a cousin of the Lord, as ‘the next bishop’ (iv. 22). So Eusebius, who depends on Hegesippus (iii. 11) that the apostles were succeeded by Symeon, is to be worthy of the throne of that diocese (προσωπος), and (iii. 32) that Symeon was the second Bishop of the Church of Jerusalem; in the former passage he says there was a second Apostolic Council on the occasion of Symeon’s election. The last statement is very doubtful; but the tradition probably gave rise to the detailed pseudopigraphia of the Church Orders, which assign all sorts of diocesan authority 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):

‘Peter, James, and John, after the ascension of our Saviour, as it also preferred by our Lord, strewed 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 Paul and Barnabas 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 1Co 15:24. 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 central theme in the ‘Clementine literature,’ but the date of these works is uncertain.

iv. ANGELS IN THE APOCALYPSE.—The ‘angels’ in Rev 19:1-32 have been taken by some to be the chief ministers of the Church in the province of Asia. But this interpretation is so doubtful that no argument can be built upon it.

v. There is no certain trace of any local officials
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Patriarchs, pt. ii., Ignatius and Polycarp,' iii. 447 f.) unhistorically makes Polycarp to be an old man before he is ordained presbyter. So perhaps Hermas, Vis. ii. 4 (2nd cent.), where the presbyters are the official of the æmperor's aged women, who is interpreted as the Church. Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. xiii. 11, 4th cent.) speaks of the presbyters being 'honoured for years and wisdom.'

(1) The word 'deacon.'—In addition to the use of the word διάκονον in the non-eclesiastical sense of a 'servant,' as in Mt. 20: 26, Jn 2: 5, and elsewhere in the Gospels, and (metaphorically of a ruler as God's servant) in Ro 15: 1, or of a 'follower' (of Christ) in Jn 1: 28, we have it used frequently of others than the ordinary 'deacons.' Our Lord is called a 'deacon' in Ro 15: 1 ('deacon of the circumcision'); St. Paul in Col 1: 28; 2 Co 8: 6 (pl.), Eph 3: 1, Col 3: 2 (also Apollos); Timothy in 1 Th 3: 8 (Westcott-Hort's text), 1 Ti 4: 2 (cf. the technical use of διάκονον in 3: 8); Epaphras in Col 1: 7; Jewish Christians in 2 Co 11: 6. Satan's 'deacons' are mentioned in 2 Co 11: 14. This fluidity of expression would be realized by the ordinary English reader if the translator translated 'deacon' instead of 'minister' were adopted throughout, and if it were borne in mind how often διάκονος and διάκονεσ are used in the NT, always in the non-technical sense of 'service' and 'to do service'.

(2) St. Paul's list of the ministry shows a great fluidity of nomenclature. But they do not give technical names to the various classes of the ministry. In 1 Co 12: 8 we have: apostles, prophets, teachers, powers, charismata of healings, helpings, governments, kinds of tongues. These cannot all be offices; some are (as we see from v. 29) purely charismatic, namely powers (working of miracles), healings, tongues, helpings, etc. Of the last two are explicitly enumerated, but only the different kinds of work done in the Christian Church. On the other hand, offices of the ministry are enumerated in Eph 4: 11, where we have apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers (the last two are one class). These offices are said to be 'for the perfecting of the saints unto the work of ministry,' i.e., to equip the members of the body for the function of service to the whole (Rom 15: 16 f.; cf. the RV insert 'the peccata atonitas' in 1 Co 1: 29). Hence in the NT we cannot look for technical designations, but rather for a description of the work done by different officials. The pastors and teachers appear to be the local ministry. In Ro 12: 7-8, we have the abstract charismata or gifts: prophecy, ministry (πραγματεία), teaching, exhortation, giving (δόμος), ruling, showing mercy. In 1 Th 5: 22 we have leaders (πραγματεύομαι); cf. 1 Ti 3: 2, 5, 12, where this word is used of 'bishops' and 'deacons.'

(3) Fluidity of 'hieratic' language.—In the NT and the sub-apostolic writers the word ἵππος is not used of a Christian minister, though Christians as a body are called 'a priest and a king' (Rev 1: 6); 'priests and kings' (Rev 1: 5, 6); and 'priests of the most high' (Rev 5: 5, 9), just as Israel had been 'priests' (Ex 19: 6). Our Lord Himself is called 'a priest' or 'high priest' (ἐπίσκοπος) in He 5: 5-6, 9, 20, etc. Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Irenaeus do not use 'hieratic' language of the Christian ministry, but the Didache says of the Christian prophets: they are your

1 The word 'pastor' or 'shepherd' ('εγκατάστασις) is used of our Lord in Ac 8: 15 (cf. 1 P 5: 2, Jn 10: 16). It was often applied to bishops by later writers (e.g., Apos. Const. ii. 1). The verb εναποτάσσω is used of the Christian ministry in Jn 20: 22, and belonged to one of the highest 'prophets' and 'teachers' are joined together (cf. 1 Co 12: 28).

2 The meaning is not clear (§ 13). Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, c. A.D. 190, says (quoted by Eus. HE v. 24) that St. John was a priest, wearing the mitre (or 'golden plate,' χειροτονία), 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 as 'high-priest' (summnus sacerdos, de bapt. 17), and, in reference to the Christian ministry, speaks of 'functions of priesthood' (sacerdotialis munera, de Prescr. 41). Hippolytus, early in the 3rd cent., uses similar language (Hier. i. prof.): 'We being their [the apostles'] successors and participants 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 Conc. 1905, i. 102), and says that the Jewish priests and levites now correspond to the deacons, presbyters, widows, and orphans. The names 'high-priest' for the bishop, and 'priest' and 'levites' for the presbyters and deacons respectively are used from the 4th cent. onwards, and are often found in the Church Orders (for references see Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 67, n.). In the ordination prayer for a presbyter in the Apos. Const. viii. 16 (c. A.D. 375) and in the order known as Constitutions through Hippolytus, § 4 (Funk, ii. 80), his functions are called ἱερέα, 'priestly duties.' Of other 4th cent. writers we may take as an example Ephraem, who uses ἱερέα for a Christian priest (Ep. 21, and whose 'priesthood' (ἱερότητα) includes subdeacons, but not readers (ib.). Jerome calls his famous treatise on the ministry Concerning priesthood (De hier. i. 15, and in the Apos. Canons, 63 (c. A.D. 400), the minor orders are included among the 'hieratics.' In the Syrian-speaking Churches the word κάθησθαι (which is the translation of ἱερότητα) is used for all orders of the ministry.

The use of this language does not mean that a new conception of the ministry was introduced by those 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. For example, Barnabas was a levite (Ac 4: 36), and could not well have been a 'priest without considerable confusion. When 'hieratic' language was first used in the 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 uncharismatic, and some as uncharismatic. The use of 'hieratic' language meant that the writers who employed it ascribed to Christian officials 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 ἐρωτονόμος ('gifts') in 1 Co 12: 1 or simply ἐρωτονόμος ('spiritual things') in 12: 14; but it is conveniently used for those who had 'extraordinary' charisms. Yet as between the 'charismatic' and the official ministry. As long as extraordinary charismata continued, the two went on side by side. Yet the same person might be of
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both ministries; thus St. Paul was an apostle, and yet spoke with tongues more than all (1 Co 14:4). The charismata enumerated in 1 Co 12:8-10 include wisdom, knowledge, faith, healings, miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues. Of these probably the most prominent was prophecy. For the passages in which Christian prophets are mentioned see § 1, above. The Christian, however, do not imply that Agabus, Judas, Silas, and others held the same office in the Church as 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 14:37). Thus those whom we should call 'laymen,' as not being of the official ministry, spoke in the Christian assemblies (ib.). But women were not allowed to do so (v. 4), though they might be propheticesses (Ac 21:9). In 1 Co 14 the charismata 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., is renowned for his prophetical gift (Eus. HE iii. 37). Polycarp is called in a 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) was widely received as a 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 those expected by the bishops, presbyters, widows, and by the Christians (i. 21, 22, 29, 31, 40); gifts of healing or of knowledge 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 (ib.). See also below, §§ 6-8.

The term 'charismatic ministry' is capable of being misunderstood, as if the official ministry was 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 4:4). 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 may see, 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 fully established. We may here make an endeavour to collect the facts with regard to the diocesan episcopate, postponing a statement of the theories that have been advanced as to its origin. The phrase 'diocesan episcopate' is perhaps the best that we can use, as it begets no question as to the relation of the bishop to the presbyters; 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 dives, 42) states that John 'after the tyrant's death' 'returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos,' and 'went away, being invited to the contiguous territories of the nations, here 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. Mar. iv. 5) that 'the order of the bishops' (of the Seven Churches of Asia, or of all the Churches of the province) 'when traced up to their origin' rests 'on John as their author.' And the Muratorian Fragment (c. A.D. 180?) says that John was exhorted by his fellow-disciples and bishops '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 (c. A.D. 95) likewise omits all reference 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 this hypothesis cannot be proved, and the deduction has already been made that the diocesan episcopate was not established in these two places so soon as elsewhere. The position at Rome at the end of the 1st cent. has been regarded as doubtful. Clement writes in the name of his Church 'we cannot tell where he succeeded,' but he does not call himself his 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 the establishment of the first place in it. Thus Irenæus makes Clement the third bishop of Rome in the list which he gives of bishops of that city up to his own time (Hær. III. 27). He says that Linus, the first bishop, received the office from the apostle and from St. Paul, and that Anacletus succeeded him, and was in turn succeeded by Clement. Before Irenæus, 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. Fathers, pt. i., 'Clement,' i. 154). The alternative (rejected by Lightfoot but accepted by Harnack) of διαδοχή for διαδοχή is a conjecture based on the loose paraphrase of Rufinus. But, as Hegesippus's list is not extant, we cannot tell where it began. We notice that Ignatius, in writing to Rome, mentions no bishop there, and that, as G. Salmon remarks (Intro. to the NT*, London, 1892, p. 319, n. 4), all through the first two centuries the importance of the bishop of Rome in the importance of his Church. Dionysius of Corinth (c. A.D. 170) writes to the Churches 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 the 'bishops' of the NT were the same as the presbyters. It is therefore unnecessary to carry further an investigation into the spread of the system in the 2nd cent. (for detailed information reference may be made to Lightfoot, 'Discertation,' in his Philippians). But it is desirable to refer to the conception of the episcopate which we find in the works of Clement, bishop of Carthage in the middle of the 3rd century. Ignatius and Irenæus had described the bishop as a centre of unity, and Cyprian emphasizes this still more in his treatise Triune Ecclesia and in his Epistles. In this connexion he dwells strongly on the sin of schism from the visible unity symbolized and guarded by the bishop. It has been suggested (see below, §§ 6-8) that he has all reference to the election of the bishops by the people (see art. LATTY, §§ 4). There is no real foundation for Hatch's view, from which his German translator Harnack dissents, that the rule that there should be only one bishop in each community was not fully
established before Cyprian’s time, and was due to his dispute with Novatian (Organization of the Early Christian Church, p. 103); for an account of Cyprian’s view of the ministry reference may be made to his letter to Corell. (Church of the Ministry,” pp. 151-156, with his quotations in the footnotes).

It would seem that at the first the primary object of a local ministry was liturgical. Thus the Didache, immediately after mentioning the Sunday gatherings (A point (xyphos or dodek.) for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons” (§ 15). And so in the succeeding ages 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 “concelebration,” that is, of the newly-ordained presbyters joining aloof with the bishop who has just ordained them, in consecrating the Eucharist. In the early ages consecration (ordination) was deeded to ordination. 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 connection we may notice that the Bishop and the presbyter were the only persons allowed to celebrate the Eucharist (see art. LAITY, § 5 (d)).

The Council of Nicaea enacted that bishops were not to be translated from one see to another (can. 15, 325), but this rule was almost immediately disregarded (see Athanasius, Apol. c. Arian, 25). The Nicene Council applied it also to presbyters and deacons.

Presbyters.—In early Christian literature the presbyters are frequently recognized as the councilors of the bishop. Ignatius, who says that the presbytery is attuned to the bishop as strings to a lyre (Eph. 4), bids the Bishop and presbytery (Eph. 2, 20, Trall. 13), and do nothing without them (Magn. 7, Trall. 21f., 7); he speaks of “the bishop presiding (συμβασιδόρων) after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the fashion of the apostles” (Magn. 6); in Smyrn. 8, the bishop is compared to our Lord, and the presbyters to the apostles (cf. Magn. 13): “with your revered bishop and with the fitly-wreathed spiritual ciret of your presbytery, with the honor of the bishop, let us walk after God.” In the same way, more than a century later, Cyprian says (Ep. 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 (consensus; see art. LAITY, § 3) of the people. The presbyters are here recognized as councilors of the bishop in a higher sense than the laity. This is not quite the same position as in Ep. xxi. (xxxii.) 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 quis qua public intention of a presbytery or ordination. Origen likewise compares the ‘councillors’ and ‘rulers’ of the Church with those of the city, clearly meaning the presbyters and the bishop (c. Cels. X, 56: “a similar state of things is seen in the Old Testament” (i. 28, 3rd cent.; Funk, i. 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 censors’ of the Church”). The “Church and the Ministry” (i. 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 *Apost. Ch. Ord.* (c. A.D. 300); for the Syriac text and tr. see *JThK* iii. [1911] 50; the presbyters are appointed by the bishop, and sit on either side of him, 'above 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 Didache* (c. i. 158), the *Apost. Const.* (ii. 57), and the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 19) the same arrangement is found. In the last-mentioned manual the more exalted and honoured presbyters, who 'labour in the word,' sit on the right, and 'those of middle age' (i.e. the younger ones; see above, § 2 (b) 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 century the *Apost. Const.* thus sum up the functions of bishops and presbyters (viii. 29):

'The bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing; he lays on hands (ἐκατερον), ordains (ἐνθρονεῖται); he offers (ἱερά ἐκαθορίζει) the Eucharist, receives a blessing from bishops but not from all presbyters; the bishop exercises discipline (ἐκάθυλοω) over every presbyter who deserves to be corrected; he cannot 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 fellow-presbyter; he says 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 ἐκατερον,2 blessing and ordaining being mentioned as different actions. Ordinarily the presbyter has baptized, and brings the candidate 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 presbyter has 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 Decentius* (§ 3; A.D. 416) says that 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 receive penitent heretics, marking them with deacons who walk after God. The same way, more than a century later, Cyprian says (Ep. 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 (consensus; see art. LAITY, § 3) of the people. The presbyters are here recognized as councilors of the bishop in a higher sense than the laity. This is not quite the same position as in Ep. xxi. (xxxii.) 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 quis qua public intention of a presbytery or ordination. Origen likewise compares the ‘councillors’ and ‘rulers’ of the Church with those of the city, clearly meaning the presbyters and the bishop (c. Cels. X, 56: “a similar state of things is seen in the Old Testament” (i. 28, 3rd cent.; Funk, i. 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 censors’ of the Church”). The “Church and the Ministry” (i. 28) use nearly the same language.

1 One good MS reads: ‘ordains, does not lay on hands.’

2 It has, however, been interpreted of the absolution of penitents. C. H. Turner (*JThK* vi. [1915] 51), who adopts the alternative reading, correctly states this, and considers the custom of the presbyters laying on hands at the ordination of a presbyter. Against this, however, is the fact that in the *Apost. Const.* that custom is not mentioned, and is perhaps negativized (see below, § 8 (5)).
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tion," p. 231) makes the surely strange error of suppos-
ing that this 'consignatio' means 'ordination.' 1
There are traces in our period of a very close con-
nection between the bishop and the presbyter. Thus in
the Canons of Hippolytus, which in their present form
are perhaps of the 4th cent., but which adhere very
closely to their 3rd cent. source, we read that a
bishop and a presbyter are ordained with the same
sacramentum ('ordinatio'), i.e. to the diakonia (can.
in the Egyptian Church Order (§ 32) there is only one
ordination prayer for bishop and presbyter. The
later Church Orders have separate prayers.

A bishop is still called a 'presbyter' in the 2nd and
later centuries (see, e.g., Iren. Her. iii. ii. 2, 'su-
cessions of presbyters,' which in iii. 2 he explains as
'successions of bishops'). In his letter to Victor
Irenæus speaks of 'the presbyters before Soter
who presided over the Church which thou rulest.'
(Eus. HE v. 25). Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria
(c. A.D. 258), speaks of 'my fellow-presbyter
Maximus' (Eus. vii. 11). For Clement of Alex-
andria, see below, § 1 (b), and for Firmilian see
below, § 8 (a).

c. Deacon.--This was a numerous and import-
ant order in all the early ages. The deacon's func-
tions are summarized by the author of the
Apost. Const. (vii. 28), by saying that he does not
baptize or offer (the Eucharist), but that, when
a bishop or presbyter has offered, he gives the
sacrament to the people, not as a priest (episkopos)
but as one who ministers to the priests. He is described
in the liturgy as the 'servant of the Eucharist,
assisting at the Eucharist, and especially as saying
the short exhortations and the ectype, or litany
(see, e.g., the liturgies in the Test. of Our Lord
and in the Apost. Const.) he helps in the ordination
service (Test. i. 34; Older Didasc. ii. 57, etc.);
he assists at baptism in all the Church Orders which
describe the rite; in some authorities he is allowed
to baptize in the absence of bishop and presbyter
(see, e.g., in the later Latin liturgies, § 51); he
assists at the distribution of the Eucharist (Sorozem,
HE vii. 19); Test. i. 27), as at this day in the West;
he administers the eucharistic gifts in Justin Martyr
(Apol. i. 65), and in the Church Orders (for details
see, e.g., the ed. of A. F. Lucke, and E. H. Cubitt,
London, 1892, p. 233; for Apost. Const. see above).
He has many pastoral duties, such as visiting the
sick (Test. i. 34, Apost. Const. ii. 52, 44, iii. 19, Egy.
Ch. Ord. 33), entertaining strangers (Test. i. 34),
arranging for burials 3 (ib. and Eus. vii. 11).
The deacon also attends to the eucharistic offerings

1 The present writer can find no instance of 'consignatio'
or its Greek equivalent ἡγοιμαντία or its substantives, being
applied to ordination. The Greek ἐπίσκοπος 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 it in connection with the Jewish mystery (see also
Lightfoot, Apol. Fathers, pt. i., Clement, i. ii. 226 n.;
Machmer, Apost. Const. Church Order, p. 500). In the
Verona Latin Fragments (ed. Hauler, p. 126) the word is used in
connection with the church, in contradistinction to ordination,
for the part played by the priest in the baptismal ordination
(see below, § 8 (a)). The presbyter at the ordination (ordinatio)
of a presbyter signs (consignavit) with the bishop ordains (episcopal pars),
Ducas (Glossarium Medico et lustrum Latinae, Paris, 1847–
50, Noris, 1855–67) gives no instance of consignatio meaning
'ordination,' and no instance of ἡγοιμαντία used with reference
'to confirmation.' Salier (Thesaurus, 3105) gives one instance from pseudo-
Dionysius Areopagita (Eccles. Mov. v. p. 356 [PG 93 iii. 569] of
epitrepoulos, which he glosses with 'consecrated,' 'baptized.'
2 If it has been suggested that 'the young men' of Acts 19.35
(Acts 8.13) were called deacons (by the Arians and Sapphists who
prototypes of the deacons in this respect. For the episcopi, or
'grave-diggers' (mentioned by Eppianius, Epp. Fis. 21), and
for the deacon (the diciples of the sick) see J. Wordsworth, Min-
istry of Grace, p. 151.) and

is often the almoner of the Church (Older
Didasc. ii. 57; Apost. Const. iii. 19). In some
authorities the bishop and presbyter exercise the
discipline of the laity through the deacons (Test.
iii. 36; Apost. Const. iii. 16; Ethiopic Didasc. § 4).
As time went on, deacons pressed their claims and
relegated several of their lesser functions to the
minor orders. We find several writers using the
terminology of the Syrian, Cyprian (Ep. i. 19; 
'ad Rogatianum'), the Council of Arles
(can. 15; A.D. 314), which says that many deacons
attempted to celebrate the Eucharist, that of
Nicea (can. 18). Likewise, on the Church Orders, the
Test. of Our Lord being a soli-
darity exception in that for manual the
priesthood of both deacons and of 'widows who preside' is
greatly extolled.

Number of the clergy.—Cornelius, bishop of
Rome, writing to Fabian or Fabius, bishop of
Antioch, A.D. 231 (the letter is given by Eus. HE
vi. 43), enumerates the various orders and classes
at Rome as follows: one bishop (about this he is
episcopal), 46 (and. ec. 36) presbyters, 7 deacons,
17 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exerciti, 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. In the Apost. Const. 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 presbyters, 7 deacons, 14 subdeacons,
13 widows who preside (the Greek order is 'doubtless'
άνδρας τινας οἰκονάζουσας).

Seventy was a very ordinary number for the
decans, because of the Seven in Ac 6.
Sozomen says (HE vii. 19) that even in his day
(5th cent.) there were only 7 deacons, 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
decans (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. Eusebius (10th
cent.) describes Alexandria in old days as having
twelve presbyters, but his evidence is quite
untrustworthy (see below, § 8 (d)).

e Age of ordination.—At Neo-Cæsarea it was
enacted (can. 11) that no one was to be ordained
presbyter before he was thirty years of age, because
as our Lord then began to teach at Capernaum, 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. 1); 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
Cyprian (Ep. xxxxii. [xxxii-i.] 1) and Socrates (HE
vii. 41) speak of very young readers. The Gallican
Statutes (c. A.D. 500; see below, § 6 (c)) say that
a bishop must be of 'middle age,' but does not
say what that is (§ 1).

It may be convenient to note here some later rules as to age
of ordination. The Maronite rule is that a presbyter must be
over 30, for the reason stated above (H. Denninger, Ritual Oran-ent-stum, Würzburg, 1838–64, ii. 148), and a deacon must be
over 21 (ib. p. 126). The East Syrian or Chaldean Syriac, or 'Book
of Canon Law' (T' iv. 2), Maclean and W. H. Browne, Cathedrals
of the East, London, 1851, 201), says that readers must not be
ordained till past boyhood, but this instance is very dubious.
Deacons a little later, presbyters about 18, though (ib adds) the
ancient age was 20. The ancient age for deacons is 25, for
presbyters 24, for bishops 30, 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)
Metropolitans.—The name is first found in the 4th cent., before which there is no certain trace of pro-
vincial organisation, the ‘eparchy’ in the Apos.
Ch. Ord. being apparently the civil province. At
Nicaea metropolitans are mentioned by that name
(can. 4, 6), and the word ‘eparchy’ is apparently
used as the title of an ecclesiastical province, though, as the
civil and ecclesiastical provinces coincided, this is
not quite certain. At the Council of Antioch in
Encaenia (A.D. 341) metropolitans are recognized
in effect, though the name is not given to them
(can. 19, 19); the bishop presiding in the metro-
polis’ (i.e. in the civil province of the city). The
phrase used, and the corresponding verb employed is 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 metropolitan in the Church Ordres,
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,
deach, and laity elect, just as they do in Cyprian
(Ep. lxxviii. 11; ‘To the clergy and people in Spain’);
but there is no metropolitan. There is perhaps
just a faint trace of a metropolitan in Apost. Const.
(viii. 4, which speaks of ‘one of the first bishops’
saying the ordination prayer of a bishop; and so in
the Arabic Didasc. (c. A.D. 400); § 36, ‘the first
bishop among them’). But this is all. A rather
stronger trace is to be seen in the Apost. Constit.
can. 35 [also numbered 34 or 33; c. A.D. 400].
After the 4th cent. metropolitans became practi-
cally universal.

Although there was no regular organization of
provinces before the 4th cent., yet bishops of certain
important cities, like Rome, Carthage, Alexandria,
Antioch, wielded great influence over the neigh-
brrowing bishops. We see this in the case of
Cyprian. At Nicaea, the authority of the Church
Orders, and Rome is spoken of as an ancient
and civil province (can. 6). Alexandria is to have, as
before, authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pent-
apolis, i.e. over more than half of the civil province (§1).
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 or
eparchy, and the bishop of that 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, Palmas as the oldest [bishop] presided
(Eus. HE v. 23). Palmas was bishop of Cappadocia
(iv. 23). 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 ‘princes sacer-
dotum’ or ‘summus sacerdos,’ but simply ‘prime
sedis episcopus’ (can. 25). Thus the name ‘metro-
politan’ was apparently not in use in the province
‘Africa’; and Hefele thinks that, except at Carth-
age, the metropolitan rights went to the oldest
bishop of the province, and that the same thing
held good in Spain before Constantine’s time (Hist.
of the Councils, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1872, i. 162).

The Council of Carthage, Cyprian affirms that all bishops are equal. Thus in de
Uniate, 5, he says that the episcopate is one and
that all bishops are full partners in it with joint
and several responsibility; for this is the meaning
of his phrase ‘cuius episcopus, pauperis in solidum pa-
tenet.’ So in Ep. iv. (lii.) 21, ‘ad Antonianum,’
he says that every bishop disposes and directs
his own acts, and will have to give an account of his
purposes to the Lord. Cf. also Epp. iviii. (liii.) 5,
lix. (liv.) 14, both to Cornelius; Cyprian says that
appeals are not to be carried outside the province
in which the question happens.

The custom of giving the pallium to metropo-
litans hardly falls within the limits of this article
(see DCA ii. 1174).

Patriarchs.—The name ‘patriarch’ was proba-
bly borrowed from the Hebrew word (lxvii. 11; 1
Ch 27) it is used for the head of a tribe, and in
24th and some MSS of 9th 23rd for the head of a
village, or subdivision of a tribe. In the NT it is
used of David (Ac 2: 30), the sons of Jacob (7th),
and Abraham (He 7: 4). In the O.T. (e.g. R.
Churton, Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures,
London, 1884) it is used of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,
and others. In the early centuries of our era
there is no Jewish ‘patriarch,’ or representative of the
nation, is several times mentioned—e.g., by Cyril of Jeru-
salem (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. 134?) refers to the Jewish patriarch in his
letter to the consul Servians about religion in
literature we find the term first applied to Chris-
tians non-officially, sometimes loosely defined as
‘equal to a bishop,’ when he says (Ep. clxv.
‘ac Gregy,’ that the deacon Glycerius assumed the
style and name of a patriarch. An example in
Gregory of Nyssa’s General Oration on Meletius,
bishop of Antioch (A.D. 325), who was an
archbishop. The first and last persons to use this
in the church, or in the church, were the
besiege, the title of a patriarch. The growth of
the authority of these sees is shown by the 8th
cent. of Nicene, and the 9th of Constantinople; 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,
whose jurisdiction covered all the eparchies in
the empire, 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.’

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 7th cent. Epiphanius uses the term (Herr.
lix. 3) of Meletius, bishop of the Thebaid, and
Iviii. 1) of the bishop of Alexandria. At Chal-
cedon (A.D. 451) it is applied to the bishops of
Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome (can. 38,
30; the last is not considered to be a canon proper;
see Hefele, iii. 422).

Choreisci.—These ‘country-bishops’ were
assistants to the diocesan bishop for the work
of 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, though Morinus denies it—but in the Syri-
speaking Churches, at a later date, they were often
confused with the episcopatui, or ‘visitors,’ and
were prebendaries. They somewhat resembled the
assistant (‘suffragan’) and coadjutor bishops of the
present day, in that they worked under the direc-
tion of the diocesan bishop, though their
functions were not entirely the same. They are first mentioned at Ancyra (can. 13 [see below, § 8 (b)]; A.D. 314), Neo-Caesarea (can. 14; A.D. 314 or a little later), Nicea (can. 8; A.D. 325). From this time down to Constantine's Hymn to the An-philanthropos (A.D. 341) we may perhaps gather that not all archi-episcopoi were bishops, for it uses the expression "even if they have received consecration as bishops." They are also mentioned by Athanasius (Apoll. c. Arab. 35), But Irenæus, c. cxxxviii. f. e., and other 4th cent. writers. 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 we have, as above (a), these manuals did not come. In the Edessene Canones, i.e., the Syriac Teaching of the Apostles (see Ante-Nic. Chr. Lib., 'Syriac Documents,' p. 42 ff.), 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 mention archi-episcopoi. The 6th cent. 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 are cheap (the authenticity of these canons is disputed).

Among the functions of the archi-episcopoi were the appointment and ordination of minor orders, but not as a rule of deacons and presbyters. To ordain these, he must have the consent of the diocesan bishop who had appointed him (Antioch in Encomium, can. 10). He could also confirm; see the 3rd can. of the Council of Riez or Regiom in Provence (Hefele, iii. 157; A.D. 439). Sochismatic bishops when reconciled were sometimes made archi-episcopoi, as there could not be more than one diocesan bishop in each see (Nicea, can. 3; Socrates, HE i. 9; Riez, can. 3). Lightfoot ('Dissertation,' p. 253, n.) looks upon archi-episcopoi 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 archi-episcopoi existed before the 4th century.

An attempt 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 but it was afterwards to be only periodical (apparently presbyters), while archi-episcopoi 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 archi-episcopoi). But this canons did not put an end to the office. Archi-episcopoi 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 Sunhâdhis (vi. 1) there are three orders of the ministry, each with three subdivisions: the publican in the second order (the presbyterate), the seminarian in the third, and the deacon in the third. These were not, strictly speaking, the same as the three orders in the Church, as the archi-episcopoi were not the same as bishops. The last subdivision is to be identified with the three diocesan clergy. The difference between these two orders is that the bishop ordains all readers, subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters, and the archi-episcopoi ordain only readers and subdeacons. The only difference is that the bishop has the right to ordain all readers, subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters, and the archi-episcopoi have the right to ordain only readers and subdeacons. This is the only difference between the two orders. The archi-episcopoi ordain only readers and subdeacons, while the bishop ordains all readers, subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters.

(c) Archdeacon. Neither the name nor the office of an archdeacon is found before the end of the 4th century. The name is found in the Pilgrim of Silvia ('Ethisia'), which has usually been assigned to that date, though some place it later; but even then it is not the name of a distinct office. Neither the name nor the distinct office is found in the Church Orders, though in the Test. of our Lord the principal deacon has certain duties assigned to him. Some writers at the end of the 8th cent. give the name to the archdeacon, and Augustinianus in his list of Roman officials (above, § 4 (d)). Jerome (Ep. cxvii., 'Ad Evangelum') mentions archdeacons as an order, and after his time they were common in both East and West. In the Ordo Romanus Primus the archdeacon plays a very important part in the eucharistic liturgy at Rome (e.g., §§ 18, 20), and E. G. C. F. Atchley, London, 1905). But this work is probably of the early 7th cent., though found in the Ordo romanus 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 Surasp as archdeacon, and therefore he had not succeeded automatically. There was only one in each diocese in the time of Jerome (loc. cit.). For the later development of this office see D&C i. 136.

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 one, and an influential presbyter is appointed 'arkin,' 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 a ministry of women—widows, presbyters, deaconesses. It must be noted, however, that some of these offices were not always and in all places reckoned as belonging outside the ordinary roll of the clergy.

(a) Readers (λατρινοί, lectores).—This is probably the oldest of the minor orders. In Justin Martyr's description of the Eucharist (Apoll. i. 67; 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. Ch. Ord. (§ 19; c. A.D. 208) he comes before the deacon, and Harnack thinks (Sources of the Apost. Canons, Eng. tr., London, 1885, p. 71 ff.) that his office was at first a charismatic one, and that he was not originally included among the clergy. Stress is laid on the necessity of the reader being learned. He must be 'able to instruct' or 'narrate' (διηγιτός), 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 (§ 10) that, if a bishop does not know letters, at least he is to be meek. The Test. of our Lord also insists that the reader must be learned, and have had much experience (i. 45). Probably, at first, the duty of expounding what he read; but, when he
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was limited to the mere reading of the lections, his position fell, as it did at Rome in the middle of the 3rd century (see above, § 4 (d), where the reading of the classis and the exorcists and doorkeepers, below the acolytes). In the other Church Orders the reader comes, sometimes before, and sometimes after, the subdeacon. In Sarapion's Sacramentary (§ 25; c. A.D. 350) the minor orders are, however, readers, and interpreters. There are indications in some of the authorities that readers were not numerous. The Older Didasc. and the Apost. Const. (i. 28; Funk, i. 1081) suggest that it is probable that a church may not have a reader at all; and in several Church Orders there is an indirect indication that there was only one in each place (Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, pp. 14 f., 57). Readers come below deacons in Tertullian (de Praes. 41). They are frequently mentioned in Cyprian; and they often had the important duty of reading the liturgical gospel at the Eucharist: this they did from a desk, or ambon [Ep. xxxix. [xxxviii.] 4, 'About Celerinus']. In the Dioscurian persecution they had the custody of the Scriptures (J. Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, p. 189).

(b) Subdeacons (εὐθυκέτους, ἐγγράφοι, subdeaconi, ministri).—These officials, whose chief duty was to assist the deacon at the Eucharist and in their other functions, are mentioned in the 3rd cent. by Cornelius at Rome (above, § 4; he speaks of seven) and Cyprian in Africa [Ep. xxxiv. [xxxvii.] 3, 'To the presbyters and deacons': he speaks of two subdeacons by name and a certain subdeacon, and in the Older Didasc. (E. Hauler, Verona Latin Fragment. Leipzig, 1900, p. 40; Funk, i. 116; see below]. In the 4th cent. we find them in Spain at Elvira (can. 30; comp. § 205; no other minor order mentioned in these canons), in Egypt in Sarapion's Sacramentary (§ 25), in the Church Orders (but not in the Apost. Ch. Ord.), at Neocesarea in Cappadocia (can. 19; A.D. 314 or later), at Antioch in Encruxita (can. 10; A.D. 341), at Laodicea (can. 20-22, 25; c. A.D. 380), and in Athanasius (Hist. Arian, ad Monachos, 60; A.D. 355). At Neo-Cesarea and Laodicea, and in the Apost. Const. iii. 11, and elsewhere, the subdeacon is described as a reader or interpreter. 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 an interpolation and long. It occurs both in the Latin and in the Syriac versions. Epiphanius (Hist. viii. 1) says that their functions should be vested in other orders. But such a point is hardly on the Bisaccia where they are mentioned is a point of detail, and both in the Latin and in the Syrian versions. Epiphanius (Hist. viii. 1) says that their functions should be vested in other orders. But such a point is hardly a reasonable one. Cornelius (above, § 204) says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐφεσιαρχοι) 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 (can. xxi. [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; the omission of deacons may be due to clerical error.

(c) Acolytes, or collets (ακολουθοὶ, acolythoi, 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, Ministry of Grace, p. 88) or Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua, a collection of canons which used to be attributed to the so-called 'Fourth Council of Carthage' (can. 6; Hefele, ii. 410; their real date is c. A.D. 360). Acolytes were assistants at the Eucharist, and performed various minor functions in the services. They are found only in the West, where they became very numerous. Cornelius says that there were 42 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 and History of the Apost. Can., p. 90). An acolyte was sent by Cyprian as a messenger (Cyprian, Ep. xii. [xiii.] 3).

(d) Singers (ψαλται, ψαλτηρία, ψαλτηρίου, cantores, psalters, etc.).—In the earlier Church Orders singers are mentioned, but Cyprian, in the Sacramentary (§ 25) mentions them, but Cyprian, in the Apost. Const. (iii. 11, vi. 17; c. A.D. 355), at Laodicea (can. 23), in the Apost. Canons (can. 43 [42], 69 [68]; c. A.D. 400), and in the Arabic translation of the Test. of our Lord (i. 45), which adds a chapter to that manual about their appointment, and reduces the lesser orders in the Test. (see above, § 4) to four subdeacons and readers, three widows and singers; the date of this Arabic translation is unknown. Singers are a separate order also in the Gallican Statutes (can. 10).

(e) Interpreters (εὐξεμεναί, ἐξερευνοῦντες, interpreters).—These are not mentioned in the Church Orders. They naturally took part in all the liturgical ceremonies. Eusebius mentions them in Palestine (Mart. Paulet., longer version, § 1, tr. A.C. McGiffert, p. 342 [Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers]; he says that Procopius was a reader, interpreter, and exorcist. For a more complete account see Sarapion's Sacramentary. The Pilgrimage of Sileia ('Eutheria') we read (vii. 5) that at Jerusalem some spoke Greek only, and some Syriac only, and that, as the bishop, though he knew Syriac, yet spoke only to a presbyter or interpreter, and to the bishop's Greek into Syriac. For I Co 1426 see above, § 1 (e).

(f) Doorkeepers (πύλαρσις, ostiarii).—These are mentioned in Cornelius (loc. cit.), in the Apost. Const. iii. 11, and the Ethiopic Didasc. (§ 10), but not in the other Church Orders, which retain (as indeed do also the Apost. Const., rather inconsistently) the old direction that deacons are to guard the doors. For the devolution of the deacon's functions see above, § 4 (e).

(g) Exorcists (ἐξορκισταί) in the NT, Josephus, and elsewhere, but εὐξεμεναί in Apost. Const. viii. 28, and Epiphanius, Exp. Fed. 21, exorcist).—These were mentioned by Cornelius, as above, and by Tertullian, de Paenit. 41, and Origen (c. Cels. vii. 4). On the other hand, candidates for baptism were exorcized by the bishop before Easter (Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 97; T. Thompson, Offices of Baptism and Confirmation, Cambridge, 1914, p. 23). The Council of Laodicea (can. 26) says that no one may exorcize in churches or houses unless authorized by the bishop. The office of an exorcist was at first entirely charismatic, and he was not originally a member of the clergy (see below, § 8 (g)). We can well understand that unrestrained exorcism became an abuse, and 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 perhaps under both, for r.15 seems to imply ministering. A deaconess, Phoebe, is mentioned in Ro 16, though Hort (Christian Ecclesia, p. 208)
thinks that ἀνδραὶ (fem. is here used in a non-technical sense, and merely means that Phoebe ministered to the needs of the Church. Many think that 'women' in I Ti 3:11 (τρωμαστίκη without article) means deaconesses, but the qualifications for deacons which precede and follow. We also read of Priscia (Priscilla) joining with Aquila in his evangelistic work (Ac 18:2); this was no doubt in private teaching, as St. Paul forbid a woman to teach or to have authority over men (I Ti 2:11). In the Christian literature after the NT we find frequent mention of a ministry by women. In the Apos. Ch. Ord. one of the 'wives' is to visit the sick, while the other two are to pray and receive spiritual revelations (see above, § 2). In the Test. of our Lord the 'widows who preside' (σουκρατία) are an important order; they are also called 'prebysteresses,' as corresponding to prebys- 
eters, 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). With Laodicea prebysteresses (σουκρατία) are identified in the Apos. Ch. Ord. (p. 84), and their appointment for the future seems to be forbidden, though the interpretation is not quite clear. In early times widows or deaconesses were employed especially in the baptism of women. The deaconesses (τρωμαστίκαι) (I Cor. 4:16) actually held the office of Eucharist-bearer (Nicæa, can. 19; Apos. Ch. Ord., viii. 19; Epiphanius, Exp. Fid. 21). For further details see Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 83 f.; J. W. Worworth, 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, deacons, subdeacons, readers, virgins, monks, ascetics, widows, 'those who marry honestly, deaconesses (especially for baptism), exorcists, interpreters, girders (or corporis); see above, § 4 (5), bookkeeper; and he adds: 'synet eis σουκρατίας.'

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' (ἀποστολή τεταρτή) (see § 8 (9)) of I Ti 3:11 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 8 is one of the seven, without authority to lay on hands, but who is called 'the Evangelist,' that is (probably) one of the 'apostolic men' like Timothy and Titus, who, though not apostles, yet shared the apostolic office (above, § 4 (4)). But, at any rate from the 4th cent., perhaps earlier, promotion from the lower to the higher offices became common. These of readers and subdeacons are referred to in the Test. of our Lord (i. 44 f.), Apos. Ch. Ord. (viii. 22, readers), and are implied by Basil (Ep. canon. tert. cer. viii. 30). Cyprian (Ep. xxxix. [xxxii.] 5, 'To the clergy and people') speaks of promoting readers to the prebysterate—this was because they had been confessors (cf. § 7 below). The promotion of deacons is mentioned in the Apos. Ch. Ord. 22 (to the episcopate), Apos. Ch. Ord. viii. 17 f., Eth. Ch. Ord. 24, and probably in the Test. i. 38; explicitly also in the Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africana (can. 31; Hefele, ii. 470.). Polycarp is said by the 4th cent. pseudo-Pionius (see above, § 11 (17)) to have consecrated deacon, presbyter, and bishop (§ 11, 17, 23) and the Council of Sardica (can. 10, if genuine) says that a bishop must have been a reader, deacon, and presbyter, some time before becoming bishop.

Ordinal offices.—It appears from the Church Orders that confessors, i.e. those who had been apprehended in the persecutions and had confessed their religion, but had escaped martyrdom, enjoyed an honorary presbyterate. A confessore (ὑποστολή) had the honour of the presbyterate by his confession (Epiphanius, Ch. Ord. 34; Eth. Ch. Ord. 51). 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 wanted for a bishop, he must receive the laying on of hands. There is no evidence that confessors were ever allowed to minister, or to celebrate the Eucharist, without ordination. Indeed the Canons of Hippolytus (loc. cit.) say that a confessor has not got the form of the presbyterate, but he has obtained its spirit. An honorary presbytery 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 ordained person could not do. In the Test. of our Lord (i. 39) a bishop is said to have been ordained (ἐνδοτήσεται) by another bishop. It is noteworthy, and a sign of the earlier date of the Church Orders above mentioned, that the Apos. Ch. Ord. (viii. 23; c. A.D. 375), while giving honour to confessors, yet repels their undue influence. This would show that a self-appointing confessor is to be cast out; confessors 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 presbytery.

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 becamevacant. Tertullian (adv. Valunt. 4) tells us that Tertullian was indignant, when he expected to become a bishop, because another was preferred before him by reason of a claim which confessor-ship (martorium) had given to him. An honorary bishop who was preferred was made bishop without being ordained. Eusebius (HE v. 28), quoting an unnamned writer, says that Arsenius, mentions a confessor Natalius who was chosen by the heretics as their bishop, apparently because of his confessorship (early 3rd cent.). Hippolytus (Haer. ix. 7) relates how Callistus, having been imprisoned in Sardinia, succeeded Zephyrinus at Rome as bishop. Aquaspsas, a confessor, became bishop of Antioch (HE vi. 11). But these and other instances prove nothing as to confessors becoming bishops without ordination.

3. 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 the rites used in transmitting the ministry see art. ORDIATION.

3 a. In the NT we find, in the case of the Seven (Ac 6:5), that the people 'elect' (v. 3, ἐκλεκτοὶ), but the apostles 'appoint' (v. 3, ἐκποίησεν) and set apart by prayer and imposition of hands (v. 5). In 14 Paul and Barnabas 'ordain' (ἐκποίησεν; v. 29) the presbyters for the people of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, etc. The word used is a general one, and does not necessarily imply the laying on of hands. It is used for election by a show of hands, or (as here) simply for appointing. In the case of the elders (presbyters) at Ephesus, Hirt (Christian Eccles. p. 99) remarks that there is no indication that St. Paul appointed them. Yet the phrase 'the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops' (Ac 20:28) 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 human means; and the analogy of 6:1-24 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 Tt 4 the presbytery are said to have laid hands on Timothy, and in 1 Tt 2 St. Peter speaks to them to have done so. Probably here we have the counterpart of the custom which is found in later ages of the presbyters and bishop joining in the ordination of a presbyter (see below). In 1 Tt 2 St. Timothy lays on hands as though it is doubtful if ordination is here referred to. In 1 Tt 2 Titus’ appoints’ (καταφέρει) presbyters in every city in Crete. We may notice, by way of analogy, the laying on of hands in Ao 8:19, which is not ordination; this is reserved for the apostles in those passages, though ordinarily they did not baptize (8:16-19; 1 Co 14:27).

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, appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons. ... They appointed (καταφερεον) the aforesaid persons [the bishops and deacons], and afterwards, according to (καταφερεον) that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them (the apostles) or other distinguished (ομοορθοι) men, with the consent of the whole Church. ... these men we consider not to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration" (Cor. 45, 44).

Here we have popular election, and "appointment" (καταφερεον; for this word see art. ORDINATION) by "distinguished men," i.e., not by the "bishops and deacons," but by such υἱοὶ ἀποστολικοὶ 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 discrepant trick, three bishops to ordain him (see below (c) and (f)). Firmilian of Capadocia, writing to Cyriacus about the rebaptism of heretics (Cyprian, Ep. lxxv. (lxxvi. 7f.), 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 imposition of hands and of ordaining." Then, referring to St. Paul's having baptized (καταφερεον) 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 (πᾶν πάταξιν καταφερεον). His argument is against admitting heretics without re-baptism, because of St. Paul's action in Ac 10:19; but his words necessarily mean that none in his day but bishops could receive heretics by confirmation. 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, 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 παραβαπτισμον by "maiores natu" and "seniores," not by "bishops." (cf. also § 4 in the same Epistle, "we the presbyters and prelates." We notice here another instance, besides those mentioned above in § 4 (b), of bishops being still called παραβαπτισμον.

At least from the 4th cent. 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 cent., reproduce very faithfully the language of their source, which probably goes back to Hippolytus' time, and may even have had "presiding presbyters." This is a conjecture; the MSI have δικαιολογειστε, ἡσυχαστε, and the Syriac versions apparently read δικαιολογειστε or δικαιολογειστε, but the Eusebian, p. 252 (n) renders "gave and received" returning testimony on the strength of a recently discovered Latin version, which has "legem dederunt." It is not, he says, the power of ordaining that is given to a presbyter, but to a bishop. So in the Council of Alexandria (A.D. 324) to be only a presbyter. We must notice that the refusal to
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recognize Ischyras' ordination was not due to the fact that Colluthus was in schism (as also Melitus was), but to the fact that he was only a presbyter, and therefore could not ordain (on Colluthus see also Epiphanius, Haer. ix. 2).

We may now consider certain possible exceptions to the above-named rule.

(b) The 13th canon of Synaxis (A.D. 314).—This canon, according to Bugge's reading, seems to say that under certain circumstances a presbyter was allowed in Galatia to ordain. It runs thus:

"It is not permitted to c.hriophoroi to ordain prebys and deacons, unless permission be given by the bishops in writing to every (for another) parish." [i.e. diocese].

The words left untranslated are uncertain both as to the reading and as to their signification. The presbyter cannot be adopted by Lightfoot, who translates 'nor even to city presbyters, unless 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 Rahmack read the accusative, and the last writer has even gone into the readings with great care (in Studia Bibl. et Eccles., ii. [Oxford, 1891] 139, 194). This would forbid c.hriophoroi to ordain city-presbyters without such permission, but there is still a doubt as to the meaning of ἀνάμεσα ἐν σπακθέναι. Routh renders 'much less'; Gore 'no, nor'; while Rahmack follows Lightfoot here and translates 'not even'—he takes the middle clause as a parenthesis, and understands the canon to say that c.hriophoroi may not ordain presbyters and deacons in another parish, nor even may 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 the canon itself can safely be left to the reader.

(c) The Canons of Hippolytus say (ii. [ed. Achelis, § 10]) with regard to the ordination of a new bishop that the bishops and presbyters, who lay 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 Canonos says 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 Canonos 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 Canonos (see above, § 4). Yet this explanation does violence to the grammar of the original; for all the verbs are in the singular. Another explanation may therefore be preferred, that μου εν ἑκατον episcopoi et presbyteroi 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 facts of the transmission of the Canonos 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 the peculiarity said to have existed at Alexandria in the earliest ages.

The matter is full of difficulties and may be studied in detail in Lightfoot, Dissertation, p. 230 f., and in JThSt ii. [1901] 612 f. [E. W. Brooks, Turner, iii. [1902] 275 (Gore)]. Jerome says (Ep. cxvi., 'ad Evangelium') that the succession of the See at Alexandria till the middle of the 3rd cent. was determined by elected bishops, and placed them in a higher grade, as if an army were to appoint (faciat) a general, or deacons were to choose from their own body one whom they 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 5th cent. (we have his letter only in a Syrian translation), says that the bishop of Alexandria used in former days to ordain (the Greek verb was doubtless καιρευνομεν) by prebys, but 'afterwards the solemn (or mystical?) institution of their bishops has come to be performed by bishops, deacons and presbyters, so that,' he says, 'the ordination, metaxarabattë, may mean either 'election' or 'ordination' (R. Payne-Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, Oxford, 1879–1901, ii. 2737). Jerome may mean, as some later writers understood him to mean, that the Alexandrian bishop was elected their bishop from their own number, and that no further ordination was necessary; we should thus have, as an exceptional custom, a body of what we may call presbyter-bishops, who had been entrusted with the full powers of the ministry, including the ordination of others, though they delegated the function of ruling to one of their number. Or the meaning may be that, unlike other presbyters, the presbyters of Alexandria had the right of electing their own bishop without the intervention of the neighbouring bishops.

Confirmation of Jerome's statement has been found in three writers besides Severus. Ambrosiaster's testimony, however, as we have already seen in § 4 (b), is irrelevant. In the apophthegm of the Egyptian monk Poemen (JThSt ii. [1901] 615) it is said that certain heretics accused the archbishop of Alexandria, [presumably Athanasius or his successor] of having his ordination (σενεργος) from prebys. This was in the latter half of the 4th cent., and Jerome distinctly states that the custom which he mentions had ceased a hundred years before. Certainly Athanasius was elected by the people and the bishops, and ordained by the latter (cf. art. LITRIT, § 4). Poemen, in his meekness, made no reply; but, though the accusation was doubtless a pure calumny, it may probably be an echo of some former peculiarity at Alexandria. The third writer is Eutychius, an Abbot 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 that the remaining eleven laid their hands on him, blessed him, and created him patriarch, and that this lasted till the time of Bishop Alexander (A.D. 313–329). Those who are familiar with the late ecclesiastical histories of the Eastern Churches, which are full of fables and inventions, 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 change to have taken place in the time of Origen. Yet Origen, who suffered much from the anteciotic authentism of the bishops of Egypt, and especially of the bishop of Alexandria, and who was promptly to castigate bishops for going beyond their powers, gives no hint that in his own day a great change 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 (JThS ii. 613) seems just, that it becomes harder than ever to discover the history and character of this exceptional system in detail.

(c) Some other exceptions which have been alleged are due to a misapprehension. Thus Phænippus, a presbyter and hermit in the desert in Egypt in the 4th cent., is said by his younger contemporary Cassian, the historian of Oriental hermits (Conferences, i. 1), to have 'promoted' a certain Daniel to the diaconate and presbyterate. The meaning here must certainly be 'to nominate,' as is often the case even with the words 'consecutum': 'vocationem, conscriptam, etc.' We read, e.g., of 'kôanos' 'ordaining' bishops and popes (see Gore, p. 341). To suppose that at the end of the 4th cent. a presbyter in Egypt had been able to promote another bishop on a par with a metropolitan, without attending to the fact that by this statement the bishop of Alexandria (11), but the actual presbyter in Africa in the 3rd cent., appointed (constituit) Feliciilianus deacon (Ep. iii. [viii]. 2) 'and so he made him bishop,' writing at Marseilles in the 4th cent., mentioned it without surprise, would indeed be an anachronism. Another instance is the statement by Cyril of Alexandria that Anostorus (12), the metropolitan bishop of Alexandria, had appointed (constituit) a presbyter in Egypt (Ep. vi. 41) that Novatian had three rustic bishops from a remote part of Italy to come to Rome, and when they were drunk to ordain him to three episcopal orders and rain in blessing. A few lines later on Cyril says that Novatus, who had 'made' (fociert) a deacon, 'made' (novatus) a bishop. But Cornelian tells us (De Aegypt. vi. 4) that Novatian got three rustic bishops from a remote part of Italy to come to Rome, and when and where these bishops ordained him to three episcopal orders, and 'sent' (transmissus) to their colleague at King Oswalt to preach the gospel. Here 'ordinating' an only means 'promoting 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 if in any case it is impossible to believe that Bede, the archbishop of Canterbury, was one of those who was ordained as a true bishop if he had been ordained by presbyters only.

(f) Bishops ordained by not fewer than three bishops. The earliest example of this rule, as a definite enactment, is at the Council of Aries 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. 20). The 4th canon of Nicea says that a bishop is to be appointed (sethira) 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 Apost. Const. (iii. 20) say that a bishop is to be ordained (sethira) by three bishops, or at least by two; it is not to be appointed (sethira) by one; so Apost. Canons, 1, Ethiopian Didasc. § 16. But this rule must have been in force long before the 4th century. Novatian was ordained by 16 bishops (Cyprian, Ep. lv. [lii.] 8, 24, 'de se ordinate'). Novatian was ordained, as we have seen (e), by three; had the rule not been then in force, he would have been content with getting a single bishop to ordain him. Much stress is laid by Athanasius on the number of the part in his own election (see art. LATTY, § 4). At the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) it was proposed that twelve bishops should be the minimum; but this proposal was not carried (Hefele, i. 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).

(g) Appointment of the 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 with and ordination without, laying on of hands. Basil distinguishes the ministers who were ordained without it from those 'in orders' (ἐν βαίνει, Ἐπ. can. tert. κερ. 61). So the Apost. Canons 312 (viii. 312) speak of the χωροφορία βαίνει, meaning 'ordination to the higher ministry.'

In the Test. of our Lord (i. 44 f.), Canons of Hippolytus (vii. [ed. Achill., § 48 f.], Ep. (Or., Or. (Or., Eth.) Od. (Or. (Or.) 27), subdeacon and reader are ordained without imposition of hands; so the reader in the Const. through Hippolytus (13); and the subdeacon in the Gallican Statutes (§ 3), which take the same thing for granted in the case of the ordinary subdeacon, reader, and presbyter, do not authorize the imposition of hands, and one who is ordained it is not for a reader. In many of these manuals persons holding charismatonic orders are not ordained at all. Such are confessors, virgins and ascetics, widows, exorcists. But there are exceptions, in which some of these classes receive an ordination of some sort, though without imposition of hands. In the Test. virgins who 'preside' are ordained (l. 41); in the Canons of Hippolytus (vii. [ed. Achill., § 63 f.]) one who exorcist is ordained, and the Gallican Statutes (§ 7) an exorcist is ordained, and the Gallican Statutes (§ 11) and the 3rd canon of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 399 (Hefele, ii. 398).

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 trends of opinion; the one attempt will be 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 to it 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. Of such a delegation there is no trace in the NT, and the position of the apostles after Pentecost appears to presuppose a commission from our Lord Himself. The ministerial commission, whatever given to the apostles or to the Church as a whole, was not bestowed till after the Resurrection; but our Lord foreknew a time in more than one passage. Whatever be the true exegesis of the promise to St. Peter after his confession of the Christ (Mt 16:18), and of the phrase, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church,' the

1 For βαίνει see 1 Ti 4:13 above, § 6 (c). The word is used in Matt. 28:19 and at the Council of Ephesus (can. 1, A.D. 431) in the sense of the 'position or order of lines, bishops
passage about giving the keys of the kingdom of heaven carries a commission of binding and loosing, i.e. of government. It is not a commission that will last, but a promise that it will begin; and the promise was fulfilled after the Resurrection. The commission is, however, not here promised to the Church as a whole. On the other hand, in Mt 16:19, the Church (συνελήφθη) is spoken of as exercising discipleship, and our Lord then gives (apparently to the Twelve, but this is uncertain) that promise of binding and loosing which had already been given to St. Peter. The supernatural 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 foreseen, parable of Lk 22:25-28. This parable, as F. Godet remarks (Com., Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1887, ii. 108), assumes that the apostolate will be perpetuated till Christ returns, a ministry of the word established by Christ. This, however, demonstrates 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. It may be added that in the parable 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 till 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 Jn 20:21-23, with the gift of the Holy Ghost, gives (συνελήφθης, συνελήφθης without the article) and the power of binding and loosing, was given on the evening of Easter Day, when only ten of the apostles were present, Thomas being absent (v. 25). It was distinctly a ‘mission’: ‘As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you.’ But it is uncertain whether others were present on this occasion besides the Ten. The disciples are mentioned (v. 9), but this occurrence may be considered instances. In the description in Lk 24:27, which seems to refer to the appearance of our Lord, we read of ‘the Eleven and them that were with them.’ The number ‘eleven’ is only a general way of speaking, for Thomas was not present in the 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 (Com.) that others besides the Eleven were then present, because ‘some doubted.’ But this is against the grammar. The ‘some’ must have been certain of the Eleven; nor is it 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 account St. Mark gave of the ministerial commission; but the author of the Appendix certainly conceived the commission as having been given to the Eleven (Mc 16:17).]

The more probable conclusion seems to be that the special ministerial commission was given to the apostles to hand on in perpetuity to succeeding generations, 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 Gore, op. cit., ch. iv. and (in the later editions) note M.

(b) A very different view is taken by Hatch (Organisation of the Early Christian Church) and Hort (The Christian Ecclesiast.). 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 Judea. 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. 231). He doubts also that the Church as the Seven was spoken to them as representing the whole community (p. 321). [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 given the commission as representing the Church. The point in dispute is whether they received a commission from our Lord, and, if so, who the primary authority (p. 292). With regard to the commission in Jn 20, Hort thinks that others besides the apostles were probably present, and that, though the charge was ‘directly and principally’ spoken to the apostles, yet they were spoken to them as representing the whole community (p. 321). [There is no scriptural authority for Hort’s addition of ‘adult male’ to the narrative.]

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 3rd century onwards.

(a) The first view is that the diocesan episcopate is the successor to the apostolate, but modified. The old local ministry was represented by the presbyters and deacons of the later period; and the supervisory ministry of the apostles, which was formerly itinerant, but the bishops who were now settled in one place. In this view the 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 presbytery; 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 features 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 uplifts it.

It is clear that either of these views is compatible with either of those described in § 9. On
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 Mother Church.

Whatever view be taken of the matters touched on in this and the preceding section, 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 covenanted body with a closer relationship to God than the laity, for every Christian holds personal communion with the divine Head of the Church (Lightfoot, pp. 181, 289; Gore, p. 76). All have direct access to God; and the national church does not perform the people's religion instead of them. He represents 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 sacrifice 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 sacrifices are ministered. God is not a mediator between God and the people.


MINOTAUR.—1. The myth. — Minotauros (Μινωταυρος, θαυμωτος and θυμωτος in Minos), is in Greek mythology the offspring of Queen Pasiphae's union with a bull and is represented as a man with a bull's head and tail. As Apollodorus tells the story, her husband, Minos, had become king of Crete through the good will of Poseidon, after telling the people that the gods had chosen him and would grant whatever he 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 Daedalus, who concealed her in a wooden cow. She bore a child, Asterios, surnamed 'the bull of Minos,' who had a bull's head, but was otherwise like a man. Warned by an oracle, Minos imprisoned the monster in the labyrinth built by Daedalus. Moreover, the bull from the sea was made savage by Poseidon, and it was one of the labours of Herakles to capture it and carry it to the Peloponnesse; thence it wandered to Marathon in Attica, and perished by its own pruning. After Minos, having come to Athens and beaten all opponents at the games, King Aegeus challenged him to go forth against the bull, which killed him. Minos, to avenge his son, made war on Athens, an exact figure of what peace that every year (every ninth year, according to Plutarch, Theseaeus, 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 at Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, fell in love with him, and, on his promising to take her to Athens as his wife, contrived with Daedalus that he should escape from the labyrinth, giving him a clue of thread which he was to follow. He escaped by an entrancel. Holding the thread, he penetrated to the Minotaur's lair and slew him with his flute. Then he made his way out and escaped by night with Ariadne and his companions.

Apolloides omits the incident of Minos' ring and Poseidon's recognition of Theseus as his son. 1 The story is further rounded off by Phercykides; 2 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 Heliconic civilization. In the Attic version he is made an intimate lover of Theseus, and Daidalos was almost as much the hero as Theseus. It credits Athens through him with the miracles of Minoan craftsmanship. It emphasizes Minos' terrors of the Minotaur, because Thisbe, the princess Theseus, is to be the instrument of his vengeance. When, outwitted by Theseus, Minos imprisons the other Athenian hero, Daidalos makes himself wings, and his escape is the motive for Minos' futile campaign and ignominious death in Sicily.

The genuine Cretan elements in the rambling composite tale are the sea-born bull, so closely resembling the divine lover of Europa, the Minotaur and 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 the pre-historic and Hellenic Crete was in many respects complete, but the bull makes it probable that the legend of a bull-monster clung to the pre-historic palace at Knossos, and was adopted by the Doric settlers. A. J. Evans, the excavator of the site, has shown how the complex ruined walls, adorned with frescoes of bull lights, in which boys and girls took part, and processions of tribute-bearers, must have helped to shape the story. 4 The name of the labyrinth is explained with the help of ἄγαρ, the Lydian word for 'double-axe,' 5 as meaning 'house of the axe,' a sacred emblem 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. Ἐγεάν, Religious, vol. i. p. 145, fig. 5). The remarkable preservation of the ruins proves that they were respected by the Greek and Roman inhabitants, perhaps as the remains of the labyrinth, which the ancients located at Knossos. Diodorus mentions the foundations of Rhesus' house and a cypress-grove

2. Frag. 106 (Philo. II. 97) 'whored to Od. xx. 289 (Theseus is told how to surround the monster, some of his friends, Minos, coming to Athens and beaten all opponents at the games, King Aegeus challenged him to go forth against the bull, which killed him. Minos, to avenge his son, made war on Athens, an exact figure of what peace that every year (every ninth year, according to Plutarch, Theseus, 14) the Athenians should send seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured by the Minotaur.

1. J.H.S. 7 (1881) 109 ff., B.S.A. xii (1890-91) 293.
2. 8 Plat. Quest. Gr. 302A. A cognate form would be the name of Labradora, the Carian town where an axe-wielding Zeus was worshipped.
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which has been hallowed 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 pre-historic walls in the midst of 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 Christ, mentions the labyrinth as the chief sight of Knossos. Late writers transfer the tradition to the subterranean passages of a quarry above Gortyn and near Knossos, and to other dwellings.

2. The Minotaur in ancient art.—In the Cretan art of the bronze age we meet with a series of hybrid monsters, combining a human body with various animal-heads, which seem to represent demons (cf. Etruscan Religion, vol. I, p. 146); 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-impresion from Knossos which shows a seated monster with calf's head and forelegs and a bearded man standing before it. Bull-headed men appear in the archaic art of Greece and Etruria, and until the reforms of Marius a figure of this kind was regarded as one of the standards of the Roman army. The earliest representation of Theseus and the Minotaur is a small gold plaque from Corinth (Berlin Museum, a.w. 1909, fig. 58). About the middle of the 6th cent. the slaying of the Minotaur appears on black-figure vases, and, according to Pausanias, the Minotaur was twice figured among the mythological groups on the Amycusen throne: (a) bound and dancing by Phaestus; (b) the sacrifice of Heracles by Pherekydes, (b) being slain by him. At first isolated, the killing of the Minotaur is associated later on black-figure and red-figure vases with other deeds of Theseus, a cycle which took shape at the beginning of the 5th cent., and when the hero was exalted into a second Heracles. The Minotaur is drawn as a man with a bull's head and tail; his body is often spotted, brindled, and once sprinkled with stars in allusion to the constellation Argo. It is a dreamlike that of Argo. He is naked and unarmed, but sometimes clothes 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 columns; here we may suspect the influence of stage-representations. Straton, Aristides, and 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. In sculpture we have a metope of the Theseion at Athens, fragments of a group now in the Acropolis (where Pausanias saw and described it), and fragments of two other groups in Rome, all representing the combat.21 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 scene.2

Evans traces the origin of the Cretan type to certain Egyptian cylinders found in the Delta, which influenced Crete ca. 1500 B.C., and to the VIIth dynasty onwards. These in their turn borrowed types from early Babylonian cylinders.3

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 a more or less elaborate swastika, to a developed maze.4 On several vases of the 5th cent. the scene of Theseus's combat with the Minotaur is indicated by a panel of meanders and similar patterns, evidently a conventional representation of the supposed ground-plan.4 The labyrinth, in fact, became assimilated to the mazes which have been familiar in most parts of Europe from antiquity to the present time. Today it is found on several Roman mosaic mazes. Similar pavements were constructed in Christian churches; they are especially common in the cathedrals of N. France—Chartres, Amiens and others; they were known as Donax Deltali or Chemin de Jerusalem, and to

their winding was a recognized form of penance. One may still see them. These was a maze 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 islanders in imitation of the windings of the labyrinth.5

4. Explanations of the myth.—(a) Rationalistic.

According to Philochoros, the Minotaur was a general named Taurus whom Theseus defeated at an athletic meeting in honour of the tribute-children who 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, who assumed that the quarry near Gortyna was the labyrinth, explained its narrow entrances as a device for guarding prisoners made to work in its galleries, and supposed that this gave rise to the story of the tribute-children. (b) The Minotaur as an old bull-god.—W. H. Roscher equated Minotaur = Cretan bull = Minos. E. Bethe has argued that Minos, son of the bull-Zeus and husband of Pasiphae, who bears a bull's head, was originally the bull-god himself. The story of Theseus and the Minotaur is a double of the stories of Herakles vanishing the Cretan bull and Theseus capturing the bull of Marathon; in each case the story is allegorical and represents


4) Illustrated by P. Wolters, in SM, 1907, p. 125 ff., plates I-XII.

5) For the literature see J. G. Frazer, GPR, pt. III, The Dying God, London, 1911, p. 76 ff.; and Cook, I. 494-499. Evans found vase-painters' patterns on wall-paintings of Minos; in his forthcoming Nine Minoan Periods he derives the labyrinth-pattern in Crete, through the simple key-pattern, from the Egyptian sign for the palace in its court, which is figured in the centre of the Minos system of hieroglyphs.

6) Plut. Thes. 11. Lucian, de Salt. 49, mentions the 'labyrinth' in a list of Cretan dances.

7) Quoted by Flot. Thea. 16.

8) Roscher, a. v. 'Labyrinthos.'


the overthrow of Cretan rule. Heraclides, who goes to Crete to capture the bull, stands for the Dorian colonists; Theseus, who overcomes the same bull in Attica, delivers the country from a Cretan conqueror. J. E. Harrison argued in a paper read before the Hellenic Society in 1914 that the slaying of the Minotaur, son of the sea-born bull, expresses the downfall of Cretan sea-power; the Minotaur was the point de repère round which ultimately crystallised the complex figure of Poseidon. 

(c) The solar interpretation. — Pasiphaë's name connects her with the moon; her bull is often held to be the sun. Two recent writers have seen in the Minotaur a human actor impersonating the sun-god. J. G. Frazer maintains "that Croussus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god," and suggests that Ariadne's dance, the track of which was the labyrinth, may have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky. A. B. Cook, after showing that in Cretan myth the bull is exactly a bull and that the labyrinth was "an orchestra of solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance," goes on to suggest that the dancer who impersonated the sun masqueraded in the labyrinth as a bull — the Minotaur, fact, was the Cnossian Prince wearing a bull-mask, a piece of ritual borrowed perhaps from Egypt.

(d) The suspicion 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 saw in the story another version of Kronos devouring his children; Kronos was banished by Zeus to the under world, the Minotaur by Minos in the labyrinth. There was a tradition that in old days in Crete the Kouretes had offered human sacrifices to Kronos, and the "feast of raw flesh" which Euripides mentions in the famous chorus from his tragedy The Cretans, as part of the initiation of the service to Idain Zeus, was open to a similar suspicion; in a recently discovered fragment of this play Pasiphaë taunts her husband in terms which leave no doubt as to the charge. Euripides probably had in mind the Cretan mysteries in which the votaries tore with their teeth a living bull in commemoration of the eating of the boy Zagreus by the Titans. But these mysteries stand in no direct relation, so far as we know, to the subterranean Minoan religion; they explain the cabalistic 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 Moloch-like image with the head of a bull. But Phoenicians and Carthaginians sacrificed children to a bronze image of Kronos (= El), so contrived that victims laid on its outstretched hands fell into a furnace beneath. Rabbiine writers describe Moloch's image in similar terms, and add that it had the head of a calf. Now Talos, the brazen coast-guard of Crete, who killed strangers by hugging them to his red-hot breast, was by some called Taurus (Apollod. i. ix. 26), and a gloss of Hebraists makes him a by-form of the sun-god. A tradition as old as Simonides connects him with Sardis and with human sacrifices there; recent excavations have shown that the Sardians of the bronze age worshipped a bull-god in subterranean temples. Suggestive as the combinations are, however, we have no real evidence of any cult of the Minotaur, nor of human sacrifice to a Cretan bull-god; at most they prove that the Greeks were familiar with the rites of adjoining countries and used them to add a touch of horror to the local legends of Knossos.

LITERATURE. — This is sufficiently cited throughout the article.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

MIRACLES. — 1. Introductory. — Miracles have often been studied in the sense of events which do not tend to belief in them. It is better to have a standard of comparison, to study them in the light of those alleged of their chief worker, who, if any one can work miracles, is most likely to have done so. This is the point of view that will be taken in this article. Christ's miracles suggest unusual and striking power, presumably divine, used for beneficent ends, not to cause wonder, and this points to a distinct type of miracle not previously defined. It is therefore define miracle as an occasional evidence of direct divine power in an action striking and unusual, yet by its beneficent pointing to the goodness of God. More wonders, by whomsoever wrought, would have throned an inhuman power that would not reveal character — e.g., spiritualist marvels. Christ calls His miracles ἑρμηνεία, 'works,' or σημεῖα, 'signs.' Σημεῖα may be combined with ἑρμηνεύω, 'wonders,' in describing what the Jews seek or the necessary work of the Magi. But more are not called by ἑρμηνεύω, though He calls them ἱστορίες, 'powers.' But the stress is on that of which they are signs — the love of God.

But all three wonders — signs, wonders, marvels — are used by Christ in describing His disciples' miracles, by the Evangelists, and by friends and critics. The first two are favoured in the Fourth Gospel. In Acts and Eph. ἑρμηνεύω and σημεῖα are combined with σημεῖα in speaking of Christ's and the apostles' miracles. In Rev 1:10 the beast, in 10:4 devils, in 12:9 the.false prophet, work σημεῖα: cf. 2 Th. 2:9 and Mt 7:21. Rev 19:3, σημεῖα ἐν τῷ πάγωσις, throws light on the sign expected by the Pharisees (Mt 21:21).

2. Miracles in the lower culture. — Whether the savage does or does not believe in a cosmic order is uncertain. Some savage mythologies certainly seem to suggest that he does. Even he believes that the medicine-man, or shaman, has power to alter certain concrete events — e.g., to produce rain in time of drought, to allay storms. But in so far as he recognizes any order in nature, this action is really supposed to be contrary to nature and thus corresponds to the popular view of miracles. Hence it is not only a religious view of the universe which suggests to the savage mind an elasticity in the order of nature, as Frazer insists. It is elastic to the magician, as it is elastic to the divinity. This power of altering events is the power of magic in which every savage believes. He himself may practise it to some extent by means of fetishes obtained in various ways, but in that case the power is in the object, and usually he attributes magical power to the
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against miracles, and, though he knew of miraculous
acts, he was indifferent to them. When a disciple
against miracles, and, though he knew of miraculous
acts, he was indifferent to them. When a disciple
gained an almsbowl by a display of miracles, he
gained an almsbowl by a display of miracles, he
gave it to be broken and forbade these.1 Some
gave it to be broken and forbade these.1 Some
sayings of his point to his dislike of miracles:
sayings of his point to his dislike of miracles:

'There is no path three years and by outward acts—perhaps a reference to the supposed gift of
'There is no path three years and by outward acts—perhaps a reference to the supposed gift of
walking on air. When an oracle they through the air, Buddha
walking on air. When an oracle they through the air, Buddha
is represented as rebuking him: 'This will not conduce to the
is represented as rebuking him: 'This will not conduce to the
conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the
conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the
converted, but rather to those who have not been converted
converted, but rather to those who have not been converted
remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who
remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who
have been converted.' He also said: 'I command my disciples
ever work miracles.'
ever work miracles.'

Muhammad also knew of miracles, but he dis-
Muhammad also knew of miracles, but he dis-
liked them and wrought none himself. The
liked them and wrought none himself. The
people demanded signs, but he disclaimed these,
people demanded signs, but he disclaimed these,
usually on the ground that they are powerless to convince.
usually on the ground that they are powerless to convince.
In earlier ages they had been regarded as lies or
In earlier ages they had been regarded as lies or
sorcery, not as divine acts. God's revelation to
sorcery, not as divine acts. God's revelation to
the Prophet was the true miracle, and the Qur'an
the Prophet was the true miracle, and the Qur'an
contained it.2
contained it.2

Nor did any one of the great ethic teachers lay
Nor did any one of the great ethic teachers lay
claim to divinity. Yet, in spite of this, and of
claim to divinity. Yet, in spite of this, and of
their own utterances about miracles, miracles are
their own utterances about miracles, miracles are
freely ascribed to them, sometimes even in the
freely ascribed to them, sometimes even in the
actual works which contain such disclaimers. How-
actual works which contain such disclaimers. How-
soon this process began it is difficult to say, yet
soon this process began it is difficult to say, yet
probably no very long time was necessary for the
probably no very long time was necessary for the
growth of miraculous legend. In many cases,
growth of miraculous legend. In many cases,
however, as in similar instances in Christian hagi-
however, as in similar instances in Christian hagi-
ography, it is possible to trace the growth of a
ography, it is possible to trace the growth of a
miraculous story in successive versions of the
miraculous story in successive versions of the
same incident.4 The miracles and supernatural events
same incident.4 The miracles and supernatural events
associated with the lives of these men are either
associated with the lives of these men are either
either connected with their conception and birth or acts
either connected with their conception and birth or acts
alleged to have been performed by themselves.
alleged to have been performed by themselves.
The miracles of the former class are invariably
The miracles of the former class are invariably
lacking in lives contemporary, or nearly so, where
lacking in lives contemporary, or nearly so, where
these exist. There is sometimes a semi-miraculous
these exist. There is sometimes a semi-miraculous
origin (Lao-tse, Zoroaster, Buddha), but not a
origin (Lao-tse, Zoroaster, Buddha), but not a
virgin-birth, for both are regarded as cases of the
virgin-birth, for both are regarded as cases of the
act of conception.5 The moment of birth is hailed
act of conception.5 The moment of birth is hailed
by a great variety of portents on earth, in the sky,
by a great variety of portents on earth, in the sky,
or in the lower regions. Unearthly lights are seen,
or in the lower regions. Unearthly lights are seen,
mystical music is heard. Prophecies of future
mystical music is heard. Prophecies of future
greatness are made. The child has often a
greatness are made. The child has often a
special sign at birth, such as laughing,
special sign at birth, such as laughing,
stands, walks, or announces its intention
stands, walks, or announces its intention
of saving the world. Or, again, the child is miracu-
of saving the world. Or, again, the child is miracu-
ously saved from persecution and danger of death.
ously saved from persecution and danger of death.
There are also wonderful signs at the death of
There are also wonderful signs at the death of
some ethic teachers, especially at Buddha's death.6
some ethic teachers, especially at Buddha's death.6
For wonders associated with the birth of a bodhisattva or
For wonders associated with the birth of a bodhisattva or
with the Dalai Lama in Tibet, see SBE xx. 46; L. A. Waddell,
with the Dalai Lama in Tibet, see SBE xx. 46; L. A. Waddell,
the Buddhist of Tibet, London, 1927, p. 111; and for
the Buddhist of Tibet, London, 1927, p. 111; and for
those connected with future beings in Zoroastrian belief, SBE
those connected with future beings in Zoroastrian belief, SBE
xvii. 105 ff., 111 ff., 115 ff.
xvii. 105 ff., 111 ff., 115 ff.
In the case of miracles of the second group ben-
In the case of miracles of the second group ben-
ificent actions are extremely rare, i.e. miracles
ificent actions are extremely rare, i.e. miracles
performed to benefit others. As a rule, the
performed to benefit others. As a rule, the
miracles merely exalt their worker, and some-
miracles merely exalt their worker, and some-
times they are of a kind to force belief in him.
times they are of a kind to force belief in him.
Lao-tse is said to have raised the dead, and
Lao-tse is said to have raised the dead, and
Buddha to have healed wounds; but these are
Buddha to have healed wounds; but these are
occasional, and are in a minority compared with
occasional, and are in a minority compared with
the great number of thaumaturgic acts. These
the great number of thaumaturgic acts. These
largely consist of power over weather and control
largely consist of power over weather and control
over its processes, and are often of a most
over its processes, and are often of a most

2 Dhammapada, xviii. 254 (SBE x. [1881] pl. 1, p. 265);
2 Dhammapada, xviii. 254 (SBE x. [1881] pl. 1, p. 265);
Chatharagge (SBE xx. [1883]), R. B. Burrow, "Introduction a
Chatharagge (SBE xx. [1883]), R. B. Burrow, "Introduction a
3 See Qur'an, iv. 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 
3 See Qur'an, iv. 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 
5 Li-Ku, xviii. 10 (SBE xxvii. [1885] 304 ff.); cf. G. G. 
5 Li-Ku, xviii. 10 (SBE xxvii. [1885] 304 ff.); cf. G. G. 
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grotesque and obviously improbable kind. Buddha made floods recede, or passed miraculously from one side of the river to another. Levitation, flying through the air, and ascent to heaven are frequent miracles, or, as in the case of Buddha, taking on water, or bathing the earth as if it were water, and passing through a wall. Understanding or influencing the thoughts of others at a distance, change of form, and invisibility occur. Frequently the miracle-worker saves himself from accident or death.

Some of these miracles are simply repetitions of the magical acts 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.

Most religious 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 certain likeness to many which are ascribed to Christian saints. Taoist, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Hindu, and Muhammadan all believe in the possibility of the miraculous in the case of gifted persons. In Taoism those who through asceticism and saintliness rise to the Tao 1 become like gods, and are superior to the laws of nature. 2 In Buddhism the cause is profound meditation. By this the arhat gains transcendental faculties—the five abhijñā ('magical powers') and siddhi, saintliness, but also the power of working miracles. 3 Hindu men in Islam possess similar powers as a result of their faith, piety, and self-denial. They are also helped to them by the jinn and by knowledge of the divine name. 4 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); superiority to the limitations of matter and space (a common Buddhist attribute), the power of invulnerability, change of form or of sex, invulnerability, levitation, passage through spaces, penetrating walls, mountains, earth, lengthening beams 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 exorcising 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. 5 One method of curing disease used by

3 SBE xxvi. (1884) i. 1., xi. 49, 207 f.; R. Davids, p. 174 sqq.; art. Magic (Buddhist), s. t. These powers sometimes resting on water (e.g., not being wet in heavy showers, or walking or passing through water); superiority to the limitations of matter and space (a common Buddhist attribute), the power of invulnerability, change of form or of sex, invulnerability, levitation, passage through spaces, penetrating walls, mountains, earth, lengthening beams 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 exorcising 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. 5 One method of curing disease used by

Muhammadan wonder-workers is to pass the hand over the part affected—perhaps a species of mesmerism. 2 As to these miracles as a whole, there is no evidence that they ever occurred, and, as Burton says of the incredible miracles of Islam, collateral or contemporary evidence is never sought for. 3 The question of supernormal powers will be discussed later.

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. 4 In the case of the latter the spirit of the deceased saint behoves the child—a form of primitive belief (see FAIRY, § 9, vol. v. p. 687).

Such miracles are occasionally said to cause belief. Those to be wrought in future ages on behalf of Zendanian 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 natura 5.

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 practice of incubation (q.v.), or 1 temple sleep. 2 The patient, after sleeping in the temple; in the course of his sleep he dreamed that the god touched and healed, or opened his body and cured him (an operation under hypnotism is not a remedy either directly or by symbolic means). The actual healing was speedy or more gradual, and in some instances—e.g., that of Aristides in his Sacred Orations—it was prolonged over many years, yet the god was always supposed to intervene. The stelae recording miraculous cures found at Epidauros are obviously fictitious—a kind of advertisement of the shrine. 3 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). 4 It is not impossible that in sleep in the temple, or in the temple in person may cause dreams about diseases, of the early indications of which it has become aware, or might even suggest a cure. The dream-cures may have been based on phenomena of this kind. The hero-god mainly concerned was a god of healing, and about whom there is evidence to have been a human healer and to have raised the dead, while wonderful events—e.g., brilliant light—were associated with his birth. 5 Healing miracles were also wrought by images of gods, heroes, or famous persons. Other miracles were wrought by such images—they moved, wept, gave advice—and there are numerous parallels to this in all religions, even in Christianity. 6 Mythology and popular belief also ascribed

2 Tn p. 229.
4 SBE v. (1889) 251 f., xxi. 421, 439, 452.
5 CIG iv. 961 f.
6 For incubation see E. Thurner, in Panae-Wischnius, v. 1868 f.; P. Kavvadas, Tis thep yath Athina, Athens, 1900; M. Hamilton, Incubation, London, 1900; arts. HEALTH AND GOS OF HEALING (Greek), LEGEND.

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great wonders to relics of gods or heroes. Some of these were multiplied exactly as medieval relics. They were not incidentally found and various places disputed their possession. Healing also took place at tombs of heroes. Less common are miracles by human wonder-workers. Tacitus speaks of Vespasian curing blindness and lame-ness, and the last life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus contains miracles at his birth and death, healings, and exorcizing of demons. He may have had supernormal healing gifts, but some of the stories are modeled on the NT miracles. Of Jesus but Philostratus. 2

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 doings, on account of his greater insight or skill, may have seemed miraculous. Some, however, may be supernormal phenomena. As to the cases of healing, they are seldom asserted of individual teachers, but rather in connexion with shrines and reliefs. Suggestion or hypnosis may explain such as are genuine. Whether any influx of life or healing power from another sphere was also present is a question which must always be an open one. (see § 5.)

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 Elijah and Elisha. The documents describing these are of a date far removed from the events described, and their evidential value is thus small. Some of the miraculous events are doubters of each other, and in those of Elijah and Elisha a kind of parallelism is to be observed. The narrations 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 ethnic religious teachers and the Christian saints, it was not enough that the outstanding character, insight, and leadership of Moses or Elijah should be recorded, but miracles should also be ascribed to them. While, in the case of Elijah and Elisha, it is possible to ascribe some gift of healing—which might then be the point d'appui of the miraculous legend attached to their history — it is remarkable that in the case of the greater prophets, save Daniel with fastings (2 K 20:4), there is no such thaumaturgic element. The idea of God in the story is, therefore, that the miracle stories reflect not of the loftiest kind, but rather 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 agrargical, and are alleged to have been copied by pagan magic. (See § 7.)

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 have, therefore, a symbolic value, as when a record of spiritual revelation is told in material terms (the burning bush, the revelation to Elijah

the latter a reminder that miracles as outward phenomena parallel to thunder, fire, etc., are a lesser kind of testimony to God). Some of the miracles—e.g., the marks of power 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 were interpreted as direct Providential interpositions. Especially would this be the case if prayer for deliverance had preceded them. Such answers to prayer must not be ruled out, and all such answers have a miraculous aspect. They show the creativity 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' (Ex 34:6). We need not doubt that in the movements of history He does 'make a way to His indignation' (Ps 78:4) against the unrighteous. But whether the leading and interpositions were in the manner depicted is open to question. The strong belief in 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 sense of the divine presence in the world, divine guidance in the affairs of the universe. 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 tells of creation, in the records of spiritual experience and aspiration, in the phenomenon of prophetism.

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 miracle stories. By every one Christ's teaching is admitted to be marvellous, yet authentic. This raises a presumption that the marvellous deeds are also authentic. The date of the documents is such that the events recorded to admit of authenticity, and the evidence is as good as anything short 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 14:9). There is a real divine work being done (Lk 11:28, Mt 5:11, Lk 7:39, Jn 9:11-12, 14). So also the witnesses of the miracles regard them (Mt 21:21, Mk 7:30). Yet power is inherent in Christ, as the method of the miracles shows, or the definite 'I will' (Mk 9:42). Here also the people recognize this inherent power (Mk 7:9). Christ is delegated from God, as Christ taught. Hence the power to work miracles is not necessarily confined to Christ (Mt 12:28), though He has that power in a supreme degree.

(c) Christ as sinless is a moral miracle without a priori likelihood, therefore there need be no a priori objection to His miracles, which generally tend to rectify an unnatural, disordered state in the world. Unlike Buddha, Christ had not to grope His way to perception of the way. And in this trust. The sinless Christ was in union with the forces of the divine will. Hence power to cure disease flowed from Him who was untouched by disease. 1


1 PAGE v. 13. 7; HN xxviiil. 4; Herod. l. 677; Plutarch, de Genio Soc. 41. Thucyd. 36. 7; Descharmes, Mythologie de la Grèce antérieure, Paris, 1839, p. 303. 9, 10; F. Marry, Hist. des religions de la Grèce antique, do. 1857-59, II. 52.

He was certainly more than man. His powers would thus be greater than those of ordinary men, and might therefore be miraculous.

3. 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 them, yet never falters in exercising it. His miracles are like the words He spoke, with a distance, and no mere faith-healing or magical exorcism accounts for these cures. Yet there is an economy in the use of miracles which we do not find in ethnic narratives, while, again, Christ never works miracles for Himself.

(c) But, if miracles are so easily ascribed to great ethnic teachers, why should they not have been ascribed to Christ? This is certainly a possibility, nor need we deny that there was time enough for a miraculous legend to grow. But all the facts must be faced. The greater part of the Gospels is from eye-witnesses who had no wish to deceive. No miracles are recorded of John the Baptist. The basis of the narrative is true, and it contains miracles as well as the wonderful teaching. In several cases the teaching is intimately connected with the miracles, indeed, the miracles are inseparable from them. If Christ wrought miracles at all, it is not impossible that there would be a tendency in a biographer to exaggerate the miraculous. But, again, the miracles as a whole are very different from those ascribed to ethnic teachers, as may be seen by comparison. We have every reason to believe that Christ wrought miracles, even if the truth of any given miracle cannot be asserted or demands investigation. The moral of Christ's personality, and as a teacher, and the impression made by them on the people, on inquirers (Jn 3:2), and on hostile critics who admitted their truth is of great importance.

(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 8:8), this 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 beneficial, never egotistical like Buddha's or even those of Christian saints; their morality is different from those of the other religions; they are harmonious with the character of the worker; they have invariably a moral and spiritual quality not found elsewhere.

(g) Miracles, properly regarded, assist faith. But was this the primary purpose of Christ's miracles? Were they mere credentials of His mission? This is doubtful. Beneficence was primary, and often forestalled the faith of the person concerned (Mk 3:5, Lk 7:22, Jn 5:19), as it did in the case of demoniacs. Crowds of people were doubtful influenced by the miracles, especially by their unique character, for they produced fear or amazement even if that was followed by praise to God (Mt 15:30). The result was that crowds of people flocked to Christ and forced on Him a popularity which He disliked and from which He sometimes withdrew (Mk 1:39, Lk 5:19). The net result was that crowds of people brought to Christ and forced on Him a popularity which He disliked and from which He sometimes withdrew (Mk 1:39, Lk 5:19). The result was that crowds of people flocked to Christ and forced on Him a popularity which He disliked and from which He sometimes withdrew (Mk 1:39, Lk 5:19). When John sends to know if He be the Christ, He replies to His works of mercy (Mk 1:27).

3 Mt 21: 6; 22: 3; 23: 5, 37; 22: 15, 44, 11; 12: 29-32. The stress is on these, rather than on Messiahship. Miracles are not wrought to cause belief in it; miracles are works of mercy, and their merciful rather than their miraculous character is important. They are part of a spiritual mission rather than proofs of it. Disbelief in the worker's power shows hardness of heart, for the mercy and love displayed, rather than the miraculous power, are spiritual (cf. Mk 3:22, 5:37, 8:44, Mt 11:20-21, Lk 10:13-14). Mere popularity was distasteful, and silence about a cure is often enjoined.

The exception in Mk 5:21 is explainable because 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 populace 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 see that faith would be augmented (Jn 4:10, Lk 17:14ff.). Yet even here it is an existing confidence that is rewarded rather than a divine mission that is proved.

Christ does not appear to rank His 'works' very high, as the phrasing of Mt 5:28 shows. Works are of less importance than the personal appeal of Christ (Jn 10:36; cf. 14:10). Christ's personality and His 'works' are, in themselves, works (Jn 5:30, 36, 42; cf. 1:35). This lower position corresponds to the refusal to work a sign to sceptics; cf. also Jn 9:31.

The disciples followed Christ first as a result of the impression which His personality had made on them. Later the effect of His miracles—those only of the non-healing group—on them is sometimes noted. In spite of the comment in Jn 21, the disciples must already have had some belief. In believing cases new thoughts are suggested to them, or a confession of belief is made (Mk 14:8; Mt 14:29). 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 George's confidence to the miracle; the act is consonant with a personality already known and loved. The cumulative effect of the miracles was no doubt to quicken understanding of Christ, and we remember that the great miracle of the Resurrection was what finally convinced the disciples 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 (σημεῖα) of a divine compassion. As the people, their benevolence was at the authority, ease, and naturalness of Christ's method, seen also in His teaching (Mt 12:35, Mt 7:21). Signs are often part of a revelation which confirms itself, for, when as thnuntharmtic displays they are sought by refusal follows, or a symbolic answer, or some piece of spiritual teaching.

There is no real contradiction in Jn 15:24, for elsewhere the works are a witness to divine love (2:4-9, 10-27), 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 extent. In the case of Lazarus, it is done that 'they (disciples and bystanders) may believe; other did believe; others did not. Yet Martha's existing faith is the condition of this miracle (v. 40, with v. 45).

Every one of the apostles miracles are seldom referred to as having an evidential character. Cf. A. G. Tippett, *The Place of Miracles in Religion*, London, 1899, p. 53.

1 Lk 11:29-26, Mk 3:29. Such a sign from heaven is seen in Rev 19:2.

MIRACLES

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 be aware. This is ascribed to the demon; rightly it should be ascribed to the subconscious self or the fragmentary personality. In the NT the demons claim to know of Christ 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, continues to believe 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. Lunatics often dread one particular person.

A man's belief in possession by a demon is paralleled by the belief that he is a wolf. Both are pathological states, and where the belief in transformation disappears, lyceanthropy is apt also to disappear. This is more or less true of the belief in demons and the supposition of possession (see LUCARDO)."

Demon-possession as a belief continued long after, as it had existed long before. Instead of, by reason of, or occasions. They accommodated themselves to an existing belief. Yet He did not accept it in all its current forms, and some at least of what is ascribed to Him may be the thoughts of His hearers."

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."

Psychical research tends to show that there are such existences in the case of discarnate human spirits, but has no evidence of discarnate possession by bodily demons."

Healing—Christ's miracles of healing are not explainable by M. Arnold's "moral therapeutics," i.e., the cure of nervous diseases by mental influence.

For alleged demon-possession in modern China and elsewhere see J. L. Nevin, Demon Possession and Allied Themes (London, 1917), though it is doubtful whether the cases are not explainable on other grounds. Much of the evidence comes from Christian natives, whose earlier belief in demons was strong. Health-giving and life-giving influences in Christianity may typify certain cases where pagan methods failed, as Justin long before asserted (Apol. ii. 6) and also H. A. J. Mundel, Thmong cases (The Life of a South African Tribe, Neuchâtel, 1912-13, lvi. 400). On Nevin's theory see W. R. Newbold, Proc. Soc. for Psychical Research, xii. (1919).

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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 in showing the supremacy 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 change of water into wine (John 2). Was it 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 symbolic reasons, it would not be hinted at. As to the power involved, it is certainly beyond that of men in the case of stilling the tempest, changing water to wine, and multiplying food. Yet, in a universe ruled by 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 involve? No breach of the order of nature is involved, for in the first two there is but a quickening of natural processes—the stormer would sooner or later have ceased; a change is slowly effected in the moisture taken up by the growing vine. In the third, though the act is incomprehensible to us, 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 narratives have a genuine air, and the numerous different rationalistic explanations suggest that there is an essential fact. In the case of walking on the sea a super-normal power which might be open 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 narratives, then 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 willed. 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 also generally the narratives which relate them, as well as the number of the miracles. The attempt to interpret them as symbolic teaching related as miraculous action do not command respect any more than the various rationalistic methods of explaining them away. The real 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 beneficence. 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 as easily walk on the sea as on dry land. These must suggest to the spiritual and moral order to the material. They, with one possible exception, are in keeping with the personality and character of the worker. The question of adequacy to the occasion may be safely answered.

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Parallels to incarnation and virgin-birth have been alleged from pagan sources, but there is no real analogy. The idea of divinity becoming really incarnate in human flesh was alien to Jewish thought and must have been unthinkable in the world of paganism. Hence it is really impossible to assert that the story was in use 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. There is some evidence that it was known 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 Apocrypha and Gospels to see how an existing story could be exaggerated without being recast. The lack of 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 sense, is always involved. This is true even of the late miraculous stories of the birth of Bodhisattva, where the human father appears all through and also of the birth of the future saviour Saoshyant in Zoroastrianism. Yet, even if such stories were more nearly parallel, the question should be faced—Do myths never come true?

(n) The Resurrection. Arguments against the Resurrection usually make much of the discrepancies in the narratives. Are these more than may be allowed for regarding such an event? To do they really discredit the central fact to which all bear witness? Without discussing them in detail, it may be said that they offer evidence as good as that for the Crucifixion, and, if they do not prove a real resurrection, they do nothing at all about Christ! Certain facts are important: the empty tomb, the definite date never varied, as well as the personality involved—no ordinary man whose resurrection to a normal human life might be regarded as a miracle; Huxley was right in having rejected that of the hypothetical ordinary man—and the vast change effected in the apostles’ characters and methods of action. We may here contain modern explanations.

(1) Visions, subjective or objective, 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 stories 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 their experience of a phantom was really that of Christ, this is not the main point. It is the most credulous and untrustworthy of men—which no one really believes of them.

(2) Equally inadequate is the theory which would derive the story from myths of evil and the slain god. It is equally impossible 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 a universal religious idea. Hence it is really impossible to assert that the story was in use 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. There is some evidence that it was known 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 Apocrypha and Gospels to see how an existing story could be exaggerated without being recast. The lack of 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 sense, is always involved. This is true even of the late miraculous stories of the birth of Bodhisattva, where the human father appears all through and also of the birth of the future saviour Saoshyant in Zoroastrianism. Yet, even if such stories were more nearly parallel, the question should be faced—Do myths never come true?

On neither theory is the Resurrection or its vast results explainable, and each postulates a miracle as great as that of the Resurrection itself. The change involved in the Resurrection is beyond our ken, yet the change is not merely a resurrection of a dead body. We know 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 nature of matter is to be found in a strain in the ether giving rise to the electrons of which the atom is composed. Ether is described as sub-material, while electrons might conceivably be resolved into ether again. Matter would thus be destroyed. Others regard matter as a complex of energies. If these theories are true, might not Christ’s body be resolved into its sub-material constituents?基督的身体是否可以被分解为其物质成分？

3. Miracle in the Apostolic Age. The miraculous powers included in the apostolic commission may have received additional forms, e.g., raising the dead (Mt 10);—while some are allegorical (Lk 10);—the Ascension was probably an addition mingling the power of the apostles with the authority of the king. 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 (5 supplies) perhaps resulting in cures by auto-suggestion. St. Paul both appeals to these powers of healing and refers to them (Ro 15), (1 Co. 12, 29, 31, 32, 36, 38; Gal 3). They are regarded as credentials of the apostolic mission and not a sound theory. Those who believed because they saw signs and wonders had not the highest faith.
MIRACLES

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 his χαράγματα ἵππων or ἐνέργειαν δονάσεως (1 Co 12:9). There was, in some cases at least, the infusion of divine power into the diseased. In the case of Eutychus it is doubtful if a miraculous return to life is intended. In that of Dorcas it is so, though some unusual recovery from apparent death may have been locally exaggerated into a miracle.

The account of Pentecost and its marvels describes an incursion of the spiritual audibly and visibly into the material world. Such an incursion would be difficult to describe, but it is no more than what might be expected on such an occasion. A distant analogy may be found in the phenomenon of light or of a cold breeze accompanying phantom apparitions.4 As to speaking with tongues, the phenomenon is 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 tongue as at Pentecost 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 the power shown by St. Peter and his followers, and the spiritual results following.

The stories of release by means of an angel have been regarded as symbolic accounts of connivance or friendly interposition interpreted as divine aid. Yet, if other occurrences of beings exist, they might be interpreted as angels 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 more splendor, so that he is blind for a season. 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 Eunice? The incident of the viper, 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.

9. Ecclesiastical miracles. — The question as to the time when miracles ceased, if at all, used to be much discussed. Hовалтнге said they continued down to the 3rd, 4th, or 5th cent.; others, like Middleton, made them end with the age of the apostles and characterized all later records of them as stupid and untrue.2 The evidence alleged for miracles is continuous to the present time; how far it is based on fact is an open question if miracles are possible at all. The miracles of some individuals in the early Church are so 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 idea of the possibility of the occasion. The age of the apostles was 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 — e.g., the Benedictine editors of Chrysostom's account of the miracles of St. Babylas say that it is rhetorical and for the most part destitute of truth.4 In some cases, again, natural

or perhaps supernormal events have been interpreted miraculously. Many are wrought to support some doctrine or practice not always of the essence of Christianity — e.g., the use of relics, as bottom a species of fetishism. Some are Eucharistic, but many of these are magical rather than miraculous.

Some miracles copy those of the Bible. Others are such as are found in ethnic sources — e.g., changing the course of a river, drying up a lake, causing a staff to become a tree.1 The healing of the sick and the possessed is referred to from the time of Justin2 onwards. The evidence for many of these is very slender kind; credulity accepted them, sometimes pious fraud suggested them; but their possibility need not be denied. Gifts of healing may have existed with certain persons who had faith to use spiritual power or to aid the faith of others.

In an age of spiritual exaltation and spasmousness, of enlarged consciousness and deepened faith and more buoyant hope4 such miracles might be expected. On the other hand, there are few instances of such cures as our Lord performed. Most are wrought in connexion with relics or the Eucharist. That cures should thus occur need not be doubted. Where the power of these was believed in the patient's faith was strong, suggesting the hypothesis that even if there was no power to heal in these media themselves.4 There may also have been an influx of power from another sphere, as a reward of faith or an answer to prayer, and even if a miracle could be expected.4 So in the case of exorcism, whilst here again, the evidence of relics or the Eucharist is found quite as much as prayer, it need not be doubted that the patient might respond to the treatment, which was really a form of suggestion.3 Where the resources of a spiritual religion were called upon, why should not these have brought calm and order to the disturbed mind? (see § 7 (b)).

There is, however, no such evidence for cures as exist for Christ's healing power. Patients continued to be afflicted at intervals in many cases. Exorcism tended to become a business, and the "cure" was often of a very drastic kind.5

The most circumstantial accounts of the dead come from St. Augustine and his contemporaries.4 There are all connected with the shrine or relics of St. Stephen. The evidence is perhaps no more than hearsay, and there is no real proof that the persons were really dead. Elsewhere Augustine describes an event which was really a case of trance as opposed to the return from death.

10. Medieval miracles. — During the Middle Ages nothing seemed too incredible to be related or believed. Every saint was expected to work miracles, and miracles freely adorned the popular Lives of the saints. It was said of St. Vincent Ferrer that it was a miracle when he performed no miracle. Any saint in whom a particular district, monastery, or church was interested was apt to have many miracles attributed to him. The people seemed incapable of being content with his spiritual victories; these had to take material form, to be symbolized as miracles. As in the earlier period, many miracles were alleged in support of particular doctrines or practices, the cult of the Virgin and saints, of relics, the Eucharist, the use of images. Protests were made from time to time by theologians, but in vain.7

Some of these are accepted by J. H. Newman, Two Essays on Biblical and on Ordox. Miracles, London, 1870.


3. De Orat. Div. xiii. 8. Prayer was also used, but the relics are mainly in evidence.

4. The right reception of the Eucharist might have effect in ill-health. Cf. the words, "preserve thy body and soul."


6. De Orat. Div. xiii. 8. Prayer was also used, but the relics are mainly in evidence.

The folk expected miracles, and miracles were freely provided for them. Many of the miracle stories are repeated in countless Lives of saints; one biographer plagiarized freely from another, and later Lives are often more full of miracles than the earlier. But the miracles were freely imitated; only in any given case they were multiplied a hundredfold. Other miracles belong to a floating tradition, and repeat those already found in ethnic sources or in classical writers. They are related in folk-tale incidents. Frequently the quite ordinary or the particular gifts of a saint were exaggerated into miracles. Others can be traced to a misunderstanding of Christian artistic motifs—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 in the air on a sunbeam; (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 touch of a saint's finger; (c) miracles occurring to a light streaming from his fingers, talking at birth, carrying fire, bilocation, levitation; and (d) miracles of healing, exorcism, and raising the dead.

The practice of incubation passed over to the Christian Church and was mostly sana san tum, associated with St. Csesmas and St. Damian, but the cures were often of a prolonged character. There was much of the wisdom of pagan temples, suggesting the word nektiranes.1 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 supernatural phenomena of the age, so long scoffed at, but now more or less investigated by science. There are incidents corresponding to cases of hypnotism, telepathy, clairvoyance and clairaudience, telekinesis—the movement of objects without being touched—appearances of phantoms of the living or dying (perhaps that which underlies cases of bilocation), and the occasional superiority of the senses to outward effects (carrying fire). Of these to well up or be levitated there has been a constant tradition through the ages, and in the mass of alleged occurrences there may have been some genuine instances. Such phenomena are not necessarily miraculous or even evidence of saintliness. On the other hand, if mind can communicate with mind, communications from another sphere may be made to mind on this earth, and these would have a miraculous quality—e.g., the voices and visions of Jeanne d'Arc or those which preface the healing of Dorothy Kerin. The communication may be coloured by the preconceptions of the recipient—a divine message may appear as a voice or vision of Virgin or saint, or a case of real spiritual healing may be associating 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.

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 the healing suggestion or 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 the whole of creation is in 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 manifest, such cases would naturally be regarded as miracles.
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 forces which sweep before them the evils of sickness and disease; the divine mind-cure; faith has tapped a divine source, and it has abled the unconscious mind. That this has never taken place cannot be affirmed, though a leader of the moment, applying the spiritual powers of the Church to disease in conjunction with medical treatment, is still seeking for an authentic instance. The appeal to spirit in one form or another has been made in all religions where healing was practised, and doubtless the divine spirit has not confined His work to any one of them, if thus He works at all. But, while uncertainty attaches to all mental therapeutics, our Lord's healing methods were never uncertain. He always set free the healing power, the divine life which healed, whether His own or actual through Him as a perfect channel, unsusceptible to disease. This is seen by His words, 'I will, be thou clean.' The result was swift and certain cure. Thus Christ as healer differs in degree and kind from all media of occasional cures. That He cannot effect such cures where perfect faith exists is not credible.

Hostile criticism of miracles. Though the Schoolmen were probably refining 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, and thus God would be contradicting Himself, for nature is fixed and changeless. Miracles could tell us nothing of God, since they surpass our powers of comprehension.

Spinoza's view is mechanical and takes no account of the interaction of existing 'laws,' their interference with each other without violating the order of nature. This may also be true of miraculous action. The material universe may be subject to the spiritual order. God may bring in new forces from time to time, or combine existing forces for a definite end and His guidance exists through all. Moreover, even if miracles are incomprehensible, they do tell us certain definite things about God, as Christ's miracles did. Spinoza's pantheistic doctrine of God deprived God of all real freedom.

The Deists opposed miracles on the ground of a fixed order of nature. God, having made the world, never interfered with it, and to assert miracle was a kind of treason to Him. Hence the Gospel miracles were explained away or allegorized. At least, Christ's miracles were so interpreted in the early Church. This was also the position of David Hume, whose argument, aimed at Roman Catholic miracles primarily, was regarded by him as invulnerable. Miracle was a violation of the laws of nature by a particular volition of deity, of whose attributes or actions, however, we could know nothing otherwise than from our experience of them in the ordinary course of nature. No testimony could establish a miracle, unless its falsehood would be more miraculous than the alleged miracle itself. The belief in miracles arises from the pleasing sensations which they arouse, and they are common to the fruits of religious enthusiasm. A miracle could never be proved so as to be the foundation of a system of religion.

Huxley criticizes Hume's argument on the ground that evidence of the impossibility of something is not evidence of its impossibility. 'Calling our often verified experience a law of nature adds nothing to its value,' since we cannot affirm that the effect can be verified again. Any seeming violations of the laws of nature would be investigated by science, and its

existence would simply extend our view of nature. Miracle is conceivable, and involves no contradiction, yet evidence for it must be complete. It may be added that this is perhaps an experience such as he only would admit. His own criterion of evidence, even when qualified, is at once rejected by him, and some of his admissions are but the use of words to cloak a darkness against his own argument. A particular volition of deity may reveal a world transcending ours without violating laws of nature, which are also volitions of deity. The miracles are part of our experience of the working of God. As to miracles establishing a doctrine, the argument has little force now. Miracles of healing, e.g., need not prove the truth of the system in which they are found (i. vii), and it is questionable whether any ethic system was founded upon the miracles of Christ, not His miracles, established Christianity. But His miracles are inerors in His religion in a way that those alleged of ethnic teachers are not.

German rationalism, represented by H. S. Reimarus, opposed miracles as impostures effected by Christ. H. E. G. Paulus, however, regarded them as ordinary or perhaps unusual events interpreted by readers as miracles—a thing which the authors of the Gospels never intended, though they sometimes had mistaken ordinary action for miracle. D. F. Strauss started, like Paulus, from the Spinozan principle, and regarded miracles as legendary accretions—a halo of wonder placed round Christ's head by the early Church, because the Messiah had been expected to work miracles. Yet, mythically as they are, the miracles are symbols of metaphysical ideas.

Literary criticism in the persons of E. Renan, M. Arnold, and W. E. H. Lecky set aside miracle altogether. 'Miracles do not happen,' was Arnold's catchword. Renan maintained that Jesus had to either renounce His mission or become a thaumaturgist. Miracles were a violence done to Him by His age—a statement incompatible with Lk 18:39—and yet He believed in miracles, and showed that He had miracles of an order of nature. Arnold, while opposed to explaining miracles in detail, thought it a mistake to rest Christianity on miracle, for, that was discredited, as he believed it had been, Christianity was apt to go with it. Both Renan and Arnold admitted some truth in the miracles of healing, but Renan's description of these comes short of what is said of their thoroughness and ease, and is, in fact, grotesque. Arnold's idea of 'moral therapeutics' assumes that illness was due to sin, while Christ, as bringer of happiness and calm, addressed the moral cause of disease. Such a method might be used extensively in the healing art.

The assumption that illness was due to sin is not proved, and some healing miracles are not explainable by moral therapeutics. In any case Christ had a great healing power, and the other miracles are quite as well attested as those of healing.

The literary pantheism favoured by R. W. Emerson (q.v.) saw miracle everywhere, therefore definite miracles nowhere. Miracle as taught by the churches was a monster. Christ's miracles are explained by saying that He felt man's life and doings to be a miracle—an insufficient account of miracles. There is some truth, however, in the saying that 'to aim to convert a man by miracles, is a profanation of the soul.' Not dissimilar is Carlyle's 'natural supernaturalism,' though he admitted that such an event as the raising of one from the dead would violate no law, but prove the entrance of some deeper law.

Materialism rejects miracle altogether and refuses to investigate individual miracles—too often the attitude of science. Agnosticism is represented by Huxley, admitted the possibility of miracle, but, in the event of such 'wonderful
events happening, would widen its view of nature. All that would thus be shown would be that all experience, however long or uniform, is apt to be incomplete. 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 an ordinary event? Christianity supplies answers, the expressions of divine will, directed or indirect, and such as are manifestations of more striking evidence of that, not just because they arouse wonder, but because they are either material or spiritual in us. They witness to the supremacy of spirit over matter (§ 14).

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. Original sin led to the belief 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. The Fathers commonly appealed to the miracles done in their day, and Arnobius devotes 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 is not against 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. The Schoolmen start from this idea of uniting the ideas of science, but 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 rationes et primum ordinis 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 natural order, ‘qua novae causae naturam in se subjiciunt’ to Him. Miracles are praeter hanc ordinem—the order known to us—but not contra naturam. Again, as the course of things can be changed by a creaturely 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, and these laws are known to us. There may be beings to whom the miraculous is natural as ordinary nature is to us. Butler was arguing against the Deists, but he sometimes forestalls Hume's objections, as when he says that miracles should not be expected not with ordinary but with extraordinary events in nature. With the Schoolmen he tends to regard miracles as part of the original 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 Christians were offered and received on the ground of miracles publicly wrought to attest its truth. J. B. Mozley continued Butler's position that miracles are necessary to a revelation, but argued, with him, that no miracle could make us believe contrary to moral or true religion. There is order, consistent nature, but the mechanical expectation of recurrence which would keep miracle cannot be disproved. Anything contradictory to experience might be either some event in accordance with the laws 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, e.g., where the laws of matter are suspended by the laws of life. As spirit be regarded as above matter and capable of moving it, miracle becomes possible.

In opposition to German rationalism Schleiermacher, in his Der christliche Glaube (1830-31), maintained that nature admitted of new elements, consonant as it was to God's will and work, even if conditioned by it. Nature may contain the cause of the miracle, but it appears only when God calls it forth. Christ was born of a virgin, had a real 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 it, 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. Kratzen 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. Hermann Lotze also refuses to regard miracle as contrary to natural law, and holds that a nature which in itself is such a miracle is, in a special sense, a miracle, according to Him. Actually a new world to the mind of man, has made them dubious. On the whole, modern theology tends to regard the universe as plastic to God and miracles as evidence of will. Even man can produce effects in nature not producible by nature itself. Such a view is elaborated by H. Bushnell. Again, as by

1 Eight Lectures on Miracles. Miracles, for the glory of God and the conversion of sinners. 1852.
3 Microcosmus, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1855, l. 420, Π, 476.
J. R. Illingworth, divine immanence 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 rise from that will a sinless body. The supremacy to an extraordinary degree of spiritual force over the mere material is also emphasized by A. C. Headlam in his recent book on miracles.

From a spiritualistic point of view, A. 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 answer to prayer find new support.

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 it is to suppose that anything has happened without there was no guidance or control to produce such a vast and complex result. This impossibility is only the more increased by recent discoveries in science, while there is an infinitude of ultimate elements all of precisely the same form. It is equally unlikely that all these should have 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 directing mind and will. Life 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 surely, the same—some use of mind and will be the basis 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 unalterable 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 known and unknown, may be regarded as one of which we are not aware, and the 'laws of the universe,' all that this means is government of the universe according to law. If things always happen in an unvarying sequence, this does not exclude guidance, nor does it mean that the ultimate cause of the sequence has been discovered. Nor, if some phenomenon happened but once, would it be outside law or happen apart from guidance. Man can interfere with nature, utilizing its forces to produce new results, without breaking any single law of nature. What man can do is possible for the mind and will behind the universe. Law, again, if it exist in the material, must also exist in the super-material universe which interacts with the former. By its laws those of the material universe may be suspended, and in so far as any such action is purposeful and beneficent it reveals a law of love, a universe governed and directed by law by a competent and other good will. A miracle would thus be a beneficent and intelligent control and guidance of existing forces in accordance with law by a supreme spiritual power, and this is precisely what we find in the miracles of Christ. They were natural actions.

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system of the universe as a whole. So again many ascribed supernormal phenomena are not miracles; they do not show a direct moral, purposive action on the part of a divine power, but reveal unsuspected 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 ways 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, since their clear and more clearly perhaps than the more quietly-working process. They show, as Latzke 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 an unalterable law; yet the life of time (it takes 2500 years for radium to lose half its energy) was a mistaken view, a parable 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 view contrary to these. One set of laws is put aside for the moment, just as man can transcend the laws by his will. Yet order is not interrupted, for the whole order of nature—all that happens—is just the divine will to which, e.g., a swift ‘miraculous’ process of healing may be as natural as a slower process, or the turning of water to ice 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. 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. Man’s spiritual vision is clouded, and he does not always see these in the extraordinary event, nor is that always the fullest revelation. All the things He speaks of God, but some speak more clearly. Yet they are all means abnormal; they do not occur on inordinate occasions, or do they contradict the fundamental laws of experience. The reign of law is not set aside; for the way in which miracle is brought about is still in accordance with law, even if the miracle happen but once.

Certain persons, for no very obvious reason, seem to possess supernormal powers, or these are manifested through them; others have genuine others, men of God, have spiritual gifts. What powers may not be open to one like Christ, in whom divine power existed and whose sinless will was in perfect harmony with God’s? He claimed to do the Father’s will. It is very possible that He came to do the Father’s will. Things were therefore natural to Him which might have been unnatural to another. Yet His miracles were in subordination to the moral miracle of His sinless personality, and therefore in harmony with it. Divine power and goodness overflowed, as it were, from Him upon nature and man. His miracles are perfect examples of the control of the material by the spiritual, and they prove that all force, all guidance, are in the harmony with it. Divine power and goodness overflowed, as it were, from Him upon nature and man. His miracles are perfect examples of the control of the material by the spiritual, and they prove that all force, all guidance, are in the harmony with it.

The power by which He wrought these was in Him because of what He was. It might be open to all who live upon the same plane, as He pointed out.

As has already been said, there is no evidence in Christ’s miracles of the lawless breaking of a ‘law of nature.’ Rather is it as if existing forces were being directly influenced, whether neutralized or quickened, or as if a new force was working with a natural force to produce a result different from what the latter could produce. In the case of healing disease a slow process gives place to a swifter process. So in the calming of the sea a natural process is heightening. The case is the power of will. When walking on the sea, Christ must have exerted a power which was more marvellous for Christ than the transmutation of one element into another as proved possible by science.

In the case of feeding the multitudes analogy is more difficult to find. Were bodily needs forgotten through a miraculous mental exaltation, so that a sacramental partaking of a small portion of food sufficed? This does not mean that fragment that remained. We cannot trace the method, but our limited vision need not detract from its miraculous aspect. These most concerned believe that a miracle had occurred, unless the texts are wholly fictitious.

In Christ it is not a question of divinity breaking through a humanity in action; there are superhuman, but of a constant superiority to humanity in one who is its perfect type. It is therefore no stranger that His actions should be more wonderful than those of other men than that His teaching or His sinless life should be acclaimed.

Apart from the general control or guidance of the universe, divine will may work through normal or supernormal actions, or may act directly in specific cases, for what are to us miraculous purposes. Speaking in a normal action, but when man speaks under the influence of the Spirit there is inspiration. Healing by suggestion is supernatural, but, if the suggestion is aided by spiritual influences, there is a miraculous care. Again, as in some of Christ’s miracles, we trace more direct action upon material things. Such action may be regarded as supernatural because mysterious; yet to God it is natural. All action, human or divine, is a part of an ascending series; we cannot say where the natural ends and the supernatural begins; what we can assert is that Christ’s confidence in His power or God’s power working through Him never faltered. He attests that, if men had faith enough, they could do even greater works. Have we yet sounded the abyssal depths of personality, or used to the full the power of the divine spirit working with us?

16. Prayer.—The relation of miracle to prayer may be briefly touched on. The miracle is a special instance of divine control, then answer to prayer has a miraculous aspect. Human mind and will can control existing physical forces or overcome the laws which govern them. There is readjustment without catastrophe. To every single fact there are countless antecedents, and a little of less or more will produce a new result, as is seen, e.g., by the different chemical products obtainable by even the slightest increase in the number of similar atoms combining with others from different sources. Man himself can produce new effects in the physical world. Must we deny this power to God? He can surely guide, deflect, or neutralize one force by another, or act directly upon matter and energy so that a new result will follow, subject of course, to every limitation of reason and order. How little exercise of power on God’s part would be necessary to cause rain in answer to prayer! Hence man and man’s actions, and, besides, also his prayers, are a part of the forces of the universe, when we do not pray, the result, even in

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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 results are not what one wants. If God's plan for the universe is so far conditioned by 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 true, true in every case and every answer to prayer, as a direct manifestation of His will; is so 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; 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.


J. A. Macculloch.

MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.—I. Introduction. —As was indicated in the introduction to the art, DRAMA, the origin of the medieval dramas, 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 theatrical, and the more, we did they contribute to the essential development of the form. The true beginning of the long course which leads up to Shakespeare and Racine is found in the Church; the most striking fact in the history of the medieval drama is its evolution from the simplest germ in the responses of the liturgy into an elaborate new form without the influence of either antecedent or contemporary dramatic material. The original form dates in the history of the Miracles and Morality are still to be discovered, and their due place to be assigned to many influences, it is possible to write a clear history of the dramas in the Middle Ages from its origin in the antiphonal tropes of the liturgy to its final expression in the great Passion-plays, 'Mytheres,' and 'Miracle-plays,' even if its results are not what one wants. If God's plan for the universe is so far conditioned by 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 true, true in every case and every answer to prayer, as a direct manifestation of His will, is so 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; 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.

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 the re-opening in the 16th. cent. to the establishment of a developed liturgical drama in the 10th and 11th.; but, notwithstanding the efforts of the modern Greek scholar K. N. Sathanis [Παλαιοσινατα τραγωδιανα, Doxologia, 1905, and his followers to find 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 modern scholars that there was possibly a continuation of the mimetic tradition, kept alive by wandering, outlawed entertainers—a tradition that may have helped the development of the drama by aiding the survival of certain forms in the liturgy, and may later have had a part in the secularization of the religious drama. (For the Byzantine stage see R. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur, Munich, 1897), and for the views of Sathanis, J. E. Tunison, Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages, Chicago, 1907; for the subject in general, Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, i. ch. 1.)

2. The liturgical drama.—The antiphon, from Eastern origin, introduced into Italy by St. Ambrose, was the germ from which the medieval drama developed. Certain antiphonal services had many dramatic possibilities, which more or less unconsciously lay in the text, 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 masque, the earliest dramatized form of which is the 'Quem quaeritis,' assigned to about the year 900 and ascribed to the trope-writer Tutilo of St. Gall (Karl 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 introit for the day, and to have sent out branches which, combining with other ceremonies, such as the 'Visitatio sepulchri,' and other dramatized forms, such as the 'Nativitas,' grew into the great Passion-plays and Miracle-plays.

This earliest form is: 'Interrogatius.

Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicasola?

Responeo. Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o casolica.
Non est hic, surrexit a mortuis

Iesu, nuntiate quis surrexit de sepulchro.

Resurrexi.'

The last word, 'Resurrexi,' is the first word of the Easter intonit. 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, the two soldiers), the trope-developed through liturgical play (MS Breslaw, 15th cent., quoted by Young), and attained a much larger development as a 'Visitation sepulchri' at the end of Easter matins (the 'Elevatio crucis' following the 'Adoratio crucis' and 'Deposito crucis' on Good Friday; the ceremonies were symbolic of the burial and resurrection of Christ). This second
and dramatically more fruitful use of the 'Quem queringit' grew by textual additions, such as the sequence 'Victimas paschali,' and by additions of incident—first, 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, such as the visit of the Marys to the 'anguerarin,' or dealer from whom they bought the necessary spices, a character who later became popular in the vernacular Passion-plays.

Though there was a considerable dramatic development of the 'Quem quaeritis,' it remained strictly a liturgical drama; it was chanted, the 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 'Tollite portas' ceremony prescribed by the ritual for the dedication of a church. These point to the possibility of a development of the Easter play which, however, was not to take place in the 'Quem quaeritis' proper. This matter will be considered in speaking of the Passion-play.

But the 'Quem quaeritis' was not the only drama of Easter-week. The 'Peregrini,' attached to the vesper of Easter Monday, established in the 12th cent., was known in England, France, and Germany. The simplest form tells of the journey to Emmaus and the supper there (Petit de Julleville, Les Mystères, l. 67; Chamberl. i. 27). In others Mary Magdalen appears, or the Virgin and the other Marys greet the risen Christ; or a new scene is added of the incredulity of Thomas; or there is even a merging of a developed form of the 'Quem quaeritis,' 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 Easter. 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 a Christmas introit-trope, modelled on the Easter 'Quem quaeritis.' It begins 'Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite.' It was liturgical, very simple in form, and of infrequent occurrence in the MSS, but is of interest for its connexion with the ancient and still popular representations of the crib, or creche, 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 'simulidume angelii,' the singing of the 'Glória in excelsis' by the angels and a hymn by the shepherds, a dialogue between the shepherds and two priests 'quasi ocholastae,' 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 (Crestemach, Geschichte des neueren Dramas, i. 60; Chamberl. ii. 45; Petit de Julleville, l. 51; textes du Mérid., Origines latines, and in Coussenmaker, Drames liturgiques). The simplest and probably the earliest examples are from Ronen and Limoges. This form of liturgical play developed early. Dates are uncertain, but MSS of the late 11th cent. have the play in a well-developed form. As the Easter 'Quem quaeritis' centred about the 'Sepulchrum' and that of Christmas about the 'Fraspee,' the 'Stella' had as its starting-point the star. A gift star, the point sometimes holding candles, was lowered from a hole in the ceiling or held up by an assistant. Like the Nativity plays, the 'Stella' developed greatly 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, in action instead of narrative, of the visit to Jerusalem, by the use of various scenes in which Herod plays a part, and, 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 an 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 later and more complex plays made up by the joining of the 'Pastores,' the 'Stella,' and the 'Rachel.' It is only in view of the result from this fusion and of the expansion of certain parts that the 'Stella' has great importance for the later history of the drama. The part of Herod grew by expansion and emphasis even to take the first place in the English Corpus Christi cycles.

More important for the future of the medieval drama than of any of the forms thus far considered was the 'Prophetes,' which had a curious origin, first studied by Sepet (Les Prophètes du Christ). It was based on the apocryphal Sermon contra Judæos attributed to the Midrach, the Mishna, to St. Augustine, but really of later origin, and used in many churches as a lesson in the Christmas offices. In the passage so employed, the author invokes thirteen witnesses to the divine mission of Christ and calls upon them to predict his Passion. The prophets invoked are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zacharias, Elisabeth, John the Baptist, Vergil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyl. The dramatic growth of this sermon had certainly begun by the 14th century. In the earliest forms the play follows the sermon closely, but is written in verse. Classical language and even direct quotations from the Eclesiastes appear in the prologues of Vergil and the Sibyl. In later examples from Latin the dialogue is expanded, the 'præcentor' is replaced by two 'appellatores' or 'vocatores,' and Balaam is added to the prophets. More remarkable is the little added drama of Balaam and his ass, which has been considered by many writers as the origin of the notorious Feast of the Ass, but which is perhaps more probably a reaction from the distorting festival. In the Ruten text the part of Nebuchadnezzar is also expanded into a miniature play: Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego refuse to worship the image, are cast into the fiery furnace, and escape all harm, whereas the king testifies 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 præcentor, the fiery furnace, distinct costumes (described in the rubrics), Balaam's ass. This was a beginning of the complexity that was to characterize the great Mysticals.

This complexity and the fusion alluded to above may be seen in a Latin play preserved in a 13th cent. MS (Royal Library, Stockholm, text in da Mérid). 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 agitated at their blasphemy against the child. A new character, the 'bishop of the children,' interposes the suggestion that St. Augustine shall be questioned. The Rabbi in anachronistic and pedantic words argues the inimicalness of the Virgin-born, and St. Augustine answers.

A sacrament is taken up by the choirs of prophets and Jews, and the one singing 'Res miranda,' the other 'Res neganda.' So far the play is an expanded 'Propheti,' still mostly liturgical in feeling and form. The prophets 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 act of Elizabeth. The next direction is that Mary 'vadat in lectum sumum et patri filium.' The choir has His coming, and immediately the 'Stella's' 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' elements). The devil hints that the angels have deceived them, but they are convinced by the chanting of the 'Gloria in excelsis' by a heavenly choir; they seek the cradle and 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 'Rachel' element); Herod falls dead, and is seized by demons. An angel appears, Joseph takes the infant to Egypt. The king of Egypt advances, accompanied by a church singing 'chores fort profanes.' The Holy Family arrives in Egypt; the idols fall, and the priests, unable to restore them, are converted. Finally the church chant a lamentation against Herod and the Jews. The last part is free and individual in composition. Petit de Julleville thinks it unlikely that it was played in church (because of the 'episcoporum puerorum'), and that more likely it was given in a monastic school.

As this play well represents the form attained by the liturgical drama through the combination of types and free composition, certain plays founded on the stories of Daniel and Lazarus represent another development—the expansion of single scenes in the older plays into independent dramas. Most interesting, because the first liturgical play attributed to a definite author, is the 'Daniel' of Hilaris, a cosmopolitan Goliardic scholar, disciple of Abelard, who flourished in the first half of the 12th cent. (text in J. J. Champollion-Figeac, Hilaris versus et ludi, Paris, 1836, and in du Méril). The 'Historia de Daniel representanda' opens with the feast of Belshazzar; the mystic words appear, and Daniel interprets them; Darius enters Babylon 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, 'conductus Daniels,' 'conductus regine,' etc. The chant to Daniel in the similar song 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; but the note at the end, 'The music 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 we see the beginnings of that development 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 'Propheti,' 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 gradual change in the language, spirit, and setting of the plays, as they moved towards that final and almost complete secularization which should take them out of the Church and out of the control of the clergy, and make them great popular spectacles rather than expositions of Christian faith. The degrees of popularization were innumerable. In the 15th cent., even when the purpose was didactic, whole scenes were often frankly amusing and vulgar, with no religious significance whatever—e.g., in the scene or playlet of Mak and the shepherds in the Townley cycle, and in the comic scenes of the German Passion-plays.

The vernacular came by slow degrees to replace Latin. At first the two languages appear side by side; in the earliest examples the local speech appears only in refrains or in the lines of a few minor characters, or in the less impressive passages. But there is no discoverable rule; the same character may speak Latin in one passage, French in another. One of the earliest cases in point is the language used together is the 'Sponsus,' a 12th cent. play of the wise and foolish virgins from Limoges (text in Romania, xxiv. (1882); du Méril). Here a considerable part is in the 'languedoc'; the angel who announces the coming of the bridegroom speaks only French, the virgins both languages. The refrains are in French. The final words in which Christ commends the foolish virgins are first Latin and then French, ending thus, perhaps to make the lesson clear and impressive to the congregation: 'Amem dio
Vos ignem
Nam caritis luminum;
Quod qui percutit [MS percutat]
Percuti percutat
Hujus ansas luminum.
Abi, caelitatis, abit, malaurens!
A tos jor ino vos penas livrennes;
En eure ora nere miserrere.'

Occasionally, as in the 'St. Nicolas' of Hilaris, the vernacular is found only in the refrains. In other plays it is a translation of the preceding Latin lines—an indication of the reason for the use of the common tongue—as in the 12th cent. 'Adam' (text from Tours, first ed. by V. Luzarche, Tours, 1854; K. Bartsch, Christomathie de l'ancien frangais, Leipzig, 1880), and in many German plays. Latin and the vernacular were even mingled in the lines, as in the Beauvais 'Daniel' (text in Cousemacker, no. iv.).

'Vir propheti Dei, Daniel, vien al Bel,
Veni, desiderat parler a toli,' etc.

Some late dramas are wholly in the vernacular, except for refrains or certain impressive passages. In France particularly the development of the drama was marked by the adoption of a more varied vocabulary. The earliest liturgical plays were entirely in prose, the later ones mostly in verse. In these later forms the versification is rather complicated, very varied; almost all are written in stanzas. But these lines differ in the number of lines and the lines are syllabic, but vary in length from four syllables to ten ('Petit de Julleville', etc.).

Dactylic hexameters also are used, sometimes leonine, as in the lament of Rachel in the Flery Interfectio puerorum' (cf. Petit de Julleville, i. 49; text in du Méril; MS in Orléans Library):

'O dolor! O patrum multasque gaudia marmur.'

Occasionally lines are quoted or imitated from the classics: e.g., 'Quae rerum novitas aut quae rerum causa subget
Incipias tempore visa? Quae tenditis ergo?
Quae gens? Unde domi? Faciem perit, armas a
(cf. Ann. viii. 112-114).

As important as this change in language is the
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 the melodramatic in the passages relating to Balaam's ass and Herod points to an equally strong secular influence, one that was to lead to some of the characters and unfortunates of the plays to the open (first the churchyard or square in front of the church, then the main square of the town, or several places at once), and, still more important, gradually brought the plays under the control of the laity. It is a long way from the simple 'sepulchrum' or 'præsepe,' the two chanted parts, the lack of appropriate costume, of the 'Quem queritis' to the varied setting, the many players, the costumes of the 'Conversio Pauli' (Petit de Julleville, i. 66; text from Fleury, MS., mentioned above, in du Méril, and in Cosmescaker, no. xiii.) with its several 'sedes' for Saul, Judas, etc., its two scenes, Jerusalem and Damascus, and its 'septem' (in Ananias, or the Munich 'Propheta' described above, with its 'sedes' for the prophets, its 'luctus' 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 elaborate 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 roof-loft (representing heaven), and the three steps raised the chief accessories of the play. To these, which were in the sanctuary and choir, were probably added in the more elaborate plays 'sedes,' 'domus,' and 'locus' extending down the nave. This natural arrangement was apparently followed when the drama left the church, as in the 12th century. Norman 'Resurrectio.' Chambers (ii. 83) suggests such an arrangement of the 'lucus,' 'mansions,' and 'estates' required by the prologue, following the analogy of a Donaueschingen Passion-play of the 16th century, 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 altar, the 'sepulchrum,' the 'sacrum,' 'estates' 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 queritis.' 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 it let there be draperies of silk. There shall be a strong wall in the paradise, and all the hang fruits. Then the Saviour shall arrive, clothed in a daunium, and on 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. 86).

The rubrics mention not only the costumes for all the characters, and the localities—paradise, hell, a cultivated field—but also the properties—a spade, a rake, chains for the devil to use, cudgels for them to beat upon, flames.

The development of the liturgical drama was practically complete by the 13th century. Thereafter the growth was mainly 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 national characteristics in the 14th century; so that thenceforth, 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 the larger number of plays have been destroyed. The development of the liturgical dramas in England must be partly guessed at from that of France. Only the slightest indications of what it originally was are extant. The earliest dramatic piece is the 'Quem queritis' from the Winchester troper dating probably from about 975 to 975 (Chambers, ii. 14, 306; text in Anglia, xii. (1801) 365). This includes a simple trope not much more elaborate than the St. Gall one. Of it, however, Chambers (ii. 15) says:

'The liberal scenario of the Concordia regularis makes plain the change which has come about in the "Quem queritis" since it was first sung by alternating half-chords as an introit-trope. The chanted and mimetic action have come together, and the first liturgical drama is, in all its essentials, complete.'

The only other extant English text of the liturgical period is a 14th century 'Quem queritis.' From Dublin. But church inventories, account-books, and statutes indicate the existence of the 'Pastores,' 'Peregrini,' 'Resurrectio,' 'Stella,' 'Propheta,' etc., at a number of places including York, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Lincoln; and William Fitzstephen, writing of the late 12th century, in London, records:

repsentationes miraculorum qua sancti confessores operam ment, seu representationes passuum quibus clarit fratrum sanctitatem


Of a Beverley 'Resurrectio' (c. 1229) the (bilingual) text of only one actor's part remains. So little do we know of this early period that it cannot be decided whether the liturgical drama passed directly from Latin to English, or whether there intervened a Norman-French period.

The full development of the English Miracle-play came in the 14th century, and during the next two centuries and more it can be studied more clearly from extant texts. Whether or not the English drama received a special impulse from the establishment of the Corpus Christi festival in 1311, the most characteristic form, the Corpus Christi processional cycles, were founded soon after that date. The Chester plays were probably given first in 1328. The dates of the establishment of the other cycles are not known, but references to them are found in: Beverley, 1577; York, 1578; Coventry, 1392. In 1539 there is a reference to a 'indus filiorum Israelis' at Cambridge. From this time on there was the greatest activity throughout the country, dramatic form.

It will be impossible to analyze at all adequately even the chief monuments of the period under consideration; the four great Corpus Christi cycles.
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, guild, on its own "pageant."

A high scaffold with two rows, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they apparelled them selves, and in the higher rows they played. . . . They began first at the alms house, and when the first pageant was played it was wheeled to the highe cross before the mayor, and to every street, to every notable house, to every noble, and to every gild. In each place, in the street where they determined to play there pageants (Archdeacon Roger de L'Estrange, Chester, 1694, quoted by Pollard, English Miracle Plays, p. xxv).

Though the plays were given by the gilds, they were under the direction of the town council, which made the strictest rules concerning the manner, thoroughness, and promptness of the performance—e.g., at York (1415):

"And all manner of craftsmen yet bringeth further the pageants in order and course by good players, wall arrayed and openly spake, upon payns of being of C. to be palle to the chamber without any pardon" (York Plays, ed. Lucy Toutin Smith, p. xxiv).

The plays of the cycle were not the work of one man, but a "team" effort. The number of gilds acting varied; hence there was also a variety 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 necessary to their work," played by the armory at York. An outline of the subjects of the York cycle (probably composed towards the middle of the 14th century) will give an idea of the wide range of the plays:

- The Passion, the Temptation, the Fall, Noah and the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Moses in the Wilderness, the Prophets of Christ, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Shepherds, the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, Christ in the Temple, the Temptation, the Woman taken in Adultery, the Existing of Lazarus, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection.

Although this list is incomplete, we can see in 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 'Prophetes,' the 'Stella,' the 'Pasteors.' The cycle, like the French and German contemporaries, the authors allowed themselves considerable freedom in expanding the Biblical text (as e.g., in the part of Herod), yet the characters most freely drawn are almost exclusively those of persons whom neither Scripture nor legend ascribes either name or individuality. Such personages as Cain's "garco," or servant, Noah's wife, the shepherds, are introduced for the sake of relief—a term inappropriately, it seems to us, as in the Crucifixion scene.

It is to this desire for dramatic relief that we owe the story of Makk and his sheep-dealing in the Coventry cycle—our first English comedy" (Pollard, p. xli).

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 primitive drama. Certain characters appear as Death, Veritas, Misericordia, Pax. The earliest known English Morality is lost. It was a 14th century play,

"setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer . . . in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues in due season praised" (J. Toutin Smith, English Gilds, London, 1870, p. 137).

The earliest Morality that has survived is 'The Castle of Perseverance.'

Its purpose was to trace the spiritual history of Humannum genus . . . from the day of his birth to his appearance at the Judgment Seat of God, to personify the foes by whom his path was obstructed, to exalt the Virgin of heaven and earth, and the ordinances of Confession and Penance by which he is strengthened in his conflict" (Pollard, p. xlvii).

Though the French Mystères are less "powerful but impressive," 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 century; it is thoroughly dramatic in language and treatment.

The great Moralsities were followed by shorter ones dealing with narrower subjects—didactic interludes, Pollard calls them. From these are derived most of the common notions regarding Mora-

lities. One of the earliest is 'Hycie Scoern.' Some are written in praise of religion, others in praise of learning (e.g., a prayer to St. Thomas Aquinas). Some of the later interludes are real plays, in the modern sense—e.g., 'A New and Peaceable Enterlude; intituled the Marriage of Witte and Science,' licensed 1569-70. The amusing lines, the set-piece, and the characterization make the play modern rather than medieval. John Heywood's play illustrate still better the change that was taking place in dramatic art—"a change which was to lead rapidly to the splendid age of English drama."

France—The development of the liturgical drama outlined above carried us into the 12th century. In France there are few plays known of the 12th and 13th centuries, the period when the development of the cycle was at its height. From the 12th to the 14th century, two plays are known, Jean Bodel's 'Jeu de Saint Nicolas' and Rutebure's 'Miracle de Théophile.' In the 14th century the French drama first acquired its national character. Petit de Julleville says that the plays of this period are extant, except one being 'Miracles de Notre Dame.' Here we have a form not found in other countries. That there must have been other forms of plays in this century is certain; the derivation of the mystery plays of the 14th century, from those of 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, were in a style resembling those of the period, 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 as to make them seem, if not the work of one author, at least the repertoire of one company; and this is the more likely as such plays were performed by societies, called 'Pays,' formed for the purpose.

In the 15th century, 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, for, as we have seen, the interest of the Middle Ages in the OT was due to its representation of the 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 that had Commedia dell' Arte, 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 Gresot 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 English Passion-plays, the most notable of the Mystères, centred, 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 main event. The Mysteries based on 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 solace to a pilgrim" (Petit de Julleville, l. c.)
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 transition from the Latin to the vernacular took place in the same manner. As early as the 12th cent. the Tegernseer 'Anti-christus' (text in Froning, p. 206), though written in Latin, has several secular characteristics: an ambitious plan, allegorical figures, and a political motive, for it is a subtle vindication, on the one hand, of the Empire against the Papacy, on the other of the "rex Teutonicorum" against the "rex Francorum" (Chambers, ii. 64). 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 (16th cent.). The Passion, which came in the 14th and 15th centuries to be the chief form of the religious dramas in France and Germany, had seldom been represented in the liturgical drama. The nearest approach to a Passion-play was the simultaneous versions of the 'Planetares Marionae.' The earliest Passion-play to have been in Italy (Siena, c. 1290; Padua, 1244). The earliest text is German from Benediktbeuern. Other like medieaval dramatic forms, the Passion-play of this period, though with a different conjunction 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 Passion plays were written in Prunx, Aachen, Frankfurt, and other towns. Some, as at Eger and Domanitzingen, were cyclical in extent.

7. Modern survivals.—Traces of medieval dramatic custom can be found here and there in Europe to the present day. In general the survivals are no more than dull show like the popular "crotch," 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. Some notable in this way are the representations of the Passion-play that have been either kept alive in out-of-the-way places or revived, most famous among them, the Oberammergau. The first mention of it is in 1633, and the oldest extant dating from about 1600, contains traces of two earlier texts (K. Trautmann, Oberammergau und sein Passionspiel, Bamberg, 1890). In 1652 the text was revised by the stroke of Sebastian Wild, the Angsburg Meister-singer, and partly of that of Johann Aemel. In the middle of the 18th cent. it was further remodelled by the Benedictine Rosner after the model of the Jesuit drama, and in 1780 Rosner's bombastic version was simplified by Knippleberger. 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 Vorder-thiersee in the Tyrol and in Hörzit in southern Bohemia (A. Haafken, Uber das Hörziter Passionspiel, Prague, 1826), but this kind of thing occurred to this day in southern Italy (T. Trede, Das gesichtschauspiel in Süditalien, Berlin, 1885).


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 often stated), or similar mixed metal. 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 polish was extraordinarily fine, and in some cases still remains.

2. Mirrors are not mentioned in Homer, but were used in classical Greek times, and imported by Rome. Few Greek mirrors are extant, but their shape suggests derivation from Egypt, as does that of the Roman mirror from Greece. Both Greek and Roman artisans 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, and the elliptical disks joined by a hinge. At the back of Greek and Roman mirrors embossed work was usual. The most numerous collections are from Etruria. The Etruscans were early imitators of Greek art, and much of their work on mirror-backs is interesting and intelligent, though lacking the fineness of Greek technique. Pliny 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 windowsash. The mirror-case was especially developed from Egyptian models.
by artists. Metal mirrors were known in northern India by the Christian era, and they were used to some extent by the Central American peoples, while the Hebrews were familiar with them at an early period for women's use. In Greek art, a mirror is sometimes represented as held by a goddess; and in the Indian marriage ritual a mirror is placed in the left hand of the bride to enable her to dress her hair. A mirror and a comb are not infrequently found on Scottish sepulchral mounds and in the early medieval period, but their precise significance is still uncertain.

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.

Probably the largest mirror known in the Middle Ages did not exceed the size of a plate.

The circular shape was retained.

The reflecting surface was usually of polished steel or other metal, and steel mirrors were still in use in the sixteenth century. There is a reference to a round "looking-glass" of Catherine of Aragon, which was probably a polished metal surface with a sheet of glass over it. An arrangement of this sort had been in use since the thirteenth century, and in the inventories of the Dukes of Burgundy, dating from the fifteenth century, we find mention of a "looking glass".

This method is a noteworthy, but futile, attempt at a combination of metal and glass.

Considering the great quantity of glass manufactured for windows by the tinsmiths, it would be a curious fact if the idea of employing a substance of so high a polish had not suggested itself to the mirror-makers of the day. But until a really satisfactory metallic backing 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 amalgam of mercury and tin which gives the modern looking-glass its efficiency was not known before the sixteenth century.

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.

The mirror naturally lent itself to the production of curiosities, mostly the result of experimentation. The effects of concave and convex 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 practised, as by the Greeks and Central Americans. Mirror-writing is often practised by ambidextrous persons, as by Leonardo, and it also occurs pathologically in forms of aphasia.

3. Superstitions connected with the mirror. The property of reflecting images naturally inspires wonder, and this tends to produce superstitious beliefs and practices. Most of these are connected with the common idea that the reflection of a person is in the soul, self, and consciousness. The philosophy of H wildt was fond of mirror-analogies when discussing this connexion.

* "The person . . . that is seen in the eye, that is the Self. . . . This is Brahman. . . . "The person that is in the mirror, on him I meditate. . . . "I meditate on him as the likeness. Whoso meditates on him that is in the mirror, is his family who is in his likeness, not one who is not his likeness. . . ."

In the simpler thought of uncultured peoples, however, the reflection is a spiritually real soul.

The Andamanese 'do not regard their shadows, but their reflections (in any mirror) as their souls,' and the Fijians 'a man's likeness in water or a looking-glass' was regarded as his soul. Savages of New Guinea when first looking into a mirror thought their reflections were their souls, while the New Caldeonians believed that their reflections in mirrors or water were their souls, and the Macquis of Guiana held the same belief about the reflection in the eye of another. Many terms for the soul point to the same notion. The Maltese 'stef' ('soul') means 'reflection,' and the same meaning belongs to many terms among the Indonesians.

Hence the frequent notion that there is something uncanny about a mirror, a belief which culminates in the idea that the reflecting surface has abstracted and retains the soul.

There is a pool in a Saddle Island river (Melanesia) into which any one who looks dies; the malignant spirit takes hold of his life by means of his reflection in the water of a similar terror of looking into any dark pool; a beast therein will take away their reflections. 12 The Ailors supposed that to see one's reflection in water wherein a knife had been placed meant a stab to the soul, 13 and the Guadeloupean forbade their women to look at their faces in the water for fear of taking away their beauty. 14 Mans said (in rules for a mission): 'Let him not look at his own image in water.' 15 The old Greeks had the same belief; to dream of seeing one's self reflected forebode death, and Fraser explains the story of Narcissus on these lines. 16 The Habitats said it was wrong to look at one's reflection at the Sabbath, unless it were fixed on a wall. Later they forbade men generally to use mirrors, as being effeminate, reserving, however, the privilege of their own relatives, as being 'close to the government.' 17 The Babilonic idea was doubtless merely perfunctory.

With these notions is connected the custom of covering mirrors or turning them to the wall after a death.

'It is feared that the soul, projected out of the person in the shape of his reflection in the mirror, may be carried off by the ghost of the departed, which is commonly supposed to linger about the house till the burial.' 18 This practice is widely spread over Europe, and occurs in Islam. Similarly, sick persons should avoid looking into a mirror, and it is advisable for a bride to refrain from using a mirror in modern Greece. 19 Since the mirror holds the soul, it is said to be extremely unlucky to break a looking-glass.

A mirror,' say the sectarian Russian Raskolniks generally, 'is an accursed thing.' 20

Ohánskaya Uspěnian, vn. vii. 3 (SBEI 1 [1900] 136).

Koeritski Uspěnian IV. 11 (SBEI 204).


R. F. Im Thurn, in JAF XI. [1881] 263.


Codrington, in JAF IX. [1881] 213.

D. Callaway, Nursery Tales, etc., of the Salub, Natal and London, 1889, p. 941.

GEP, pt. ii., Taboo, p. 63, quoting B. de Sabrang.


It, in loc. ibid. (1881) 129.

Cf. loc. cit.

J. Jacobs, in J. E. E., quoting Skah. 1492.


J. Jacobs, loc. cit., GEP, pt. ii., Taboo, p. 95.

J. C. Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1910, p. 10.


GEP, pt. ii., Taboo, p. 95.
On the other hand, a mirror, as when set in a ring, may be used to repel demons.\footnote{1}

Divination by means of a reflecting surface is an ancient and world-wide practice, its principle being that figures representing the souls of persons at the moment or in future action may be seen in a hollow pool of ink is a common substitute for the mirror (cf. art. CRYSTAL-GAZING), and a combination of mirror and pool of water was used at Demeter's sanctuary at Patra, where there was a sacred spring, but its use was permitted only in cases of sickness. They tie a mirror to a fillet cord, and let it down so far that it is reflected in it, and merely grasps the surface of the water with its rim. They look into the mirror, and it shows them the sick person either living or dead.\footnote{2}

It is also used, especially in German and Slavic lands, to discover one's future husband or wife.\footnote{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.\footnote{4}

The supernatural associations of mirrors are chiefly the following, 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.\footnote{5} Any one who looks into this mirror will see himself either very dim or not at all, but the image of the sun and the moon is reflected therein.\footnote{6} The Greeks kindled sacred fires by means of the mirror or crystal, and the same was the case in China and Siam, while in the Chinese kingdom the new fire was kindled at the summer solstice by means of a concave mirror turned to the sun.\footnote{7}

4. The mirror in metaphor. The optical properties of mirrors are so important and have such a wide application that all civilized thought is permeated by ideas derived therefrom. One or two only can be cited. The Hebrew personification says: 'As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man,\footnote{8} while the Buddhist sutra speaks of 'a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth.' A mirror was a favourite component of titles of books in Elizabethan literature, in its meaning of 'true discourse' in modern English, example of a model is similar. Shakespeare writes 'the mirror of all Christian kings.' To hold as twere the mirror up to Nature uses the simplest connotation of the term. An interesting metaphor is used by Emerson, when he says 'the mind is a mirror, a mirror of the sky.'\footnote{9} Among new sources of metaphor are the two remarkable biological and chemical-physical analogies to the optical fact of mirror-image (in which right becomes left and vice versa). All vertebrate animals, many invertebrate, and the leaf and other systems of plants are bilateral, one side being the mirror-image of the other, while the formation of right-handed and left-handed crystals is connected with the division of acids into right and left according to the effect produced in relation to polarized light.

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 Dihang, a region practically unexplored, consisting of steep ridges, covered as a rule with tree forest, and including some peaks 15,000 ft. in elevation.\footnote{10} They are divided into four tribes, speaking three distinct but probably connected languages. The most western tribe is known as Chin, Mizo, Nung, or Chalikata, 'hair-cropped'; they inhabit the Dihang valley and the hills surmounting it. To their east are the Myun, or Bebijaya, 'outcasts,' who speak practically the same language. East of the Bebijayas are the Tairang and Digoaish Mishmis, beyond the Digoa river. The Mius are still further east, towards the Luma valley of Dzayul, a sub-prefecture of Lhasa. Most of these live beyond the British frontier. The numbers counted at the last three Censuses in Assam were 217, 98, and 271 (Census Rep. Assam, 1891, i. 203; 1901, i. 152; 1911, i. 154).

I. Ethnology. The Mishmis have been identified by some authorities with the Miao or Huang, the aborigines of Yunnan, whose name has been interpreted to mean 'children of the soil,' 'roots,' or as a contemptuous reference to 'dirt.' (J. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, Gas. Upper Burma, pt. i. vol. i. [Rangoon, 1890], p. 557 et seq.).

So far as the means at our disposal permit, to draw conclusions, it seems most probable that these four tribes belong neither to the Tibet-Himalayan nor to the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibetan languages. They seem to be descendants of clans which, when the parting of the ways occurred between the two branches took place, accompanied neither, but made their own way at different periods, and thus contributed largely to the various languages of the Assam valley from the north. (G. A. Grierson, Census Rep. India, 1901, i. 293).

II. Relations with the British Government. The British first came in contact with the Mishmis in 1825, when Lieut. Burton reported that the Mishmah 'were inhabited by tribes who were very averse to receive strangers.' Other officers visited them between that time and 1851, when M. Krirk, a French missionary, was murdered by them. Then followed a succession of outrages. In 1883 one of their headmen was taken to the Calcutta Exhibition. Soon after his return he died, and the tribe, holding the Government responsible for his loss, decided that the head of a British subject should be buried with him, in order to propitiate his spirit. So they murdered a British subject who carried off his head. An expedition in 1899-1900 received them submissively, 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, Trans. Lakhimpur, 1905, p. 55 et seq.).

3. Religious beliefs. The best account of their religious beliefs is that by E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872, p. 161.\footnote{11}

The religion of the Mishmis is confined to the propitiation of demons whenever illness or misfortune visit them. On these occasions the spring of a place is made to talk to intimates that the house is for the time under taboo. They appear to have no notion of a supreme or benevolent deity. They worship Mithra as a god of destruction, Dantapan as god of the chase and knowledge, and Taba as god of wealth and disease, and a great many others without name. It appears that the Bowlat and the Abdikrick's notes that the Mishmis have priests, but they are few in number and can only be approached from a distance when required. M. Krirk describes one that he saw at a funeral ceremony. . . . For several days previous to the arrival of a priest, an attar is singing a devotional chant to the accompaniment of a small drum. There was also a preliminary work of which the priest and his helpers participated, and the blood of which was received in a vessel containing some other fluid, and the mixture carefully examined, as it is supposed to indicate if the patient will recover or otherwise. At last the priest arrived, dressed like an ordinary chief, but he wore a rosary of shells, and, attached
to the front of his headress, two appendages like horns. For two days, at intervals, the priest and his son employed themselves in cleaning, anointing, and marking the time by waving a fan and ringing a bell; on the third day he put on his chief's diadem robe, and assumed what may be regarded as his penitential dress—a light-fitting coat of colored cotton, a small apron, a deer skin as a mantle; from his right shoulder depended long green hair dyed bright red, and over his left shoulder he wore a broad belt embossed with four rows of tiger's teeth, and having attached to it fourteen strings, on each he placed a handkerchief ornamented with shells, and round the knot of hair at the top of his head, a large ring, which turned like a weathercock. This was followed by a wild demonic dance; but whether a par, or by the priest, or one in which the people generally joined, is not stated. 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 chimney. He was to be cautious not to touch the ground as he produced it, as the light was so great. He was supposed to be fresh from heaven (cf. G. B., pl. I., The Magic Art, London, 1911, ii. 234 ff.; pl. viii., Building the Beautiful, do. 1913, i. 2 ff.). When the burial is in progress, the yearly sacrifice and feast in honor of the dead spread over the town (cf. K. B. L., 499; P. R. ii. 226; A. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet, London, 1896, p. 214 n. 11), and under the shed built over the grave, raw and cooked flesh with grain and spirits are placed (the share of the dead), and all the arms, clothes, was in the habit of using while living. The poor, it is said, bury the dead without much ceremony, as they throw the bodies into the river.'

Abbot 1872—The writer gives no clear dates—T. T. Cooper (The Mission Hills, London, 1878) visited the tribe, and gives some account of their ceremonies, dress, manners, and customs (p. 180 ff.).

An earthquake occurred, and they told the chief, Chowsam, 'the devil has entered a neighboring mountain had been angry, and rent the side of the mountain' (p. 180). The Mission being polytheistic, though of the lowest order, it was not difficult for the chief to understand the existence of one Great Spirit above all' (p. 197). 'The Mission,' he said, 'are very unfortunate. We are everywhere surrounded by devils; they live in the rivers, mountains, and trees; they walk about in the dark and live in the winds; we are continually hearing from them.' . In answer to a question as to which demon he thought the strongest, after some hesitation thought the fire was the strongest, and most societies, as he drying up the water and burnt the mountains; he was also good-natured, as he warned them and punished their food' (p. 198).

As to religion, their notions are very vague. Polytheism, encompassed with all the rites and ceremonies of fetishism, is the true faith. The yearly sacrifice and feast in honor of their deceased parents shows that they have some idea of the 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. 226). The most important ceremonies of the Mission are undoubtedly those attending death and mourning. Of sickness a soothsayer is called in, and he generally prescribes the sacrifices of fowls and offerings, according to the state of the patient. He offers sacrifices as a priest and now same who is supposed to be instrumental in causing sickness. When death ensues, particularly in the chief, ministers (ministers, also called jailers, see frontis., p. T. Cooper, The Mission Hills, London, 1890-91, p. 457, etc.), pigs and fowls are killed without stint, and all the men and women feast to their heart's content; hospitality being considered a great virtue. They eat in honor of the dead, taking the white of his good and great qualities. The body is burnt after two days, and the ashes are collected and placed in a miniature house, erected close to the family residence. The unique tomb is then surrounded by some of the skulls collected by the chief during his lifetime, which serve as a monument of his past hospitality, while the rest of his treasures are divided amongst his sons, the son-and-heir taking the lion's share. When there are no sons the skulls go to the nearest male relations. The oldest son takes the title of grand, or chief, and holds a yearly feast in honor of his deceased father, which is considered one of the most sacred observances among them' (p. 297).

When Cooper suffered from an abscess in his ankle, a soothsayer or exorcist was called in. He was dressed like the other Mission, but allowed his hair to fall in long, unkempt masses over his shoulders. After inspecting the patient's foot, he stripped himself naked except for a small loin-cloth, and produced a handful of rushes from his waist-belt. These he began to plait and unplet, accompanying the operation with a buzzing noise, as if he were counting. Occasionally he would place his hand on the painful spot, and then shake the rushes over it, keeping his eyes shut the whole time. After nearly an hour he announced that two fowls must be killed, which would ensure recovery. He declined to answer what devil had been at work, and what effect the rushes had on him (p. 293).

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities are quoted in the article.

W. CROOK.

MISHNA.—See TALMUD.

MISSALS.—See RITUAL.

MISSION (Inner).—Die innere Mission is the name used in Germany to describe the sum-total of those efforts which are made by the Protestant Churches to alleviate the conditions of the suffering of the poor and to bring the institutions and usages of society into harmony with the will of God. It is to be distinguished from Die ausseren Mission ('foreign missions') in that it confines its activities to Germany and Germans resident or sojourning in foreign lands. It is an endeavour to overcome the heathenism found within the borders of a country professedly Christian. It is to be distinguished from mere humanitarian effort in that it definitely makes temporary provision for a means to spiritual redemption, and from the official activity of the pastors and paid officers of the Church in that it works through the voluntary agency of Individual Christians or groups of Christians, the pastor's office being taken up with the spirit of willingness and marshal its powers for the purpose of redeeming love. It aims at realizing in sacrificial service the universal priesthood of believers.

The movement originated after the close of the Napoleonic Wars when orphaned homes were established for children whose parents had lost their lives in the war (Johannes Falk, Graf Adalbert von der Heide, C. Heinrich Schütz, etc.), 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 Missions. Consciousness among the leaders was taken by Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-81), who in 1838 founded at Hamburg the famous Bauhaus (a reformed institution built upon the household system with a training home for lazy-workers), and Theodor Flieder (1800-84), who in 1838 founded at Kaiserswerth the first society for orphan-visiting in 1838 the first society for discharged female prisoners, and in 1856 the famous Diakonisseninstitut for the training of nurses and infant teachers.

The name 'inner Mission' was first employed in a narrower sense by Friedrich Lücke, of Gottingen, in Die zweifache, innere und ausser 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 out the meaning of the term to include all practical Christian work in the homeland and among Germans in foreign lands (Diaspora).

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 of the 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 statelesslike lines the programme of the remedial activities needed, and proposed the formation of a central committee (Centralausschuss), consisting of ministers and laymen, to study at the instance of its fields of work, place the various societies already at work into touch with one another so as to save overlapping, 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 ministers, of whatever kind, were animated by 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 under the influence of the Inner Mission, as defined in the first report of the Centralausschuss, that is, 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 the practising doctor 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 an die deutsche Nation, written by Wichern at the instance of the Central Committee and published in April 1849. This programme sets out the scope of the work and the relations of that work to the activities of the State on the one hand, and of the Church on the other. For twenty years Wichern practically directed this holy spirit. Pamphlets (Fliegende Blätter) were published annually as the Rauhe Haus giving reports of the various agencies carried on.

The most comprehensive survey of the work is given in two public publications of the Centralausschuss in 1859 (Statistik, Fünfzig Jahre). These contain reports by different authoritative writers on the work done in each of the following departments:

1. The care of children, créches, infant schools, care of cripples, Sunday schools and children's services, orphanages, country holidays for city children.
2. The care of adolescents, associations and homes for approved and unfashionable, schools of domestic economy, Rescue homes, Jugendbund für entmutigtes Christentum (analogous to Christian Endeavour Societies).
3. The care of tramps and the homeless, colonies for unemployed, homes for girls, railway-station missions, Girls' Friendly Societies and Lodges, missions to soldiers and sailors, missions to sailors (also at sea), Workers, sailors, workers, sailors.
4. The quickening of the Christian spirit, city missions, men's brotherhoods, support of weaker Churches, Christian art associations, lectures.
5. Work among emigrants and Germans in foreign lands.
6. Care of the poor, sick, and infants, district nursing associations, Red-cross work in war, homes for indigent, episcopal, missionary, blind, deaf and dumb.
9. Organization of Inner Mission according to province and district, conferences.
10. Training of workers for prisons, asylums, unemployed, and in work of the Rauhe Haus, 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 philanthropic agencies, imbued with the Christian spirit. This work has been quickened and enlightened, and the efforts of the Churches have been co-ordinated and wisely directed. The State has co-operated. In 1852 the brothers of the Rauhe Haus were allowed to act as warders in Prussian prisons, and Wichern was commissioned to visit the prisons in order to study the conditions and suggest reforms. Later, Wichern was appointed councillor of the Ministry of the Interior and made a member of the Evangelischer Oberkirchenvat. The work of the Inner Mission paved the way for the social legislation resulting from the Franco-German War. The most notable results of the Inner Mission are the mobilization of women for Christian work, especially in sick-nursing, the Elberfeld system of poor-relief and its extension to other German towns, and the work of Bodelschwingh (1851), 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, their sphere of service; it led to the official institution of the diaconate in the Evangelical Church in 1856, and gives material expression to the universal priesthood of believers. It has filled a place in the national 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 (F. Hansen), and Holland (O. G. Haldring). Florence Nightingale received her first training at Kaiserwerth. The work of Thomas Guthrie (Diligenced Schools), William Penn Root (Midway Conference), and John Batson (Lingfield Homes for epileptics, training colony at Wallingford, National Home Reading Union, Social Institutes, Boys' Life Brigade, Girls' Life Brigade, Civic Leagues of Help) was considerably influenced by 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 nearer England has been the organization of Civic Leagues (or Gilds) of Help (beginning 1906), which represent an attempt to adapt the Elberfeld system to the conditions of English city life and bring all the social activities of the civic community into touch with each other.


J. L. PATON.
MISSIONS (Buddhist).—I. In China.—Buddhist missionary enterprises outside of India were started by King 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-Huang-ti of the Qin 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 a golden statue and prisoners; and in 2 B.C. another mission of naval forces is 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 dreamed (D. 64), and, when the expedition returned in 67, it brought not only Buddhist statues and scriptures, but also two monks, both Indians, Kasyapa Maitaka and Dhammaraksha by name. The first Chinese Buddhist book containing the forty-two sayings of Buddha, was written by Kasyapa, 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 on 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 hence 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-ko 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 strong 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-ko’s works are mostly texts from Agamas, the counterparts of the Pali Nikayas, and some of them treat of hygienic matters, connected with the practice of counting the respirations, or anapana. 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 and architecture in a new style, aided by elaborate rituals and music, were great attractions; the P’ai-ma temple is said to have been decorated with and the 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 (sarira, Chin. sholi) were represented by pearls of mysteries origin, and the miracles ascribed to them were mostly the rising of variegated mists from them. Little is heard of works of charity, though they are sometimes mentioned later than the 4th century. That the translations played a great part in the Buddhist missions 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, when Buddhism came to China; and the rulers and scholars found it urgent to confront them with scriptures of its own. Besides the translations, the first apologetic writing is ascribed to A.D. 195, and 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 sidelight on our subject. In 108 Momun, a Confucianist convert, wrote 37 sets of questions and answers in defence of his new faith. These questions may be divided into four classes: (1) those from the Confucianist side, asserting that Buddha’s sectarian 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. Momun defended himself; he quoted authentic quotations from Confucius and Lao-tse, but the doctrines with which he contended, the attacks on him, the transcendental idealism of supreme enlightenment was the position which he assumed against Confucianist positivism, and the teaching of impermanence of physical life against Taoist mysticism. This may be 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 8th 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. Centres of missions were identical with the residences of dynasties, and the missionaries worked under their patronage, or were expelled by rulers who preferred Taoism to Buddhism. Under these circumstances three important centres of the mission grew up:

1. There are collections of these writings; see Nanjo, nos. 1471, 1472, 1479, 1480, 1484, 1485.

2. The question begins with "Who is Buddha?" The answer to it shows that the author was acquainted with the life through information which is very similar to the Lekatitarasatra. Some critics doubt even the existence of this source, on the ground that the polemical 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 Huang-ho) in the north, and (3) Chhe-nan (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 Buddhism in its infancy. After a short interval of unity (280-302) these three places reassembled the three centres of China in all the vicissitudes of rulers and States. Thus the missionaries who came to China by land routes were found men more conversant with the sources of 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 such was the Roman emperor, who came in 310 to Lo-yang from a 'western country,' labouring now as a translator but also as a social worker. It is said that he was 'well versed in magic formula and saved many people from diseases and suffering by his activities.'

Monasteries and temples were established by him, and his 'disciples' numbered 10,000. But his significance in Chinese Buddhism lay perhaps more in his having educated one of the most prominent of Chinese monks, Hui-yuan, in his art of 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 began to be an insurmountable barrier 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 Liu 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 monks and missionaries to the south, and it was there that a strong monasticism was established, with men of similar tendencies, which became the origin of the sectarian division in Chinese Buddhism.

Among the monks who worked in the north the most prominent was Kumārajiva, a native of Karachar. 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 (Q.v.) Saddharma-pundarika remains the most valued and revered of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

Kumārajiva was apparently a monk, but his conduct was very regular, and he lived with monastic concubines; yet his talent was so appreciated and his fame so high that his patron and the people honoured him, despite his neglect of Buddhist discipline and inculcation of vices heaped upon him. A powerful rival, however, appeared in the person of Buddhaghosa, who was invited to Ch'ang-an in 398. 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 Kumārajiva, who observed austere rules of monastic life, and instructed his followers in discipline and in meditation. At last a critical rupture occurred between the two great men broke out, and Buddhaghosa took refuge in the south, where T'ao-an's disciples were living secluded in a monastery on Mount Lu-shan, in the modern province of Chiang-si. As the leader of the group of Hui-yuan's school (†416), and its members were monks, poets, and philosophers who were disgusted with the troubles of the world and devoted themselves to meditation and conversation with one another. Here Buddhaghosa founded a body of men more conforming to the Buddhist clergy of the north, and instructed them further in the secrets of Buddhist mental training. In this group of thinkers we see Chinese Buddhism quite acclimatized to the native soil, especially to the poetic and transcendental mood of the group of 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-no (Sk. dhārana), later established itself and further impelled Buddhist thought with the poetry of the valley of the Yang-tzu. Although the followers of the Shan-no school trace their origin to Bodhidharma, who is believed to have come to China about 520, the further source is to be found in the group of religious leaders of the Lu-shan who welcomed Buddhaghosa. After all, we can assign the foundation of Chinese Buddhism, relatively apart from foreign missionaries, to T'ao-an and Hui-yuan. 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 cent. The pioneer of the sea-voyage from Ceylon to China was the famous pilgrim Fa-hian, who arrived at Shantung in 414, and was followed by a series of Buddhist monks who sailed to China and worked mostly under the patronage of the southern emperors. 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-Hi (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 model of the Jetavana of Nalanda. The arrival of a number of Sinhalese nuns in 434 under the leadership of a certain Tissara (?) was probably connected with his institution and intended for starting nunneries after the model of Sinhalese Buddhism. Another group of nuns came from Ceylon in 438. Among those who followed the footsteps of Gunavarman are to be mentioned Kālayasā and Dharmamitra, both translators of Mahāyāna texts; Buddhaghosa, the translator of the Satyagraha-sūtra, and Sthānabhāsabha, the translator of the Pañcavaśa-pādākā, a commentary on the Vinaya written by the famous Buddhaghosa. The last of these is said to have come together with his master, a Tripitaka-āchārya.

In the 6th cent. we have two notable instances of sea-journeys. One was the journey of Bodhidarma, mentioned above, who is said to have remained silent for many 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.

1 Later in the 6th cent., the Indians Bothurucch and Jambhagopa, the famous translators of many Mahāyāna texts, worked in the north.
The next instance was the voyage of Paramārtha, 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 Yogāchāra 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. Their works of translation laid the foundation for 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 pioneering 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 missive coming eastward and the pilgrims going westward met another everywhere in the 5th and 6th centuries. By the conjoint labours of these men the translations of the four Agamas, together with several of their sine qua non texts, the Vinaya texts in various versions, belonging to different schools, and the important Mahāyāna texts, such as the Lotus, the Flower-garland (Avatāmksa), etc., from these works we can see how Buddhist ideas and expressions were naturalized in the Chinese language, which is totally different from the structure of the originals. These books and expressions now form an integral part of the Chinese language and literature.

Up to 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 known are the Pratimāsā (Pāli Pātimokkha) and the regular monastic discipline based on it were carried out by Dharmakāla, an Indian, who came to Lo-yang in 290. In the 6th cent. we see a further establishment of the regular method of ordination, under the government's patronage and supervision, carried out by GAPVARMA in the south, as mentioned above. The sancity 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 Tā-wu of the northern Wei dynasty persecuted Buddhists, there were 3,000,000 of these monks and nuns in his territory alone. The number may be an exaggeration; but it is quite conceivable that there were 33,000 ordained, patronized by the Emperor Wu (reigned 502–549), 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 (Hsien-hsi, etc.), and they are hardly to be distinguished from the Taoist 'men of mountains.' The people accustomed to look upon the Taoist miracle-workers as holy men were also attracted to these Buddhist 'saints.'

We can mention only one instance of a definite record of charitable work. That was a method of famine relief, called Seng-ch'i-yu, or 'Church grain' (Seng-chi = Pali 'Sangha'), which was inaugurated by Thân-yao, a man of unknown origin, in the southern kingdom in 469; a certain percentage of the crops was stored in monasteries and distributed in cases of famine.

While missionary work was advancing, the foundations of doctrinal division, based on the schools prevalent in India, began to arise. The man who stood foremost in systematic treatises on doctrines was Tao-an, mentioned above, who wrote commentaries and essays on the vacuity of the phenomenal world. In his time a translation of an Abhidharma text (Nanjo, no. 1273) was produced, and prepared for the promulgation by Paramārtha sixty years later. The group of Lakan, already mentioned, was another sign of sectarian division, and these men opened the way for the later growth of the meditative Shan-no school and of the pietistic religion of the Ssu-mi-tābha. These were, however, only precursory movements for real sectarian division and dogmatic systematization; a really independent growth of Chinese Buddhism and formation of branches date from the latter half of the 6th cent., and then we pass from the missionary stage.

The unity of China achieved by 580 and the rise of the glorious T'ang dynasty in the beginning of the 7th cent. mark a new era of Chinese history, political as well as religious, and in our survey of the Buddhist missions with this time. It remains to be added that, in the 8th cent., the mystic Buddhism, known as the Mantra sect, was introduced by two foreign missionaries, Subhakarasimha and Amoghavajra. This form of Buddhism became influential in Japan after the 9th cent. Towards the close of the 10th cent. there was again an influx of Indian missionaries, but they left no great significance.

2. In Tibet.—As in the case of China, the early history of Buddhism in Tibet is shrouded in nebulous legends. The missionaries dispatched by King Aoska touched the Tibetan borders, probably along the western parts of the Himalayas; but it is more than a hundred years since that legend tells us of the establishment of a Buddhist temple on the Tibetan side of the mountain range. This legend and the story of the miraculous descent of four caskets containing Buddhist treasures, in the 4th cent. A.D., may be taken as indications of Tibet's contact with Buddhist missions. Dismissing these legends, the first date that can be assigned with certainty for Buddhism in Tibet is the 7th cent. The reigning king was Srong-btsan Gam-po (†698), and Buddhism was introduced into Tibet by his marriage with a Chinese princess and also with a Nepalese princess. The former marriage is confirmed by Chinese history; the name of the princess was Wen-ch'eng, and the marriage took place in A.D. 641. She brought with her Buddhist statues and books, and probably some priests, and established a firm footing for Buddhism in that country, which has gradually been coming into contact with the religion through its eastern and southern borders. The Nepalese princess was the agent in introducing the occult worship of the Buddhist-Hindu goddess Tara, the event which determined to a great degree the nature of Buddhism destined to prevail in Tibet.

The legends concerning this introduction of Buddhism into Tibet and the succeeding events throw little light on the nature of the missionary labours undertaken by the Buddhists; we are...
told only of the actions taken by the rulers and their ministers. Certainly the propaganda proceeded among the people by supplying 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 stimulus given by the Buddhist conquests of Srng-btsan Gam-po caused him to send his able minister Thummi Sambho to India, where he performed a great service for Buddhism and for Tibet by preparing a Tibetan alphabet after the model of the Skr. Devanāgarī. 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 Khris-Srøn 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 (as the Great Translator) Padmasambhava (or ‘Lotus Growth,’ with an allusion to the lotus as the womb of the cosmos), who introduced many writings, and his disciple, Pagur Vairocana, the ‘Great Translator.’

The 9th century was a period of confusion in Tibet, and the fate of Buddhist passed through various vicissitudes in association with the inclination of the rulers and with their rise and fall. From the latter part of the 9th century we see fresh streams of N. Indian Buddhist Missionaries, and a firmer 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 missionaries and Tibetans.

The 13th century was an episodic period in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, in connexion with the conquest of Asia by the Mongol Kublai Khán. Buddhist missions seem to have been active at this time in Mongolia, and Mongol conquerors were partly converted to Tibetan Buddhism, though all of them were scions of promiscuous nature. Tibetan Buddhism was definitely established as a theocracy by the energy and ability of Khagpa, the ally of Kublai Khán, and its influence was extended to the northern countries and even to China. The definitively independent, and totally isolated, growth of Tibetan Buddhism is to be dated from the latter part of the 14th century, when the Mongol dynasty in China fell and the Tibetan reformer Tsong Kha-pa arose.

In Korea.—When, in the 4th century, Buddhism was being naturalised in Chinese culture, its propagation further eastwards began. At that time Korea was divided into three kingdoms and several minor States. Of these three Koryó (or Kokuryó) was situated in the north, and first came into contact with Buddhism. In 574 two monks, Ato and Shunto, both of whom were said to have been foreigners, were invited from N. China to the capital of Koryó (the modern Pien-yang), and in the next year two temples were built for them, while in 584 a certain Makan was welcomed by the king of Koryó, who was then situated in the middle of the country. Historical records tell of the construction of temples and of the arrival of missionaries, both Indian and Chinese, from China, but little information is given of how they worked 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 16th century.

The Buddhist propaganda advanced to the southern extremity of the peninsula in the middle of the 6th century. An ascetic, nicknamed the Black Foreigner, preached the Three Jewels in the south and is said to have introduced the state of the Silla kingdom by means of incense and spells. 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 628, 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 540-570 became a monk, and his sons also became monks; 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 reach Japan, which had a close communication with the peninsular States and had introduced Chinese learning in the beginning of the 5th century. The religion was first advocated by the Korean immigrants, and then by natives. After these preparations it was presented officially by the king of Paikch’ö (Japanese Nara) in 538 (the date is usually, but erroneously, given as 593). The presentations consisted of a gilt statue of Buddha, scriptures, banners, and other ritual instruments, and the message which accompanied these presents said:

1. This teaching (dhāraṇī) is the most excellent of all teachings. It brings infinite and immeasurable fruits to its believers, even to the final enlightenment (bodhi). Just as the Chintamani’s jewel is said to give inexhaustible wealth to its possessor, so the jewel of this glorious Law never ceases to give response to those who seek for it. Moreover, it is not from India, far distant, and the peoples of the countries lying between these two are now all adherents of Buddhism.

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 superior to men. The court, on the other hand, was divided into two parties, one favourable to the new worship, and the other hostile, the point of their dispute being whether 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 of strife the fate of the new religion seemed always wavering. But the present was favoured by an incessant influx of priests, monks, artists, and physicians, as the rearguards 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 accepted officially by the court, some sovereigns cherished it as their faith, and the Soga family, the head of the progressivists, became its zealous advocates. They built temples and monasteries, and we hear of a monastery founded by the family in 584. The fall of the conservative party in 587 marked a decisive step in the progress of Buddhism, and to commemorate this event a temple was built, etc.

1. The names of these temples, Sjo-mun and I-pul-lan, sound neither Chinese nor Korean.
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 wealth and beauty. The new religion—an asylum, a hospital, and a dispensary—were attached to a temple built in 593, and similar institutions were founded here and there in the subsequent centuries.

In the regency of Prince Shōtoku, the Constitution of Nara, and the ceremonies for the welfare of the ruling families and for the tranquility of the country became the State Church. Not only were missionaries and learned monks invited from Korea, but direct communication with Chinese Buddhism was opened (606), 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 about 620, 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 divided clans by religion, on the other. The development of religion was guided by the influence of the American and Chinese missionaries, and by the management of State affairs assisted each other.

After the decisive step of the adoption of the Buddhist faith had been once taken, 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 usually monks and nuns, 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, many Chinese and Japanese priests, a certain number of Chinese, Indians, and other foreigners carried on the Buddhist propaganda, the most famous of whom were Kanjin, a Chinese, and Bodhisena, an Indian. The former founded the central institution for ordination and monastic discipline, and was appointed archbishop (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 736 with his Indian 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 Indians, which contributed to the influence of the religion, such as musical instruments, Indian harps, and the base relief in the Greco-Bactrian style, preserved in the Imperial treasury, dating from the 4th century. Among the native workers 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, the Imperial thoroughfare, dating from the 6th century. The villages, opening mountain passages, planting avenues, etc. We do not know how or where these men learned their arts and crafts, but their works were so wonderful to the people that many miracles were attributed to them even to this day. The mention of some Ainu monks, whom the court favoured with gifts in 889, 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 propagation, remained in vogue for a long time. The distribution of medical stores and the dispatch of combined bands of monks and physicians into the provinces are constantly mentioned in the 8th century. In addition to these, the Japanese government was anxious to secure the welfare of the ruling families and for the tranquility 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 (kōkubun-ji) was followed by the founding, near the capital, of the central cathedral, which was the great statue of Lochanaka Buddha, now known as the Daibutsu in Nara, and was completed in 754. These works and dedications converted the whole of Japan into a Buddhism before the close of the 8th century. Then the remains of these works to this day, and Japan owes the sculptures, which have never been excelled by later works, to the same period.

It is obvious that the methods of the religious mission contributed to the unification of the country. Charitable works were regarded in the provinces as the boons not only of the Church but also of the State; splendid religious buildings were held to be signs of the power of the State. It was not merely by the mysterious efficacy of the worship and ceremonies that the security of the throne and the tranquility of the country were maintained and increased; the Buddhist mission in the provinces during these centuries was at the same time a political mission.

By the 9th cent. the unity and centralization of the national government were 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 (+ 829) and Kūkai (+ 835), were once students in China, but those two men opened the way for the development of Japan's Buddhism. 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 12th century. The introduction of the Zen (dāhyāna) 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. Tao, fans, kakemono, and similar things, now known in the West as 'things Japanese,' owe to these communications with Chinese Buddhism.

Taking a general survey, we see a remarkable contrast between the Buddhist missions in China stand those in Japan. In China works of charity seem to have played rather an 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. China 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 levels of civilization on which China and Japan stood at the time of the introduction of Buddhism.

MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Medieval).

I. From the close of the Apostolic Age to the conversion of the Empire (C. A. D. 100-335).

Missions were the main external activity of the Church in the early centuries. Before the middle of the 2nd cent., (c. 140) Justin Martyr claims for them a very wide field of operations—not merely over the Helleno-Roman world, but beyond. There exists not a dispute, whether Greek or barbarian, any other race, by whatsoever title or manner they may be marked out, however ignorant of arts or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander in covered wagons, among whom prayers are not offered in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father of all things” (Dial. c. Tryph. 117).

Much to the same effect, but more guarded, Irenaeus tells us (c. 180) that even then many barbarous nations held the Christian faith, written not with pen and ink, in books or papers, but by the voice of their hearts (Adv. Haer. III. iv. 2). Tertullian likewise (c. 200) boasts of the rapid spread of the Gospel.

“...we are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place that thou hast brought us into, (v. 18), your very camp, palace, forum ... we leave your temples only. We can count your armies; our number in a single province will be greater” (Apol. 37).

Britons beyond the Roman pale, Sarmatians, Germans, and Scythians are among the more distant races that he reckons as already touched by the Gospel. Justinian (c. 250-324) declares the gospel not merely to have won myriads of converts among all nations, but more precisely, to have penetrated into many parts of the barbarian world (c. Cel. I. 27, ii. 18); while Arnobius (c. 364) denies that any nation of the barbarians was then without some Christian influence (Adv. Gentes, i. 16, ii. 5). From Eusebius (c. 320-330) we hear of the ex-Stoic Stoic Panteunus of Alexandria undertaking a missionary journey to India at the instigation of Epictetus (Hist. Eccl. v. 19); but Panteunus 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 ‘India of the geographers’, including parts of the S. Arabian shore-lands and of Abyssinia, this is a noteworthy journey. Origen, again, about 215, was invited to teach the Gospel in Asia Minor, and accepted the invitation (Eus. HE vi. 19), and 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 cent. 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 off his Christian envoys to Bithynia and Cappadocia, 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 Rome, representing the modern Spanish Empire. From the conversion of the Empire to the rise of Islam (c. 323-632), Important extensions of Christianity followed the conversion of Constantine.

II. Africa.—Among these one is African. The Abyssinian Church was founded, or at least Christi-
other lands east of the Euxine (see bks. iii. and xi., esp. p. 178 of B. de Montfaucon’s ed. [Col. nova Pat. iv. 205, 1706, ii. 118 ff.], p. 1xxxviii. 168 f.). At no time, perhaps, till the Russian colonization of North Asia was Christianity more strongly supported in Eastern lands than at this time.

The southern. — St. Patrick’s conversion of Ireland (from c. 430) opened to Christendom a land that had never been Roman, and was practically unknown to Continental Europe, after Honorius withdrew the legions from Britain. The full disregard of Ireland was the work of the intestine missionaries. Within a century of St. Patrick’s death the Irish took up a great mission-work of their own. From about 550 to 800 the Irish Church showed its greatest energy abroad, and perhaps 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 done, Roman conquests. Some of their pioneers reached the Orkneys, the Færoes, the northernmost Hebrides, and even Iceland (of the last Irish monks were the first discoverers in 795).

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. Ninian, the founder of ‘Candida Casa’ or Galloway, who was apparently working in the south-west and centre of modern Scotland about 390-430, is specially associated with these enterprises. The Roman mission dispatched by Pope Gregory the Exarch to England in 679 was concerned with a country lying within the Old Empire, and so outside the proper field of this article. It was, however, the commencement 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 bitter complaint from a Nestorian patriarch to the bishop of Persia or ‘Persia’ proper about 650. It was owing to his neglect, the patriarch declares, that the people of Khorisân had lapsed from the faith, and that India, from ‘Persa to Colon’ (Kalam, or Quilon, near Cape Comorin), was now being deprived of a regular ministry. We find the same patriarch writing to the Christians of Sycotra and of Balch, 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 quarral 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 monument of Si-gan Fu. In 635-636 a missionary, who appears in the Chinese Record as ‘Olopan’ (or ‘Olopan’ entered the Celestial Land,’ and reached Si-gan Fu, the capital of the Tang dynasty. He had come, we are told, from ‘Great China’ (the Roman Empire); he was received with favour; his writings were examined and approved; his Scriptures were translated for the Imperial library; and within three years an Imperial edict declared Christianity a tolerated religion. With the speculative fairness of his race (and of one of the greatest of Chinese emperors), T’ai-tsung 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 to the supreme Good, and verity, and considered only good results.’ Therefore it was useful to man, and should be published under the whole extent of the Heavens. . . . I command the magistrates to erect a temple of this religion in the Imperial city, and twenty-one religious men shall be installed there.

T’ai-tsung’s successor was less friendly.

‘He fertilized the truth, and raised luminous temples [Christian Churches] in all the provinces,—till they filled 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. 683, a time of disfavour and oppression. Chinese conservatism rallied against the new worship.

‘The children of the [Buddhist] resort 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 Kho, who travelled for the conversion of men; on his arrival in the Middle Kingdom, Eustratus persuaded him to perform the fallen Law.’ In 747 the emperor brought back ‘the venerable images’ to the Temple of Felicity, and firmly raised its altars; with his own hand he ‘wrote a tablet on the table of the great church of the capital.’ His three successors all ‘honoured the luminous multitude.’ One observed that ‘Christianity is a law of justification, another of their nine rules for the propagation of the doctrine; various high officials of the court, a member of the council of war, and a central governor of provinces ‘prostrated 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 1062 (A.D. 781), in the days of the Father of Fathers, the Patriarch Hanan-Yeshuah, this marble tablet was set up with the history of the preaching of our fathers before the kings of the Chinese.’

Hanan-Yeshuah died in expectation of death, but news of his death would naturally take a considerable time to travel from Bagdad to Si-gan Fu.

The general truthfulness of this record (the most remarkable witness that we possess of Christian activity in the Further East before the 13th 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 temples’ to the Christian churches of his empire; about 790 the patriarch of Bagdad sent a new metropolitan to Si-gan Fu, and after the manner of the hands of robbers a succession of dissident, with six other bishops and a party of monks.

Like the Chinese mission, the Indian was revived in the middle of the 8th century. About 745 a party from Bagdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, under orders from the arch-priest at Edessa, arrived in India, with the merchant 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, grave on copper, to the Christians of his dominions. A famous inscription discovered in 1547, on St. Thomas Mount near Madras, probably of the 8th cent., but perhaps even earlier, another charter of 824, to the Malabar Christians, the journey of Bishop Abraham about 800 from Beersheba to China, and the Arab references to the strength of Christianity at this time and down to the Far Eastern revolution of 878, may also be cited. Finally, the continuance of the lines of metropolitans in China, India, and the Merv region, and the names given them, about 850, to be absent from the central councils of the Nestorian Church (at or near Bagdad, every four years), are other fragments of evidence to the vigour of Nestorian missions at a time (c. 750-850) which perhaps marked the close of their greatest development.
From the end of the 9th cent., however, this Nestorian expansion began to be seriously checked. The Nestorians had been in high favour, not only with the Chinese, but also with the Muslims, who regarded them as the true successors of the Apostles. Thus the Nestorians were able to keep their two principal missions, Khwarizm and China, alive for many centuries, and to exert a considerable influence on the Chinese and other Eastern peoples. But the Nestorian missions were not without their own internal divisions and difficulties.

The Nestorian mission to China was founded by St. Thomas, a Persian monk, who arrived in China in 635. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Chinese language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in China, and their influence is still felt in the Chinese church today.

The Nestorian mission to Khwarizm was founded in the 8th century by St. Babken, a Persian monk, who arrived in Khwarizm in 722. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in Khwarizm, and their influence is still felt in the Persian church today.

The Nestorian mission to India was founded in the 10th century by St. Thomas, a Persian monk, who arrived in India in 982. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in India, and their influence is still felt in the Indian church today.

The Nestorian mission to Korea was founded in the 13th century by St. John Chrysostom, a Persian monk, who arrived in Korea in 1274. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in Korea, and their influence is still felt in the Korean church today.

The Nestorian mission to Japan was founded in the 16th century by St. Andrew, a Persian monk, who arrived in Japan in 1573. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in Japan, and their influence is still felt in the Japanese church today.

The Nestorian mission to Turkestan was founded in the 17th century by St. John Chrysostom, a Persian monk, who arrived in Turkestan in 1639. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in Turkestan, and their influence is still felt in the Turkestan church today.

The Nestorian mission to Abyssinia was founded in the 19th century by St. Andrew, a Persian monk, who arrived in Abyssinia in 1840. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in Abyssinia, and their influence is still felt in the Abyssinian church today.

The Nestorian mission to America was founded in the 20th century by St. Andrew, a Persian monk, who arrived in America in 1920. He was followed by other Nestorian missionaries, who introduced the Greek alphabet and the Nestorian liturgy, and the Persian language and culture. The Nestorians were able to establish a thriving community in America, and their influence is still felt in the American church today.
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 the missionary efforts of the Franks. By about 975 considerable progress had been made; the reigning Hungarian prince Geiza (972-997) was a nominal, if semi-pagan, Christian; but the complete victory of Christian orthodoxy, with the death of the first king, Stephen 'the Saint,' baptized by Adalbert of Prague about 938. Stephen was called to succeed his father Geiza in 977; 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 his kingdom, had organized that kingdom with remarkable success, and had given it its first impression of civilization. He founded colleges, hospitals, and monasteries for Hungarians in Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and his hospitality to pilgrims was so generous that the overland route through the Hungarian plain came to be generally preferred by the mass of those travelling from Western Europe to Constantinople and Syria.

Roman Christianity, as introduced by Ansgar, won the allegiance of the king, court, and ruling classes of Denmark in the days of Harold Bluetooth, and the other Scandinavian courts. As for Norway, under Ansgar, from about 966. Yet even after this there was a pagan reaction, accompanied by persecution (1000-04), under Svend, or Swegen, 'Forkbeard,' the convertor of England, who vacillated between the old heathendom and the new faith, but finally embraced the latter, after his triumph in the West. Count the Great, Svend's son and successor (1014-35), was almost a Danish Cynic, and identified his policy with the work of the Christian Church in all ways.

Christianity in Sweden, likewise founded by Ansgar, did not become the faith of the court and the governing classes till the end of the first millennium, under Olaf the 'Hop-King' (995-1022). Pagan reactions still occurred till far on in the 11th cent., a final one on the eve of the First Crusade—but the battle was really won by 1020. The first faint beginnings of (Latin) Christianity in Norway may also be traced back to Ansgar's time. Under Haakon I (935-961) it began to struggle for predominance; the king for a long time endeavoured to promote it, but in his later years he seems to have yielded to the wishes of the pagan party. Heathen and Christian struggled for ascendency till the short and brilliant reign of Olaf Tryggvesson (995-1000), who forced the gospel on the bulk of his subjects with every kind of violence and every art of persuasion. The work was completed by Olaf the Saint, the godchild and third successor of Tryggvesson (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 Tryggvesson in 997; in 1000 the new faith was accepted (with some important concessions to heathenism) in a National Assembly; and at the same time the gospel reached Greenland, where it soon won the allegiance of the leading men.

Leif Ericson, probably the first discoverer of America, was commissioned by Olaf Tryggvesson in 1000 to proselytize his countrymen, on his return bringing to his home Eric's Fiord, but the missionary journey was interrupted by storms, which drove Leif to Vinland (Novia Scotia?).

Russia was not really won till the time of Vladimir the Great ('St. Vladimir,' 980-1018). The patriarch Photius, it is true, claims (c. 867) that the fierce and barbarous Russians had already been converted by the missions of the Eastern Church; but even a century later their people were thoroughly heathen. Decisive Christian success began with the conversion of Olga, the princess-regent of Kiev, and widow of the grand-prince Igor, who visited Constantinople in 955, and had there been baptized 'the saint.' The full triumph of the faith was delayed for a generation by the refusal of Olga's son Svyatoslav 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 that had yet 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 (Byantine) 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 court 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 Christian past, and no nation turned more to spread the Christian faith, as it has understood 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 earlier and freer age—before the Tatars—the establishment of the Church was completed.

4. From the First Crusade to the end of the medieval time (1096-1453).—Thus, before the close of the 11th cent., nearly all Europe, from Britain 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 Old Empire—to Greenland and Iceland, to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to the shores of the Baltic, the plains of Poland, the Carpathian highlands, and the western regions of Modern Russia—Kieff, Smolensk, Novgorod. Novgorod enterprise, it is probable, had by 1086 carried the religion as well as the trade of the East into some part of the regions and among some of the tribes of the farthest North and North-East—in the White Sea basin and in the valleys of the Dvina and Detchora.

A little later, in 1211, 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 enclaves, 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 cent. 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 faith was gradually enforced. Russian Christianity meanwhile appears expanding in the far North and East by its foundation of the St. Michael's monastery on the site of Archangel, and of the important Novgorod colony of Vyatka, north of Kazan (1174). Latin Christianity accompanied the early victories of Germanism beyond the Elbe in the 11th and anti-German reaction which set in about 883 was equally injurious 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 on in the
again, with better appearance of success. In 1915 a Prussian bishop was consecrated. But a violent heaten 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 1218 Pope Honorius III. allowed a Prussian Crusade as a substitute for the Syrian. In 1296 the Teutonic Order, a holy bishopric, was established in much permanent effect in the Levant, though its nominal existence remained at Acre till 1291, was invited to help, and terms were made between the grandmaster, Hermann of Salza, and the Poles, mainly represented by duke Conrad of Mazovia. The emperor Frederick II., the intimate friend and patron of Hermann, gave the fullest support in his power, bestowing 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 1298) 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 the Jerusalem 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 hero of the present German Imperial Borderlands.

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 Tatar courts, proved to be the beginning of an important chapter in Eastern 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 Parsee faith in Asia, outside the narrow limits of the shrunken Byzantine Empire and the crusading principalities. But in the 16th cent. the Church of Rome began to be heard of in the depths of Tartary, and between 1245 and 1255 the great overland travellers of the first generation, the Priests John de Plano Carpini, William de Rubruquis or Rubrouck, and Andrew of Longanesius, appeared in the Bokhara and the Volga, or in the Baikal or Balkhash basins. 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 Poles, 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 propagators. Kubil Khan expressed a desire for official Christian instructors; but his wish remained unfulfilled. Marco Polo and his relatives were primarily merchants, adventurers of the world. No mission work can be credited to them.

But, while the Poles were still in China, the founder of the Latin churches both in Cathay and in India started on his and Franscisco di Corvino, a Franciscan like Carpini and Rubruquis, and a man of unifying energy, courage, and patience, began his life-work in Asia about 1275, and
in 1889 was sent by Pope Nicholas IV. with letters to the great men of the Tatar empire and of neighbouring lands—the supreme Khan in Cathay, the Ilkhan in Persia, the emperor of Ethiopia, and others. Corvino's mission was to take the capital of the South Asiatic sea-route from Urmuz, making a long halt upon the way in the Madras region (or 'St. Thomas's country'). He arrived in Rome without any mishap, was repeatedly reinforced from home; and his work led to the creation of a regular Roman hierarchy, with at least two bishoprics, in the 'Middle Kingdom.' 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 overseas routes which connected the Levant and the Far East, as well as upon the association of Western traders and Western missionaries in the Empire's penetration of Asia.

Corvino seems to have made his way into Persia by much the same route—through Sisvān, Erzerum, and Kars—as merchants then took between the Gulf of Alexandria and the Persian Gulf. With Tabriz, however, he was joined by a 'great merchant and faithful Christian,' Peter of Luzolongo, and with this companion he turned aside from the continental main track and made his way south into India, with the view of there taking ship for Cathay (1291). Some time, however, was yet to elapse before the friar committed himself to the briny barks of the Indian seas—'ill-nauted and uncontrived,' without a chart, without a compass, together with twins like clothes, without caulking, having but one mast, one sail of matting, and some ropes of husk' (cf. Münchener gelehrte Anzeigen, xxii. [1865] 179).

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 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 pictures of Indian life drawn by a Roman Christian or Eastern European, which seems to have awakened the paeomy to the possibilities of Hindu conversion. Meantime, 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 merchant 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 prejudice and calumny; how brilliant successes had followed dismal failures; and how, in 1304, he had at last been joined by a colleague, Friar Arnold of Cologne. Probably he landed at the great port of Zayton, or Wynd, in Peking; apparently he made his way immediately to Peking. In any case, he failed to convert the emperor, Timur of Kish, the son and successor of Kaulsh, a great father of the Ilkhan, famed 'nunus inveteratus in idolatry,' 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, and of the nations of Persia and the Steppe lands of Southern Russia. His
appeal was not unheeded; and the authorities of the Church, tired with his own enthusiasm, took up the case that he had begun with something of the spirit that he desired.

New conquests seemed now to open before the Church of Rome. Friar John was created archbishop of Cambaluc (with exceptional powers) in the name of the pope, and seven bishops (of whom three only per se were) depended on to continue the work and help the new primates of Cathay. In 1308 these three suffragans—Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew—reached China, and carried out the commission. Each of them appears successively in the history of the mission as bishop of ‘Zayton’ in Peking, where a successful Latin mission was gradually established, and where some Genoese traders appear to have settled in the early years of the 14th century. A Franciscan tradition maintained that the emperor Khaihsan Kuluk (1307—11), third of the Yuen, or Mongol, dynasty in China, and grandson of the great Kubilai, was converted by Monte Corvino, in what had been the land of Cathay. It may be the news or legend of this success that led Clement V. in 1312 to send three more suffragans to the see of Archbishop John; in any case, we find one of these later bishops, Peter of Florence, becoming head of a monastery in this harbour-town of ‘Zayton.’

The remaining fragments of our knowledge of Corvino are soon told. In 1322 he appoints Andrew of Funchia, one of his first group of suffragans, to the see of ‘Zayton’; in 1329 Andrew, writing home, refers to the Archbishop, without naming him; and about 1350 the Franciscan chronicler, John of Winteworth, makes a confused allusion to his death in the Peking of the Middle Age, a letter supposed by the annalist to be the work of a nameless Franciscan of Lower Germany, possibly the very Arnold of Cologne who joined the mission in 1304. Lastly, in 1329, we hear of the death of that aged missionary who first carried Roman Christianity as an active faith to India and China, who perhaps converted the ‘Emperor of Emperors,’ and who was the first and last effective European bishop in those regions.

The best days and brightest hopes of the Chinese mission really closed with the life of its founder; but the Church at Rome showed no consciousness of falling energy. A certain Brother Nicolas appears in 1324 in China to succeed him, and, with twenty friars and six laymen, set out for Cathay. We are not sure, however, that he ever reached the Middle Kingdom. All that we do know of his journey is that he arrived at Almalig, the modern Kulja, now on the Central Asiatic frontier of China and Russia, that he received good treatment there, and that in 1329 Pope Benedict XI. wrote to the Chagatai Khan (June 18), thanking him for his kindness to Nicolas.

Meanwhile, a little earlier (in 1338), an embassy from the Great Khan then reigning—Timur Ukha-gan—had appeared before Benedict XI.; and with this embassy letters had arrived from a certain Christian prince of the Alan nation in the Khan’s service, begging for a bishop and legate worthy to replace Corvino. In reply to these communications the mission that he had at Almalig, the modern Kulja, now on the Central Asian frontier of China and Russia, that he received good treatment there, and that in 1329 Pope Benedict XI. wrote to the Chagatai Khan (June 18), thanking him for his kindness to Nicolas.

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be established—are among the curious things of medieval literature.

We have seen something of the vigour with which Latin missions and Western commerce of this time fought to win and maintain a position in China, in India, and in Persia. During the same period (c. 1245–1370) the fates of Christianity and Judaism in Central Asia, and of the eastern sections of the Roman Church in Tibet and Japan, were decided. The last of the missionary movement of the 14th century was the work of the Mongols, who were not only the greatest and most far-reaching instrument of the spread of Byzantine and Russian Christianity, but also the last and perhaps the greatest of the European powers to be involved in the missionary enterprise.

In the 14th cent. we also hear of the progress of Russian missions, the pioneer or attendant of which was St. Andrew of Novgorod, who was sent in 1325 by Bishop John of Pskov to the court of the Khan of the Golden Horde. This mission was successful, and the Russian Church was established in the region of the Volga, the region of the Volga, and in the region of the Don. The work of Russian missions in the 14th and 15th centuries was largely connected with the expansion of the Russian state, and the spread of Russian culture and language.

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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 nations all things at all times (Mt. 28:18-20). Mindful of the Last Will and Testament of Our Lord, the Church has always looked upon missionary work as an essential and solemn obligation, and upon its progress as an unerring gauge of her vitality. Since the day of Pentecost, when she received her baptism by the Holy Spirit, the Church has been on the apostolate with more or less success in the midst of constant persecutions from within and from without, and in spite of unfavourable political conditions and anti-Christian legislation. The missionary character which she displayed in apostolic times equally manifested itself in the Celtic, Germanic, and Frankish missionary enterprises, that of the Benedictine missionaries SS. Gregory, Augustine, Willibrord, Boniface, Audoard, and Adalbert gave to the missionary movement its definite shape. When subsequently new countries were discovered or opened up, the Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic became important factors in the missions among the peoples of Islam and the Mongols, Morocco and Egypt, in Syria and Palestine, India and China. In 1252 a special missionary congregation was formed out of members of the two orders known as Societas peruviantum protest Christi, for the purpose of sending the Catholic apostolate was given when, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, Spain and Portugal took the lead in exploration, conquest, and commerce in the East and the West. They gave freeply of the wealth that they had won in their respective colonies to found missions, schools, and colleges for the propagation of the faith, and their fleets never set forth without having on board missionaries — Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Jesuits — destined for the peaceful conquest of souls. To avoid political troubles and to further the cause of Christianity, Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, by the famous line of demarcation, assigned the East to the Portuguese and the West to the Spaniards, and with a remarkable zeal they devoted their protection for nearly three centuries to the spread of the gospel, though this Protectore ad modestium, the Franciscans accompanied Columbus in 1493, and they were followed by others to the Antilles (1500), Mexico or New Spain (1519), Yucatan, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In 1524 the Franciscans had missions in Colombia and Venezuela, in Peru and Ecuador. At the request of the king 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 1664 Narváez 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, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, and Abyssinia.

The Society of Jesus was 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 Borgia (1565-72) Jesuit missionaries were sent to Florida, Mexico, Peru; under Acquaviva (1681-95) to Canada, Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines, and China; under Vitelleschi (1615-40) to Tibet, Tongking, Manchuria, 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 3000 Jesuit missionaries alone in that year.

Besides the Franciscans and Jesuits, other missionaries belonging to various religious orders were engaged in the mission field of the Roman Catholic Church, although not so large an extent. Among these may be mentioned the Theatines (1594), Capuchins (1599), Barnabites (1633), Oratorians (1651), Carmelites (1665), Augustinians, Lazarists (1624), the missionary orders of the Dominicans (1608) and of St. Sulpice (1642), and, lastly, La Société des Missions Étrangères of Paris (1663). For the sake of unity and conformity all these various missionary organizations were finally centralized from Pope Gregory XIII. to Gregory XV. (1621-23). By the brief of 24th June 1629 (Inscrutabilis) the latter, with the help of the Carmelite Thomas a Jean and the Capuchin Girolo de Larni, instituted the Congregatio de propaganda fide, or Propaganda, whose sphere of jurisdiction has recently been circumscribed by Pius X. (29th June 1909). The Congregation consists of 25 cardinals with a cardinal-prefect, 4 secretaries, 10 missionaries, and some 20 ecclesiastics. 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 the particular field to the various missionary societies, to appoint the missionary superiors, etc.

Thus from the beginning of the 16th century, the Roman Catholic Church carried on her apostolate throughout the world in N. and S. America, with the adjacent islands, in Asia, China, India, etc. On the other hand, the struggle and the storms which she had to endure in the 18th century, from the tyrannical absolutism of European rulers, from the crippling taxation of the States, from a false philosophy, the Encyclopedists (p. u.), 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 1830 and 1830. The 19th and so far the 20th century are witness of the unwavering fidelity of the Church to the command of Christ, and of her vitality and energy in the mission field. Supported by emperors and kings as her protectors and promoters, nay, hampered in her efforts by Roman Catholic governments and anti-Christian legislation, she has carried on the work of reconstruction and reorganization, has recovered her ground, and, finally, has carried her propaganda into every corner of heathen lands. The ancient orders have
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 mission and mission work, formerly almost wholly excluded from the missions, are now to be found everywhere, about 20,000 taking their share in the educational, charitable, and industrial work. To support the missionaries and the missions materially, from 1,000,000 Franciscans, formerly almost unknown, have been added to the number of priests and brothers and novices in the missions throughout the world, have given their support to promote the revival of missionary work among the heathen.

According to H. A. Krose ([Katholische Missionsstatistik], Freiberg, 1908), the total result of missionary work on the part of the Roman Catholic Church in the 19th cent. amounted to 8,321,963 converts from paganism. This flock is attended by 12,905 missionary priests, of whom 5869 are natives, 4896 brothers, and 175 sisters, with 50,414 stations, 22,736 churches, 17,834 schools with 791,875 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 88,222,000 converts.

According to Karl Streit [Katholischer Missionsstatistik, Leipzig, 1909] there were: 7903 European and 8887 native priests, 8270 boarders, 24,513 catechumens, 41,966 stations, 28 churches, 7,441,015 native members, 1,517,000 catechumens, 24,953 schools with 840,974 pupils, etc. The Atlas Hierarchiae Christi, by the same author, published at Paderborn in 1913, does not give a summary of the apostole.

The review of missionary societies and their respective missions given on the opposite page will lead the reader to the conclusion that the Roman Catholic missions in our own days.

1. **Asia.**—As far as missionary work in its strictest sense is concerned, Asia may be divided into: (1) India Proper, or the British Empire of India with Ceylon, Burma, and Malay Peninsula; (2) the Chinese Empire, including 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 outlined in the "Early and Medieval" section above.

2. **British India.**—British India and Ceylon, with an area of 3,000,000 sq. miles and a population of 200,000,000, is one of the most important and probably one of the most difficult mission fields of the Roman Catholic Church owing to the babel-tongued tribes (130), the many non-Christian religions (Hindu, Brahman, Buddhist, Muhammadan, pagan) and Christian denominations (40), and the prejudices of the highly developed caste system.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, the capital of Malabar, accompanied by the Trinitarian Pedro de Covilham, who in 1500 became the protomartyr of the missions in India. In the same year eight secular priests and eight Franciscans arrived with Pedro Alvaro de Cabral, three of whom were to death by the Muhammadans. Yet, in spite of persecution and death, the Franciscans, and after 1503 the Dominicans, went forth to India as the pioneer missionaries, to sow the seed of Christianity. In Cochin (1503) and Goa (1510) and gradually extended their work to Bombay, Madras, Dadum, Bengal, Agra, Ceylon, Malapur, etc., under Fathers Antonio do Laza (1589), do Porto, and Padre João de Menezes. In 1534 Pope Paul III. erected the bishopric of Goa with Bishop John of Albuquerque as its first occupant; the see was raised to an archbishopric by Paul IV. (1557) with three suffragans at Cochin, St. Franciscus (1651), archbishop of Goa (1655), and Malapur (1666). Two Franciscans, James of Borbas 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 Mauilhac, set out to inaugurate a new period of missionary labours. From Goa he extended the faith to the Fishery Coast, Travancore (1544), Cochin, Quilon, and Ceylon. His Jesuit successors took up and carried on his work: de Nobili among the Brahmans of Madura (1603-48); de la Corte among the custom (converts). Criminals on the Fishery Coast (90-130,000 converts) (1602), de Britto among the Maravas (1639), Aquinavita at the court of Akbar the Great; Father Gee penetrated from India into China, and Andrade crossed the Himalayas and went to Tibet. They were followed by other members of the Society such as da Costa, Martinez, Laynez, Bouchet, Martin, Calmette, Condreux, and Constantine (1700-40). Franscanes in Agra and Delhi, Capuchins in Madras (1642), Barnabites and Augustinians (Archbishop Menezes of Goa [1594-1610]) in Hyderabad and Bengal, Theatines and Oratorians (Father Vas, apostle of Ceylon [1711]) shared with them the harvest of souls in India, whilst, after 1656, the Carmelites worked for the return of the Syrian Christians of Malabar to Roman Catholic unity.

With so many missionary labourers in the Indian mission field, hopes of a speedy conversion of India were entertained, and, no doubt, would have been realized to some extent, had Portugal remained faithful to the duties and sacred obligations that she had promised through the late position of patronage—the right of patronage—which the Holy See from Leo X. to Paul V. (1514-1616) had granted to her kings. When, however, the power and the influence of Portugal began to decline and the Dutch and the English took her field in the East, the supply of missionaries became limited, the missionaries themselves were put to death or expelled, the churches were destroyed, and the native Christians were cruelly persecuted. The Sultan Tippu Sahib of Mysore between 1782 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 usages with an equal rights with de Nobili in 1606 and ending in 1744 with the bull of Benedict XIV., "Omnium sollicitudinum", 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 1782, 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 rains and wreckage (500,000 or even less) in 1800. The archbishopric of Goa, with its three suffragans of Cangano, Cochin, and Mallapur, numbered 340,000 members with 400 priests, and outside the Goanese jurisdiction there were four missions—Agra, with 5000 converts under the care of 10 Capuchins, Pondicherry with 6500 and 6 priests, the Carmelites missions of Malabar with 9000 converts and 5 priests, and Ceylon, with 1 missionary and 20 native priests for 50,000 members. All this was due to the anti-Christian policy of Pombal and the neglect of obligations Portugal's right of the Padroado. The Holy See,
### Roman Catholic Religious Orders and Missionary Societies, and Their Fields of Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Founded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augustinians (Horna)</td>
<td>E.S. Aug.</td>
<td>1568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Recollects)</td>
<td>O.S.B.</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capuchins</td>
<td>O.F.M. Cap.</td>
<td>1528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmelites (Discalced)</td>
<td>O. Carm.</td>
<td>1664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominicans</td>
<td>O. Pr.</td>
<td>1216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franciscans</td>
<td>O.F.M.</td>
<td>1229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesuits</td>
<td>S.J.</td>
<td>1540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazarists</td>
<td>O.M.</td>
<td>1525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marists</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Seminaries—Lycia</td>
<td>S.M.A.</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill Hill</td>
<td>S.M.H.</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>M.E.P.</td>
<td>1638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parma (Rome)</td>
<td>S.P.</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin (la Consolata)</td>
<td>M. Consol.</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verona</td>
<td>P.S.C.</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregation of the Holy Ghost</td>
<td>C.S.P.</td>
<td>1768 and 1843 Unfounded in 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of the Sacred Heart</td>
<td>M.B.C.</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesians of Don Bosco</td>
<td>G. Sal.</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of Imacul. Heart</td>
<td>C.M.F.</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company of Mary a Montfort</td>
<td>S.S.M.</td>
<td>1705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests of S. Heart of Jesus</td>
<td>S.S.C.</td>
<td>1877</td>
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</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. North Hu-nan, Cooktown; P. Amazonas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Casanare; P. Palawan; M. Brack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prel. Rio Branco; Abby of New Nurse; Secl; V. Dur-es-Salam; P. Kalinga and North Transvl; M. Dresdile River; Indians in U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Candiola, Agna, Allahabad, Jabore; A. D. Simla; V. Arabia, Carulina-Mariana, Ezrahwa, Galba, Somaia, Gofira, Gwain, Seychelles, Sophia; P. Aracana, Batefla, Southern Borno, Gogoza, Upper Sollfawa, Mis Calanga, Belgas-Ubanghi, Bapram, Sumatra, M. Martin, Syria, Trebland, Kephalonia, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Quimin, Veropoly, Mozopotamia, Kordistan, Armenia; M. Bagdadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Amoy, Canoes y Macas, Cusco, Fo-kien, Central-East and Northern Tongking; P. Shiboku, Urumbaha; M. Mousil, Trinidad, E. Unele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine; V. Algeza, R. and N. Shan-shi, E. and S. Shaotung, N. and Central Shen, H. Huan, S. W., N-W., E. Hu-pei, Egypt, Morocco, Zamora; P. Rhodes, Tripoli, Ucayali; Prel. Santarens; M. Monomakhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Calcutta, Bombay, Calcut, Mangalore, Poona, Trivinopoly, Trincomalee; V. Batavia, Kiang-nan, S. E. Chih-li, Central Madagascar, British Guiiana, British Honduras, Jamaica; P. Alacksa, Kwango, Zambezi; M. Albania, Ivya, Tine, Armesia, Adana, Syria, Philippes, Australia, U.S.A., Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chila, Arab, Brazil, Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ipanchan; V. Aylinyasa, S., E., and N. Iangnak, S. Madagascar, C., S-W., N., and E. Chih-chi; E. and W. Che-Klang; M. Macedoria, Constantinople, Syria, Pakistan, Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Fiji, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Central Oceania, Samoa, Solomon Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Benin, Dahomey, Gold Coast, Nile Delta, Ivory Coast, Liberia; P. E. and W. Niagara, Korga; M. Negro Missions U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Krishnagar, Hyderabad; V. E. Burna, B. and N. Ho-nan, Hongkong; A.D. Madras; V. Upper Nile; P. N. Burne, Kasimil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Bonin, Tahit, Southern California</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. E., C., and S.W. Mongolia, N. Kasam, Upper Congo; P. S. Kasam, Upper Kasai; M. Kulla, Philippines; S. Shantung, Tong; P. Kaiser Wilhelmsland, Niqata; M. Philippines, Monomakhe, Dutch India, Negro Missions U.S.A., and among Indians in S. America</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Kurno; P. S. Kafa</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Bagamooyo, Killmanjaro, Zanzibar, N. Madagascar, French Upper Congo, Gabon, Lango, Sesegambo, Ubangli, Sierra Leone; P. Lower Katanga, Upper Chimbanza, Portugese Congo, French Guinea, North Katanga, Nosi Be, Lower Niger, Senegal, Togo; M. Bata, Lunda, Lumbo, Ruumo, Kumu, Mouria, Hayi, Guandoupe, Martinique, Trinidad, Ubangli-Chari, Kamer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. and N. Sanya, Kiru, Unyamweye, Tasaganya, UpperCongo, Nyasa, Bangweelo, Sahara; P. Ghardala; M. Sudden, Algiers, Jerumine, Kalifa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Hwaila, Tahli, Marsquesta; P. Kaiser Wilhelmsland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Camerons; M. Kimberley, Australis, Brazil; D. Jaffa; A.D. Kolomo; V. Alhabace, Basuto, Kweewa, Mackenzie, Natal, Oranje, S. Transatl, Kimberley; P. Lower Chimbanza, Tchibo, Vigo, Lusaca, Kasue, Camilo, Malambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Port Victoria; V. New Pomerania, British New Guinea, Gilbert Islands, Marshall Islands; P. Dutch New Guinea; M. Philippines, Brazil</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Medes-Guayquil, N. Patagonia; P. S. Patagonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Fernando Po, P. Choco</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Vanako de la Martin, Shire; M. Hayli</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Stanley Falls; M. Belgian Congo</td>
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</tbody>
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**Salvatorian** (S.D.S. 1881), P. Aman; **Premonstratensians** (O. Premon, 1230), P. W. Uselle; **Sievrastrarie** (O. Silv. 1231), D. Kandt; **Trappist Missionaries** (R.M.M. 1909), Natal; **Trinitarians (O.S.B. Tr. 1183)**, P. Benedikt; **Redemptorists** (O. Redemptor, 1739), P. Hintsch; **St. Vincent de Paul Society** (O. S.V.J. 1782), P. Burtnam (Dutch Guinea), Malaclo; **Passionists** (C.P. 1720), Bulgaria; **Assumptionists** (A.A. 1845), Missions in the Orient; **Salesians of Anniecy, D. Nupar**; **Oblates of St. Francis of Sales, Great Namaland, 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 admitted, and this 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, with the result of establishing the interests of Portugal. India was opened to all Roman Catholic missionaries irrespective of nationality or religious orders. In 1857 the French Jesuits entered Madras, and they were followed by the Germans (Bombay and Poona 1854, 1857), the Belgians (Calcutta 1859, Lahore 1865), 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 (1858), and E. Burma (1866), the Oblates in Jaffna (1847) and Colombo (1858), etc. In 1852 the Propaganda asked Portugal either to fill the vacant sees or to renounce the Padroado. As no answer was given within two years, Gregory xvi. began to institute vicars apostolic in Bengal and Madras (1834), in Ceylon and Pondicherry (1836), etc. But new trials and difficulties commenced. The Portuguese Government persisted against sending missionaries into India and against the establishment of new vicariates without the consent and the co-operation of the kings of Portugal, and the patriarch of Goa placed himself at the head of a schism in India—the Goan schism—which was maintained under the patriarchates 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 22nd June 1858. A million and a half of native Christians were again under the authority of the Holy See when on 1st Sept. 1866 Leo xiii. established the hierarchy in India—8 archbishops: Goa, Veracruz, Colombo, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, and Bombay, to which Simla was added in 1910, the patriarch of Goa holding the dignity of primate, and twenty-five dioceses, etc. For the furthering of the mission work Leo xiii. also established a papal delegation for India, and in 1858 first named Card. F. Kardinal, who since then has been administered by the titular archbishops Agliardi (1884-87), Ajuti (1887-92), and Zaleski.

The first thirty years of the Indian missions after the reorganization under Gregory xvi. was the period of recovery, gathering together and strengthening in faith 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 1857 the numbers of Roman Catholics in India were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number of Catholics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1,324,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>226,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,551,419</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

To complete the survey of the Roman Catholic missions in British India, we subjoin the general statistics taken from the 1889 report of the British Missionary Society: The hierarchy consists of 9 archbishops, 27 bishops, 3 vicars, and 4 prelates, with 1,288 foreign and 1,230 native priests, 636 brothers, 2,092 sisters, 2,772 teachers, 2,218,993 Catholics in 5,116 principal and 7,298 auxiliary stations, 891 churches, 27 theological seminaries with 1,121 students of theology, 2,043 elementary schools with 30,498 pupils, 549 higher schools with 33,416 boys and 15,272 girls, 520 orphanages with 14,706 orphans, 43 hospitals, 171 dispensaries, 19 printing presses, etc.

2. China.—The revival of Roman Catholic missionary activity in China after the close of the medieval period dates from the time when the Jesuit Father Ricci arrived and settled there (1583). 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 Kiang-tsu, receiving converts from the highest to the lowest classes 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 1625 the Jesuit Adam Schall arrived in Peking, and gained great influence by his learning, and turned it to the advantage of religion. In the meantime the Dominicans, who in 1626 had established themselves on the island of Formosa, had also 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 (1864).

At the request of Bishop Pallo, Clement x. divided China, which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Macao, into two vicariates and entrusted the work of part of China and the greatest part of the Chinese missions to the Roman Catholic Church in his native land (1862).

About this time the emperor K'ang-hi, a pupil of Father Schall, repealed all the edicts against the Christians, and the missionaries who had been imprisoned were set at liberty. In 1660, the successor of the Mandarin, and K'ang-hi appointed Bishop Schall as missionary and mathematician and gave the missionaries permission to preach the gospel throughout China.

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 Chinese 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 Gerbillon, in 1692, obtained an edict from the emperor giving all liberty to his subjects to embrace and practise the Roman Catholic religion.

But whilst the Church was enjoying peace from without, it was badly 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 T'ien ('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 infidels, and applying their abilities to other eminent duties, missionaries of the first class wasted their talents, time, and work in unending and fruitless discussions, for Jesuits and Dominicans were divided in their opinions. Father Ricci, as well as the Chinese bishop, Gregory Lopez, and most of the Jesuit missionaries, took the Chinese rites as merely civil ceremonies, while the Dominicans strongly objected to this view. In 1693, however, the controversy became acute by the action of Bishop Maigret, the apostolic delegate 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, a papal legate was sent to China in 1705, who, owing to lack of tact, only offended the emperor.
In 1796 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 issued an edict threatening death to all who should preach against the rites. Alarmed lest these threats should lead to harsher measures, the Jesuits appealed to Rome, asking for instructions. 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 respects to the dead in a manner not prejudicial 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 on published works of piety for their converts. The emperor K’ang-hi, twenty-six years of age, in his sixtieth year, 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 confidants, friends, and advisers. He died in 1722 without 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-chin (1722-35), drove the missionaries from the Court, 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, the missionaries were seized and banished, and 300 churches were destroyed or turned into pagan temples, while 57 Manchu princes who had become Christians, with 300 of their servants, were sent into exile (1724). The accession of K’ien-lung (1735) meant a change in Chinese policy. 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 soon the flame spread to other provinces. All the hatred was turned against the priests, who were obliged to seek refuge in flight.

Scarce the Church recovered from her trials when a new misfortune overtook her. The Jesuits, who from 1836 to 1737 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 15 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 had 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, which in the reign of the emperor K’ang-hi is said to have numbered 800,000 members, was reduced at the beginning of the 19th cent. to 220,000, divided among the Lazarists at Peking and Nanking, the Franciscans in Shantung, the Dominicans in Fu-kien, the Missionaries of Paris in Szechwan, and the Portuguese secular priests at Macao and Canton.

Yet, in spite of bloodshed and persecution, of cruelty and oppression, the Christian hatred of provincial and local mandarins, and notwithstanding anti-foreign policy 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 course of the 19th and specially since 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 Chinese missions 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 Forgettons and the Steyl missionaries, and the missionary seminaries of Milan, Rome, Rome, and Parma, have opened up new fields, and all the European missionaries engaged in China have strengthened their ranks with a large number of native priests in the interior.

True, the opening of the 19th cent. did not promise a bright future, for K’i-k’ing (1789-1839) proved to be one of the greatest persecutors, having revived the old anti-Christian laws. Bishop Dufrasne was beheaded in 1835, Father Clet in 1836, and Father Perboyre 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 France burnt the Christian religion in Canton and Nan, 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-feng revoked them, and renewed those against the Christians. The murder of Father Chapdelaine (1856) brought matters to a crisis. France justified herself 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, and the faithful were guaranteed unrestricted exercise of their religion, and all the edicts against the Christians were abrogated. Yet the Chinese were not safeguarded from local persecutions, which broke out in Kiang-si, Kwang-tung, Szechuan, Hu-nan, and finally in Tientsin in 1876. After the accession of Kwang-sun in 1875 the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a long period of peace, and, though the empress Ta-fei-Hai was not favorable to Christianity, yet she did nothing against its progress and development. In 1895 and 1899 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 tumults of Europe in China, by taking Triaschw (Germany, 1897), Tahanwan (Russia, 1898), Wei-shih-pei (Belgium, and Kwang-chou-wan (France, 1888), resulted in the Boxer riots, which brought sad days for the missions. Bishops, priests, and sisters lost their lives; churches, schools, and hospitals were reduced to the ground; and native Christians were slaughtered. Peace was restored only when a strong international army entered Peking on 14th Aug. 1900 and ten foreign Powers dictated the terms of peace to the Chinese. Missionaries, 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 (1911) and the proclamation of a Chinese republic have not interfered with missionary work. Yuan-Shi-Kai, the first president of the new republic, promised absolute religious liberty, mandarins and governors hegolized the tact of the Bishops, and Catholic missionaries, and Christian and non-Christian sects look up with admiration to the spiritual power of the Church whose missionaries are living examples of the poverty, zeal, and heroism of the missionary 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 or three 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 Funay (Japan) in 1587. In 1659 Alexander VII. erected within the diocese of Macao two vicariates for China, and to satisfy Portugal Alexander VIII. erected the dioceses of Peking and Nanking under the jurisdiction of Goa, to which were added three vicariates, viz. Shan-si, Fu-kien, and Kiang-si, and the ecclesiastical province of Peking, and 100,000 members. Fifty years later the number had increased to 18 districts with 330,000 members, in 1890 to 40 ecclesiastical jurisdictions with 601,000 members; in 1911 there were 33 dioceses with 933,000 members, and in 1911-12, 48 vicariates and prefectures with 1,345,376 members (1913 = 1,431,000; 1914 = 1,605,107) and 496,912 catechumens. When the provinces of the Atube-Hierarchia, we find for China and its dependencies, Mongolia and Manchuria, the following statistics: 49 missionary dioceses or vicariates and prefectures, 1,000 native priests, 247 European and 49 native brothers, 753 European and 1,068 native sisters, 430 male and 372 female catechists, 719 native teachers, 1,048,659 native Christians and 413,000 catechumens, 1416 principal and 13,900 secondary stations, 2,924 churches and chapels, 54 theological seminaries with 1,025 students, 684 elementary schools with 133,228 pupils, 375 higher schools with 6,438 (T) pupils and 396 (T) girls, 992 orphanages with 3,298 inmates, 97 hospitals, 477 schools, and 21 printing presses.

3. Indo-China.—Indo-China, the bridge between India and China, the most easterly of the three peninsulas of Asia, is politically divided into Upper and Lower Burma (British), the Malay Peninsula (British and Siam), Siam (independent), French Indo-China, which consists of Cochinchina, Annam and Tongking, 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,—included in British India, we have to deal here only with French Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.

The field of French Indo-China has been estimated at 342,000 or 300,000 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 century by a French Franciscan, Bonier (1554), and two Portuguese Dominicans, Gaspard of the Cross, who penetrated into Cambodia, and Sebastian de Cantu; both were put to death in Siam in 1569. These were followed by Lopez Cordoso, Sylvester Azeredo, and John de Pena, who were beheaded in Siam, while Louis Fonseca and Diego Advarie (martyred in 1600) went to Cochinchina in 1596. These early missionaries, however, had little success when the Jesuits engaged in the missions of Japan were expelled in 1614, they made their way to Indo-China; such were Francis Buzoni, Diego Carvalho, and Francis de Pina, who in 1615 entered Cochinchina and Cambodia in 1617, and in 1620 they were followed by Alexander of Rhodes, the pioneer missionary of Indo-China, in 1624. Cochinchina Father Julian Baldinotti extended the work to Tengking in 1628. In a short period of time the Church made such rapid progress that, in 1635, the number of Christians amounted to 108,000 in 1641, while Father Tissianer on his arrival in 1638 found 300,000 converts under the charge of only 8 Jesuit priests and 30 lay catechists. To plead the cause of the Church in Indo-China and the insufficient number of workers, Father Rhodes returned to Europe to appeal for help. In the meantime persecutions raged against the native Christians in 1644, 1645, and 1647; but, on the other hand, a new missionary society was founded in Paris (Les Missions Etrangères), whose members were to become the instruments for a rich harvest in the East. Among the first missionaries of the Society of Paris we find Fathers Chevrill, Haintz, Bridaen, Mahot, and Vachelet. To strengthen the work Pope Alexander VII. appointed in 1659 two members,—the actual founders of Les Missions Etrangères,—viz. Francis Pallu and Pierre de la Motte Lambert, as vicars-apostolic of Tongking and Cambodia. Under their administration parishes were established, schools and seminaries were opened for the training of a native clergy, and de la Motte founded the congregation of the Congregation of the Missions Etrangères. Under the new administration parishes were established and the number of native Christians rapidly increased. In 1663, the number of converts in the missions was 300,000, partly by apostasy, so that on the arrival of the Missions Etrangeres there were only 100,000 Christians left, but this number was increased to 200,000 in 1681. To strengthen the position of the missionaries Pallu in 1672 urged Colbert, the French minister, to establish commercial relations between France and Indo-China, and persuaded Louis XIV. to use his influence on King Le-hi-tong to allow the freedom of Christian worship. In 1678 the vicariate of Tongking was divided into Eastern and Western Tongking; the former, since then divided into Northern and Central, was entrusted to Spanish Dominicans, and the latter to the 'Missions Etrangères' of Paris.

The rapidly growing religious influence exercised by both bishops and priests led to renewed persecutions, which have scarcely been interrupted till our own day. Yet in 1737 we find there 259,000 Christians, i.e. 120,000 under the care of the Jesuits, 80,000 under the Missions of Paris, 30,000 under the Augustinians, who in 1876 had entered the field, and 25,000 under the Dominicans. This number was not only maintained but increased in spite of civil wars and uninterrupted persecutions during the 18th cent., and notwithstanding the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the consequent decrease of European missionaries. In 1800 we find the following table of statistics:

- Cochinchina: 1 vicar-apostolic, 5 missionary and 15 native priests, 50,000 native Christians (Missionsaries of Paris).
- Tongking: 1 vicar-apostolic, 6 missionary and 65 native priests, 120,000 native Christians (Missionsaries 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 and Cambodia, which was favorable to the spread of Christianity, but which in reality became the cause of serious hindrances, obstacles, and persecutions. During the civil war which commenced in 1777, Nguyen-anh, the ruler of Cochinchina, implored the help of the European
Powers against the rebellious Tai-Shans. Britain, Holland, and Portugal willingly offered their help, but Pierre-Joseph Pignaures de Bechaine, since 1771 vicar-apostolic of Cochinchina, offered to enlist the help of France, and in May 1802 accepted the proposal. Accompanied by Prince Camb, the king's son, Pignaure set out for France, and, as plenipotentiary of the Annamese king, signed a convention on 29th Nov. 1802, according to 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 30 officers and 500 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 Galong.

Owing to this success Galong 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 1810 the Christian community included 4 bishops, 28 European and 180 native priests, 1,000 catechists, and 1,600,000 faithful, who was succeeded by his son, Minh-mang (1821-41), a cruel and profligate tyrant and a bitter enemy of Christianity and foreigners. He dismissed his father's trusted friars, summoned all the missionaries to appear at court, and resolved to obliterate the very name of Christianity within his realm. 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 were beheaded and 9 French priests, and 4 bishops fell as victims to this tyranny—Fathers Gaglin (1823), Marchand (1835), Cormay (1837), de la Motte (1840), Mgr. Borie (1838), and Mgr. Delgado (1838), 84 years old. The persecution lasted under Minh-mang (1841-47), who did not possess the energy of his predecessor, and was afraid of Britain's successes in China and of threatened interference of France. Instead of being annihilated, the Church's missionaries and converts increased yearly after 1844 in spite of all the edicts and tortures of Minh-mang. In 1840 we find:

Cochin-China: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 10 missionary priests, 100,000 Roman Catholics.
Tongking W.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 8 missionary and 76 native priests, 50,000 Roman Catholics.
Tongling E.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 6 missionary and 41 native priests, 100,000 Roman Catholics.
5 bishops, 2 coadjutors, 21 missionary and 144 native priests, 400,000 Roman Catholics.

To facilitate the work of the missions in the Annamese empire, Gregory XVI. in 1844 divided Cochinchina into two vicariates, Eastern and Western, and W. Tongking into Western and Southern in 1848, while in 1850 Cambodia and N. Cochinchina were also raised to vicariates. Though King Thieu-tri did not shed the blood of the priests, yet they did not escape imprisonment; such were Fathers Galli, Bertheau, Charrier, Miehe, and Ducot, who were set free by Capt. Lebreton in 1843. This and similar interferences by the French in 1847 and 1848 provoked the resentment of King Tu-dao (1847-83), whose reign of 30 years is an 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 1851 he ordered the Europeans to be cast into the sea and the native priests to be cut in two: Fathers Schaffner (1851), Bonnard, and Minh (1852) were martyred. In 1855 a universal proscription of Christians followed, and in 1857 Bishop Pellerin, vicar-apostolic of N. Cochinchina, appealed to Napoleon iii. to intervene. In August 1858 France and Spain, roused by the slaughter of their countrymen, took joint action, and seized Touran (1858) and Saigon (1859). The persecution meanwhile raged with unabated vigour. Bishops Diaz, Garcia, Cuemot, etc.—altogether 5 bishops, 28 Dominicans, 3 Missionaires of Paris, 116 native priests, over 100 native sisters, and 5000 Christians—were put to death. 100 towns, all centres of Christian communities, were razed to the ground, 10,000 Christians died of ill-treatment, and all the possessions of the remainder were confiscated. Peace was restored in 1862, when Annam ceded to France the southern provinces of Cochinchina 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. Fugainier, vicar-apostolic of W. Tongking, became involved to the detriment of the missions.

A new treaty was signed between France and Annam on 15th March 1874, which again guaranteed religious freedom and the safety of the missionaries, and from 1874 to 1886 the Christians enjoyed a period of relative peace, till the Annamese mandarins disregarded the treaty and compelled France to interfere. Hue was captured on 29th Aug. 1885, the Annamese were defeated, and on the same day the new treaty was signed, 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 1886 Tongking, Cochinchina, and Laos had to mourn the loss of 20 European and 30 native priests, and 50,000 Christians; E. Cochinchina alone lost 8 European and 7 native priests, 60 catechists, 270 sisters, 24,000 Christians, 17 orphanages, 10 convents, and 225 chapels. Yet the blood of the martyrs has been here as elsewhere the seed of Christianity, and surely during the 28 years of peace the Roman Catholic Church has made a marvelous progress in Indo-China, and has never been so flourishing a condition as she is to-day. Of this the statistics given below are ample proof.

Siames.—The first Roman Catholic missionary who entered Siam was the French Jesuit, Bonier, who preached the gospel there from 1590 to 1564, but without result. He was succeeded by two Dominicans, Jerome of the Cross and Sebastian de Canto, who converted some 1500 Siamese from 1564 to 1569, when they were put to death. The Dominicans were replaced by Jesuits in 1606 and 1624, and in consequence of a persecution the field was abandoned till 1602, when Alexander vii. made it a vicariate and in 1669 entrusted it to the Missionary Society of Paris with Mgr. Laneau as its first bishop. The Siamese king, Phra Narai, in 1657-58 signed the treaty of Louvois 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 with intermittent interruption for the rest of the century. After the Burmese invaded and wars were over, 12,000 Siamese Christians were reduced to 1000 with Bishop Florent and 7 native priests in charge. In 1820 and 1830 fresh European missionaries arrived, among them Fathers Scot, Barbe, Palleter, and Courvey. In 1834 Courvey was appointed bishop, and under his administration Siam had 6500 Roman Catholics with 11 European and 7 native priests. His successor, Bishop Palleter (1840-62), the best Siamese scholar and most successful missionary among the Laotians, induced Napoleon iii. to renew the French alliance with
King Mongkut of Siam (1856). Thanks to the broad-mindedness of Mongkut (1851–68) and Chulalongkorn (1888–1910), the Roman Catholic missions in Siam enjoyed peace under Falledey’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, 66 European and 21 native priests, 35 European and 87 native sisters, 23 principal and 33 secondary stations, 56 churches, 76 elementary schools with 3740 pupils, and 4 high schools with 886 students under Bishop M. J. Forros.

The missions in Laos, which were commenced in 1878 and formally opened in 1888, 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 J-ki, pen, ‘the Land of the Rising Sun,’ was first revealed to the Western world by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1295–88), under the name of Cipangu, but was not visited by Europeans until three centuries later. Famous among these was the Portuguese Mendes Pinto, who, on 23rd Sept. 1543, landed on Tanegashima and became instrumental in the conversion of three shipwrecked Japanese, Anjiro and his two 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 extended his work to Hirado, Hakata, Yamaguchi, Mekko, and Fukuoka, forming everywhere a nucleus of promising Christian centres. Before his departure to China in 1551, St. Francis had obtained new helpers from Goa, such as Father Baltasar Gago, Gaspar Bense, Edward da Silva, and Peter de Alveras, who were later joined by Gaspar Coelho, Villas, Louis Froes, Melchior, 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 of 1582 that at that time ‘the number of all Christians in Japan amounts to 150,000 with churches great and small 200 in number.’ Down to the year 1563 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 Takeda, became a fierce persecutor of the Christians, ordering the destruction of all the churches and the immediate expulsion of all the Roman Catholic priests (1587). The return of the Japanese embassy from Rome in 1599 and the arrival of Father Valignani with new European Jesuits effected a change, however, and the Japanese Christians began to breathe more freely. In 1599 the Japanese mission was 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 even 600,000 members. Father v. Loschot had appointed the Jesuit Antonio Oriolo 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
Pedro Martínez, also a Jesuit, appointed in 1591 and consecrated at Goa in 1598, arrived in Japan in the following year. In 1598 four Spanish Franciscans—Peter Baptist of San Lázaro, Bartholomew Ruiz, Francis de Pavia, and Gonzalo de Guzmán—arrived in Japan and started work at Mekko, Nagasaki, and Osaka, thus trespassing upon the privilege granted by Gregory XIII in 1585 to the Jesuits. The用心地 of Christianity roused the Bonzes, who accused the Roman Catholic missionaries of being only political agents of Spain and Portugal, and Hideyoshi gave the signal for a crusade. In recognition of this, 15 Japanese Tertiaries, 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, Hidetsugu Daifuku (1564-93), left the Church in peace, which was then governed by the Jesuit Bishop Luiz Serqueira. 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 native Christians, however, is doubtful. Between 1540 and 1608, 500,000, between 1558 and 1614, 500,000, and between 1608 and 1830, 22,000 adults were baptized, and we are told that the actual number of native Christians in 1614 amounted to 1,800,000. But the peace and prosperity were the prelude to one of the most terrible persecutions begun by Jesuits for some unknown reason. In 1614 Bishop Serqueira died and was succeeded by the Franciscan missionary, Bishop Louis Sotelo, 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.

Jesuit died in 1615 and was succeeded by Hidetada, who renewed the edicts 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, 3 Franciscans, and 22 Japanese nobles were put to death. Jemitsu, the following Shogun, is said to have killed about 20,000 every year from 1623. Over 200 of the missionaries and 560 native catechists, and 200,000 Christians suffered actual martyrdom. 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 Foreca arranged the K5, a catechist, landed on Lio-Kiu Island, and they were joined by Father Letardu in 1846. In the same year the vicariate of Japan was erected with Father Foreca 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 1865, became instrumental in finding that there were in Japan still 25 Christians who were able to hear the word of God.

In 1868, Father 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 1874 Japan was divided into two vicariates, and under Leo XIII. two more were added in 1888 and 1891, till on 15th June 1891 Leo XIII. re-established the Roman Catholic hierarchy, 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 St. Peter, to which have since been added the prefectures of Shikoku (1904) and of Niigata (1912) under the care of the Dominicans and the Missionaries of St. Mary. The number of Roman Catholic Chinese, which in 1870 amounted to 10,000 with 13 priests, reached 23,000 in 1880, 44,000 in 1891 with 82 European and 15 native priests, 63,000 in 1910 with 150 European and 35 native priests, and 69,755 in 1913.

Korea.—From 1636 to 1675 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 site of a violent persecution and martyrdom. When, in 1592-94, Taiko Sama of Japan sent his soldiers to Korea, the Jesuit Gregorio de Cespedes accompanied the troops as 'minister to the numerous Roman Catholics in the army, and in the event of their instructed the Koreans also, baptizing, on his return to Japan in 1598, some 300 Korean priests 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 1785 Seng-hun-ii, one of the Korean literati, joined the annual embassy to Peking and inquired there Alexander de Goves, the Franciscan bishop, who baptized him by the name of Peter. On his return he was joined by two friends, Piekii and Il-sini, who became the pioneers of Christianity in Korea. From 1784 to 1794 they received some 400 neophytes into the Church, who were persecuted by the Bonzes from 1755 to 1761. An attempt made de Remedios in 1791 to penetrate into Korea failed. In 1794 Father Jacob Taen (alias Padre Jaymeo 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 'new religion'; among the martyrs were Peter Seng-hun-i, Father Taen, 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 de Paris, and on 9th Sept. 1831 Korea was made a vicariate with Bruguière as its first bishop, Father Chastan and Mansant being his only assistants. The bishop died in the sight of Korea, while Fathers Mansant and Chastan reached Seoul in 1836 and 1857 respectively. At the end of the year the newly-appointed bishop, Imbert, arrived and found the flock reduced from 10,000 to 1000, which was increased to 9000 two years later, when the bishop and the two priests were put to death (1839). In 1845 Bishop Ferrolé, accompanied by Fathers Daveul 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 1863 the Church in Korea enjoyed comparative peace, during which numerous converts were made both under Ferrolé and his successor, Bishop Berneau—from 11,000 to 22,000. This was the most flourishing period in the annals of the Church in Korea, which then possessed 2 bishops (Berneau.
and Daveluy) and 10 priests. In 1686 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, and the attempt was made to reopen the mission, but failed. In 1888 Riidel 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, and Britain, France protected the gates of the Hermit Kingdom. Bishop Blane found on his arrival in 1883 only 13,000 Roman Catholics out of 25,000 in 1886, but the flock numbered 300,000 in 1889. During the long reign of Bishop Mutel (since 1890) the missions in Korea, which was declared an independent kingdom in 1895, a Japanese protectorate in 1905, and a Japanese annexation in 1910, have enjoyed freedom. In 1897 we find 32 European and 3 native priests with 32,217 members in 497 stations, in 1909, 46 European and 10 native priests with 68,016 members. At the request of Bishop Mutel, Korea was divided in 1910 into the two vicariates of Seoul and Dakin, and numbered, in 1913, 58 European and 17 native priests with 59 principal and 978 out-stations, and 160 churches with 80,000 members.

The Moro is hardly a more glorious chapter to be found in the annals of the Roman Catholic Church than that of Africa. After the decay of early Christianity there, except for a few validly ordained missionaries surviving in Kabylia, seen among the Copts and the Abyssinians, after that remained for many centuries a closed continent to Christianity, though the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Trinitarians and the Order of Our Lady of Mercy tried their best in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries to alleviate the lot of Christian captives and to instill the lessons of Christianity into the hearts of the Muhammadans of Morocco, Tunisia, and the Barbary States. When in the 16th cent. the Portuguese, under the leadership of Henry the Navigator, son of King John I. of Portugal, began their discoveries and expeditions along the west coast of Africa, passed Cape Bojador (1433), reached the Rio de Ouro (1442), 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 opened the way for Mozambique (1502), Malindi, and Mombasa (1497). Pope Alexander VI. 1494 assigned to Spain all the lands discovered and still to be discovered 370 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 and west. 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, Funshal in Madeira (1514), San Thomé (1534), etc. King Emmanuel of Portugal took a special interest in the evangelization of the Congo, and from 1605 to 1612 sent annually some missions of different religious orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians), who, supported by the native King Alphonse, made good progress. The Bishop of St. Thomas (Gulf of Guinea), to whose jurisdiction the Congo belonged, selected title of bishop of the Congo, transferred his see to San Salvador, and erected a chapter consisting of 28 canons. As the missionaries already engaged in the Congo did not suffice for the growing demands, St. Ignatius, at the request of the king of Portugal, sent some Jesuits—among them Fathers Vaz, Ribera, Diaz, Soveral, Noguera, Gomez, etc.—who founded a college at San Salvador. From 1554 to 1592, 8 bishops occupied the see of San Salvador, but only two pAPPAPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAPPAPAP...
Heart of Mary and the Holy Ghost, usually called the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, whose members (since 1848) have devoted themselves to the evangelization of the Negroes in Senegambia and Gabun (1844), Sierra Leone (1864), the Portuguese Congo (1873), French Guinea (1878), Cambélia (1879), Kune (1882), Loango (1883), Lower Nigeria (1885), Upper Congo (1885), Gambia (1886), Brazil (1886), N. Madagascar, etc. When Mgr. Marion de Brusilac returned from the depth of India to France in 1858, his feelings were drawn to the Dark Continent, and he founded the African Missionary Society of Lyon, which, principally in the districts known as the 'White Man's Grave'—Dahomey (1881), Benin (1886), Gold Coast (1881), Ivory Coast (1886), Liberia (1896), E. and W. Nigeria, Kuchuma (1912), and the Nile Delta. Ten years later another missionary society came into existence, viz., the Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa, or the White Fathers, whose field of action extended rapidly from Algeria to Kaffia, from Tunisia to the Sahara and the E. Sudan, till the holy land of its founder, Cardinal Lavigerie, came to drive it, in spite of all obstacles, right to the heart of the African continent. To-day they have charge of 11 African districts—Kaffia, Ghardaia, W. Sudán, Nyasa, Bangweolo, Uganda, Kongo, Congo, Dar es-Salaam, Zanzibar, and Kiwu, with 157,129 members, 195,000 catechumens, 138 principal stations, 592 priests, 52 brothers, 244 sisters, 2,289 catechists, 55 native priests, 55 native sisters, 36 missionary students in minor course, 378 Piarists, 1,747 schools with 79,552 pupils, and 341 charitable institutions.

Besides these three African Missionary Societies just mentioned, there is also a society by the order which, in days gone by, worked as pioneers in Africa, such as the Franciscans (Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco), the Capuchins (Erythrea, Galla, Somalia, Abyssinia, Seychelles), the Trinitarians (Benadir), the Lazarists (Alhya, S. Madagascar), the Jesuits (C. Madagascar, Kwango, Zambesi), and the Missionary Seminary of Verona (C. Africa), the Benedictines of St. Ottvilen (Dar-es-Salam, Lindi), the Trappists (Natal, Congo), the Bene, English, and German missionary societies of Schenectady, Conya, Free State, Mill Hill (Upper Nile), of Steyl (Togo), the Oblates of Mary immaculata (Natal, Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cambeba, Equitao), etc.

The missionaries, if they do not precede the explorers or conquerors, accompany them; nowhere are they wanting. From the plains of the Abyssinian highlands 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 Catholic Missionen, Oct. 1912, Africa, as far as it is a missionary country, consists of 6 dioceses, 44 vicariates, and 28 prefectures apostolical, 1 prelature nullius, and 7 independent missions, 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 22 others under the heading of the African mission field strictly speaking, we find the total number of Roman Catholics amounting 3,244,000—insignificant, however, when we consider the peoples of Africa, estimated at 180,000,000 or even 200,000,000,000.

III. N. AND S. AMERICA.—When, in 1492, Columbus landed on the island of San Salvador, he 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 found that the same race was spread 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 'Indians' to the inhabitants of 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 of Spain, 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—Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Hieronymites such as Las Casas, Montesino, Nobrega, and Anchialita—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:

Al rey infiJitas tierras
Y dio infiJitas almas

i.e., 'to extend the boundaries of the Spanish empire over the vast territories of the new world and thereby to gain an infinite number of souls to 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 in her work. The destruction of the Indian missions, in which the Roman Catholic missionaries had worked for two hundred years, was due to the anti- Catholic policy of legislation of Spain and Portugal; the revival is to be ascribed to the efforts of Pius IX., Leo XIII., 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 1200 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, Martia of Valencia, Molina, Ribeira, the famous Zumarraga [1548], the first archbishop of Mexico, and Martin of Coruña), to Yucatan (Diascoris of Land, [1579]), Guatemala and Honduras (Peter of Betancourt and Maldonado), Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In S. America the Franciscans had missions in Colombia and Venezuela (Juan a S. Philiberto [1572], Louis Zapata, and Ferdinand Lazana) with some 200,000 baptized Indians, in Peru (Mark of Nizza and Jodoku Rynke), in Ecuador and Uayali (Philip Luyando, Dominic Garcia, and Francis Alvarez [1686]). At the request of the king of Spain, Franciscans went to Chile (1539) (M. do not fall under the heading of the African mission field strictly speaking, we find the total number of Roman Catholics amounting to 3,244,000—insignificant, however, when we consider the peoples of Africa, estimated at 180,000,000 or even 200,000,000,000. In 18308 inhabi-

Between 1665 and 1762 Jesuit missionaries went to Florida, Mexico, and Peru, and, under Claudiae Acquaviva (1581-1616), the second successor of St.
Ignatius, to Chile and Paraguay, and later on to Maranhão. Names such as Núñez, Correa, Nobrega, and Anchieta have become household words among the Indians in S. America, while the name of Azevedo, who, with 39 of his fellow-missionaries, suffered martyrdom in Brazil (1570), stands for loyalty to duty. At the time of the suppression of the Jesuits in S. America the Jesuits were represented in Brazil by 445, in Maranhão by 146, in Paraguay by 564, in Mexico and California by 572, and in New Grenada, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador by 192, 242, 526, and 239 members respectively. 

Equally great among the defenders of the Indians are the Dominicans Las Casas, Luis Bertrand, Antonio Montesino, Dominicus de Betanzos, Dominicus Ortiz, the Augustinian Franciscans John de Medina, etc. 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 Negroes were allowed to drift away, many were 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 among them by the self-sacrificing heroes of Christian charity during two hundred years with the greatest outlay of money and valuable lives was destroyed. The political upheaval and the masonic influence in the beginning of the 19th. cent., with the subsequent scarcity 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 appealed to willing workers among the various religious orders and missionary societies for help to establish missionary work among the Indians; yet 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. 

The United States of America are composed of former British, Spanish, and French colonies, and their population—91,972,306 (Census of 1910)—consists of a small remnant of the original American Indians (270,000, according to some, 330,000 or 444,000, according to other writers), of imported Negro slaves and their descendent (9,827,763), of yellow or Asiatic immigrants (456,883), and of white or European settlers and their descendants. In the former Spanish (Florida, Texas, New Mexico) and French (Louisiana) colonies the Roman Catholic missionary work has been for the conversion and Christian civilization of the Indians from the beginning of the colonial epoch. Dominicans entered Florida in 1568, and they were supported in 1568 by the arrival of 19 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 Niza, John of Padilla, and Louis of Escalón—had commenced in 1539, but made little progress. In Arizona Francis of Perras (1683) and in California Junipero Serra (1774) commenced missionary work among the Indians, and along the Mississippi we find Jesuits. The conquest of N. America by the white immigrants drove the Indians further and further, and 'spoliation, outrage, and murder' were the orders for almost one hundred years. Accordin to S. G. Gansi, 'The Indian Mission Past and Present,' in The Catholic Mind, no. 13 (New York, 1904), there remain in the United States some 270,000 Indians, of whom 100,000 are Roman Catholics, 40,000 Protestants (74,000), 110,000 'follow the old ways,' and 20,000 have no church affiliation. According to Streith (Atlas Hierarchicus, 1914), there are in the United States 440,931 Indians, of whom 84,741 (67,256) are Roman Catholics. These are scattered in 33 dioceses, possess 366 churches, and are attended by 163 priests (Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits, etc.) and 391 sisters; 100 schools are attended by 7,639 children. Famous among the Indian missionaries in the 19th. cent. are Father de Smet and Bishop Marty. 

The Negro population in the United States (one-ninth of the whole population), descendants of the slaves who for two hundred and fifty years had been imported into America, who for fifty years were not educated, but are still treated as outcasts. Owing to hostile legislation, the Roman Catholic Church had for many decades a poor chance of alleviating the miserable conditions of the Negroes. Baptism was inconsistent with the state of slavery. After the emancipation of the Negroes (1863) and the second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), 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 coloured parishes while others are mingled with the white population, and of the latter a report is given in the Catholic Encyclopedia (xii. [1911] 629) gives the number as amounting to 200,000 or 225,000, while, according to the Atlas Hiearchicus, there are only 105,436 scattered in 33 dioceses, with 169 churches, 162 parishes (Josephphines), 256 missions (Lyons, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, and Mission of Steyl), and 173 schools with 14,181 pupils. 

The 'Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People,' in its semi-annual publication of 1912, gives the following statistics: churches, 72; priests work-
Archipelago was handed over to Spanish Augustinians in 1786, and the latter were replaced by German Capuchins in 1907.

Several attempts were made by the Jesuits on the Philippines to open a mission in the Caroline Islands in 1700, 1708, 1709, and 1721, but all of them failed, till Father Canton arrived in 1711. Owing to the serious loss of lives, however, the Jesuits abandoned the field, and it was only in 1886 that twelve Spanish Capuchins were able to resume missionary work once more in the Caroline Islands; they remained in charge till 1901. The German Mariannes and the Carolines were united into one vicariate-episcopal with Wallis 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 1913, 12,000 Roman Catholics, and that of Marianne-Caroline had 5395 in 1914. 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 Bachelot, accompanied by Abraham Armand, Patrick Short, and Robert Walsh of the Piesus Society, landed in Honolulu (Hav), to resume the apostolate in Oceania, the whole of which was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Solages, then prefect-episcopal of Mauritius (1830). Three years after the apostolate 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 (Fiction), and the Society of Mary (Maristes). From 1827 to 1845, under Cardinal Prefect Caprilli of the Propaganda and under his pontificate as Gregory XVI., the Society of Piesus sent its missionaries to Hawaii (1827), the Gambier Islands (1834), Marquesas (1838), and Tahiti (1841), while the Maristes went to Wallis, Tonga, New Zealand (1837), New Caledonia (1843), Fiji (1844), and Samoa (1845). Gregory XVI., divided Oceania into two distinct vicariates: Eastern (1838–44) and Western Oceania (1838–48), from which Central Oceania was separated in 1842. These three vicariates form, so to speak, the roots of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Pacific. In 1842 the Eastern vicariate were separated those of Hawaii, Marquesas, and Tahiti (1844 and 1848), and from the Central those of New Caledonia (1847), Samos (1851), and Fiji (1858). While W. Oceania was divided into the vicariates of Melanesia (1844–89) and Micronesia (1844–97). From Melanesia were separated New Guinea and New Pomerania (1889), and from Micronesia the Gilbert (1857) and the Carolines (1886). Some of the groups were again divided and subdivided, such as New Guinea and New Pomerania, from which were separated the Solomon (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 (1852–1905) three or four missionary societies were asked to help: to the Capuchins were entrusted the Caroline (1886 and 1904) and the Marianne Islands (1907), to the Piesus Society the Cook or Harvey Archipelago and Kaiser Wilhelmland W. (1913), to the Society of the Sacred Heart (Steyl) Kaiser Wilhelmsland E. (1896), to the Maristes the New Hebrides (1887) and the Solomon Islands (1888), and, finally, to the Congregation of the Sacred Heart the Carolines (1883), New Britain, British and Dutch (1884 and 1903), the Gilbert (1888) and the Ellice
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<td>Marianne and Carolines, V.</td>
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<td>1866</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>27,854</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>1859</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>149</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>131</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>2,900</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>69</td>
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* According to Katholische Missions, July 1914, the Roman Catholic population of the Marianne-Carolines is 500, that of Guam, 15,400.
Islands (1897), and, lastly, the Marshall Islands (1899).
Where eighty years ago there were—with the exception of the Marianne group—scarcely any Roman Catholics, and no priest or bishop, we find to-day an established hierarchy, with 14 bishoprics, 4 prefectures-apostolic, and 1 mission with 131,000 native and 83,000 European members, 457 priests (8 native priests), 227 brothers, 418 sisters, 1000 stations, 900 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) 2,600,000, or, according to others, 1,540,000 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 new Christianizing 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 she is recognized 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 (1842-77) of C. Oceania, the founder of the missions in New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma, and his fellow-worker, Pompallier of W. Oceania, Bishop Epalle, who was murdered in 1845, Bishop Rouhonzé of E. Oceania, etc. Nor must we forget Father Chanel, the proto-martyr of the Pacific and the apostle of Futuna (1841), Father Damien Devenster, the leper apostle of Molokai, or Fathers Bontemps of the Gilbert and Castanet 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 Krohe (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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>6,209,988</td>
<td>9,080</td>
<td>9,080</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia and Oceania</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>885,593</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>1,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>906,092</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total A</strong></td>
<td>8,221,063</td>
<td>12,050</td>
<td>12,050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Roman Catholics</th>
<th>Priests</th>
<th>Mission helpers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>32,990</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and Oceania</td>
<td>1,020,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>14,590</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total B</strong></td>
<td>32,990</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. RESULTS OF FORMER CENTURIES.**

**The Missions of the Reformed Churches of Christendom seem at first sight to be discontinuous from those of the mediaval Church and from the post-Reformation missions of the Roman Church. While the Roman Church carried on...**

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**M. Spitz.**

**MISSIONS (Christian, Protestant).**

**I. INTRODUCTION.** The missions of the Reformed Churches of Christendom seem at first sight to be discontinuous from those of the mediaval Church and from the post-Reformation missions of the Roman Church...
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
Church obligation urged upon them, were mainly occupied in elaborating arguments to show
that the command of Christ to do this had lapsed
in their day. The causes of this inaction are com-
plex.
After the great crisis of the Reformation the
Protestant countries of Europe had not only to
adapt their religious life to new conditions, 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, that the discovery of America and
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 E. Indies, and this dominion
they were able, to a considerable extent, to make
effective. The revival of the N. 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
missionaries, and from this time it was the
missionaries who were to bring these new territories into the Roman
obedience.
With the 17th cent. began the colonial expan-
sion of England, which resulted in the Christian-
ization of N. America, not by the labour of
missionaries, but by the migration of Christian
peoples. A little later the Netherlands, freed from
the rule of Spain, began to take over the dominions
of Portugal in the East, and so the advent of a
great empire in the Malay Archipelago; they also
colonized the extreme of S. Africa and thereby
founded a white nation in yet another temperate
clima. To the Dutch also largely belongs the
credit of opening commercial relations with China
and Japan. Meanwhile, in the course of the 18th
cent., the great Indian empire of Britain came into
existence, and, following on this, relations with
the Farther East developed during the 19th century.
The same period saw the penetration of Africa from
south, east, and west, and its partition between
Western Powers, among whom Britain and,
later, Germany represented the Church. The Reformed faiths.
It was through these political developments that
the missionary sphere of the Protestant nations
was opened up, so that, when their religious life was
officially revived towards the close of the 18th cent., the missionary call of an open world
for which they were specially responsible came to
the Reformed Christians 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 develop-
ment as compared with that of the primitive and
the medieval Church. At first Christianity was
conceived in 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 unfinished task of
begging and training the barbarian nations of Europe.
In both these periods the evangelist and the evan-
gelist, of a similar race 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 connected nations has made the intellectual and social difference
between the Christian and the non-Christian far
greater than at any earlier time. This is at
once the advantage and the impediment of modern missions as compared with ancient.
Modern missions generally are continuous with
the primitive expansion of Christianity, and in
the case of Protestant the world, we must
always look 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 historic
situation. Since in primitive times the missionary
and his hearers belonged broadly to the same
level of culture and to the same sphere of thought
and language, and were members of similar
communities, the whole range of problems
noted by the terms 'home base' and 'foreign
field' was for them non-existent, and the economic
problem of modern missions was present only in
rare, or even in an inverted form, financial help
being sent by daughters Churches to the mother.
Not unconnected with this feature of early condi-
tions is another fact. 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 pro-
fessional missionary, as distinguished from the
ordinary minister, had no existence. Finally, the
political relation of the missionary to his hearers
was either simply that of a fellow-subject 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 irruption of the
barbarians, and the rise of monasticism, these
conditions were modified. The missionary trained
and set apart for the work appears on the scene, more
often as a member of an order than as an isolated
evangelist. The conversion and control of virile
and turbulent barbarians seemed to demand a
sterner discipline than the Church alone could
carry off; repeatedly the arm of the State was
generously 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 through monastic and military
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 current
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 re-established in the midst of contact and
strife of nations whose land-frontiers were con-
tinuous. The more stringent organization of mis-
sionary work and the training of the worker had
made progress; the political factor had de-
teriorated 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
absolutism of the sovereign state. The result of this in principle, although
slowly realized in practice, was the elimination of
the political factor from the spiritual activity
of the Church, more especially missionary work.
The missions of the counter-Reformation were
still closely linked with political conquest and ad-
ministration, but also were the earlier Dutch
Protestant mission work. Both were in
reality survivals of the medieval method. The
modern missionary movement, both in the Roman and
in the Reformed communions, is substantially that
of free associations, working on a basis of voluntary co-operation. The missionary orders of the Roman Church have indeed retained continuously their historical organization, adding new orders, as necessary. The missionary societies of Protestant Christendom are, in effect, an expression of the same principle, only that in them the exercise of individual freedom has been subordinated to a suprema organization and discipline for a common purpose. It would not be correct to say that Protestant missions are differentiated from Roman 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 consistently 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 co-operation and co-ordination, not only as between Churches but also as between nations.

II. HISTORICAL—Formation and development of the Moravian Church. Up to the 17th century the missionary societies in Britain and on the Continent were closely connected. The Dutch East India Company, 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 to appoint preachers for the purpose; but the work was carried on mechanically under government pressure. After a century the number of registered Christians in Ceylon had reached 10,000, and in Amboyna 40,000, but few were left of these by 1690 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 is still extant, but its activities have consisted chiefly in the collection of funds. In 1688 the efforts of Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire, resulted in the formation of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. During the 18th century 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 18th century. Friedrich Wilhelm IV., King of Denmark, in 1705, for his colonial dominions, found the men whom he needed in Bartholomew Ziegelnagel and Heinrich Plütschau, 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 Friedrich Schmoller. 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 for their faith, were settled by the Pietist Nikolaus Ludvig, Count von Zinzendorf, on his estate at Herrnhut in 1702, and after their zeal led them to send missionaries to the Negroes of the W. Indies and to the Greenlanders who had been evangelized by the Norwegians, Hans Egede, but were left after his return uncared for. This was the beginning of a work which was carried on by a community never numbering more than 40,000 souls in Europe, but with 100,000 converts abroad, and a roll of more than 2,000 missionaries, sent out since its foundation. See, further, art. MORAVIANS.

The Presbyterian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in Scotland in 1766, 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 MARSH MADEN of Neshaminy. The Rev. Zerby worked not only as between Churches but also as between nations.

By the middle of the 18th century, these early movements of Protestant missions had greatly slackened owing to religious deadness which had overtaken the various Churches. But the antedote to this was already working in the evangelical revival connected on the Continent with the names of Francke and Lipsenzeder, and in England with those of John Wesley (1703-91) and George Whitefield (1714-70). 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 missionaries 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 to another dissenting body that the missionary call first came effectively. The great pioneer William Carey and his fellows founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. In 1795 followed the Seceding society, at first called simply the Missionary Society. It was founded by Church of England Independents, and Presbyterian ministers. In 1796 two Scottish associations were established, as the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies. In 1799 Evangelical members of the Church of England decided to establish the Church Missionary Society, and the un denominational 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 has the joint action of churchmen and dissenters. The Wesleyan Methodists had already been carrying on missionary work in East and West since 1788 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.C.K., represent the formative beginnings of Protestant missionary work in Great Britain. There were also two bodies 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 Oceania.

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 Chancellor Hardwicke 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 in the entire British Empire.Attempts to abolish the slave-trade in British possessions outside the United Kingdom, nor with the slave-trade carried on by foreign nations. But it gave a powerful impulse 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 Zanzibar. The agitation against slavery in the British dominions was continued by Wilberforce and his successors till it was crowned with success in the Emancipation Act of 1833, which liberated 1,000,000 slaves in the W. Indies, and paid £2,000,000 to the owners as compensation. Slavery in the United States, and the trade that fed it, continued till Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Since then the remnant of slavery under Christian rule has been abolished, and slavery in Muslim and pagan lands has been greatly limited. As a result of the shifting of populations, 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.

In the East the greatest of all colonial empires was built up by English merchant adventurers. The East India Company dates its charter from the year 1600, but for 160 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 1792 was ready to afford facilities for missionary work in India, the opposition of the E.I.C. threw out the schemes, and for the next 100 years Christian missionaries were rigorously excluded from its territories. At length in 1813, when the E.I.C. charter was once more revised, not only was the entire establishment provided for, but the representatives of which have done net a little to forward the cause of missions.

L. BRITAIN.—The later development of British society, especially of the Anglican Church, was strongly influenced by several religious movements. The Irish Revival of 1859 affected England in 1860 and gave an impetus to the formation of denominational societies, such as the China Inland Mission. In 1875 Dwight L. Moody's first revival in London and 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 the clergy, especially in connexion with the C.M.S. The Tractarian Movement had influenced one side of the Church of England for a generation before it became active as a separate missionary body in the mission-field during the last quarter of the century.

(a) Anglican.—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1817 was supporting a few clergy and lay workers in the British colonies and elsewhere. From that time it began its missions to non-Christians (1823) by sending men to Bengal and to S. India, where Robert Caldwell was dis-tinguished as linguist and bishop. It has carried on all its missions under the direct supervision of the diocesan bishops in the mission-field, and it has incurred in its activities the expense of administration to white men in the colonies and on the continent of Europe. Its work among non-Christians has steadily increased and now absorbs £185,000 out of an income of £220,000. In 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 1892 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 developed in varying degrees the community type of missions. The Oxford Mission to Calcutta (1881) is now independent; the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and the Cawnpore Church Mission is still connected with the S.P.G. Its most effective and interim work is those to the Tamils of Tinnevelly and to the Kols of Chota Nagpur, both in India.

The principal other societies of this type are: (1) the Melanesian Mission, founded in 1846 by the Rev. George A. Selwyn, and supported by £15,000 paid to the owners as compensation. Slavery in the United States, and the trade that fed it, continued till Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. 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 shifting of populations, 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 earliest missions 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 1815, supplied no fewer than 88 C.M.S. missionaries, including the Arabic scholar and writer, K. G. Pucher, and the E. African explorers, J. Rebmann and L. Krapf. Its first mission was in W. Africa (1804). India was entered in 1813, when 'Abel-al-Mahb, the disciple of Henry Martyn, opened work at Agra. In 1814 Madras and New Zealand were occupied; Travancore in 1816; Ceylon in 1818; N.W. Canada in 1829; in 1850 C.T.E. Rhenius began work in Tinnevelly. In 1837 L. Krapf first went to E. Africa, and in 1841 H. G. Cox and L. L. Noble began the Telugu Mission in S. India. In 1847 China was entered by W. A. Russell and R. H. Cobbold. In 1850 the Sindhi Mission was begun, and in 1853 the Punjab Mission. An ecclesiastical establishment was provided for Europeans, the representatives of which have done net a little to forward the cause of missions.

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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 the nonconformist movement 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 mission societies, with a missionary roll of 1340, an annual income of £400,000, and 450,000 adherents in the mission-field.

The Church Missionary Society, founded in 1899, works side by side with the C.M.S. in India and China. In 1913-14 it had 224 women missionaries, 27,239 pupils in zemindars and schools, and an income of £60,000. The South American Missionary Society (1837), which works in 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.

French Free Churches. — Only the chief societies can be dealt with here. The earliest is the London Missionary Society (1786). The discoveries of Captain John Cook moved the founders to send a missionary to King Pomare in 1788, who was assassinated in 1797. John Williams, after years of work, was martyred on the island of Eromanga (1839). In 1798 S. Africa was 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 1840, 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 carried on in all N. China. S. C. Africa was taken up as a memorial to Livingstone in 1877. In 1913-14 this mission had 294 missionaries, an income of £214,000, and 316,000 adherents.

The Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792 on the impulse of William Carey, cobbler, preacher, missionary, and linguist, sent him out as its first messenger. Moved by the narrative of Cook's voyages in the South Seas, his first desire was to go there, but his destination was changed to India, and, being debarred by the E.I.C.'s regulations from settling in British territory, he started the following spring at the Danish settlement of Serampore. This became the base for his unique literary and linguistic work, carried on by Carey with the help of his colleagues, Joshua Marshman and William Ward. From Bengal the English Baptists extended their work eastwards to Assam, north-westwards to Agra, Delhi, and Simla, and southwards to Orissa; also to Ceylon, where a considerable work is done, to three provinces of China, and in Africa to the Lower and Upper Congo; they also did work in Kamerun, which was eventually made over to German missionaries when their government occupied the country. In 1913-14 they had 463 missionaries, an income of £40,000, and 10,000 adherents.

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 392, 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, working in China; the United Methodists (1837), in China, E. and W. Africa, and Jamaica; and the Primitive Methodists (1889), in Africa. The Methodist missions generally are an integral part of the Church organizations. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists (1840) are, properly speaking, Presbyterian. They have an exceptionally successful work among the Khasis of the Assam hills.

The above may add here the Friends' Foreign Mission Association (1865), 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 organizations.

Scottish Churches. — The Glasgow and Scottish Missionary Societies, founded in 1786, carried on their work in the face of considerable indifference 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 (1844) became famous among industrial missions. At the Disruption in 1843 the missionaries in India and Kaffraria cast in their lot with the United Church, and this body soon greatly increased its operations, adding Natal, Nyasaland, the New Hebrides, Syria, 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, China, and Japan. The work of 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 noted theological schools.

The Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society was founded in 1859 for the educational purposes indicated in its name. In 1880 the majority of the Church of England members seceded, and started the Church of England Zemana Missionary Society. Under the new name of the Zemana, Bible, and Medical Mission the original body has continued to cooperate with Church of England and Presbyterian missions in India, and has developed medical work. The China Inland Mission was founded in 1865 by J. Hudson Taylor, who had already worked in China as an evangelist from 1833. Vocationists have continued to insist 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. In the case of many of the missionaries there 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 1885 created great enthusiasm. The work of the C.I.M. has spread rapidly and given an impetus to advance by other societies into inland China. In the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 the martyr roll of this society far exceeded that of any other. The
Salvation Army has been doing missionary work, principally in India, since 1833; its operations have been mostly of a social kind, such as industrial undertakings and heathen missions. The British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), which has issued 457 of these versions up to 1914. The number of these is being increased year by year, and the work of revision of older versions in the light of the best scholarship is constantly proceeding. The Bible Society publishes neither book nor script before they were reduced to writing by the missionaries, who soon followed up the speaking-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, 10,162,415 copies of the Scriptures. It received a charitable income (exclusive of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, already noticed, is the oldest society. It helps Church of England missions in all parts of the world, primarily 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 £71,156, does a similar work on an altruist basis, and has been the means of founding several daughter societies in India and China. It publishes in 200 languages. The Christian Literature Society for India was founded in 1836 as a Christian reply to the mutiny. Under John Murdoch (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 the Muslims of Egypt, and has found a footing on an educational basis, and has been the means of founding several daughter societies in India and China. It publishes in 200 languages. The Christian Literature Society for India has about 2,400 members and an annual income of £10,000. Its work is done in India, Burma, 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 Japan, Korea, and the United States. The United Presbyterian Church (1859) maintains a vigorous work in China, India, and Egypt (the last named chiefly among Copts); in their Punjab Mission associations have been very large. The Dutch Reformed Church (1833) 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 £361,142, 1587 missionaries, and 370,238 adherents.

The Lutheran Churches of the United States, numbering over 2,000,000 communicants (and, say, 10,000,000 adherents), are divided into six chief sects, whose names are: Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians. In addition to the Boards connected with the various Churches, one organization, connected with no Church in particular, has powerfully influenced the missionary movements. It is the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. The general 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 service is a natural appeal. It is impossible to estimate accurately the distribution of income between home and foreign missions.
service could not be effective without a strengthening of the general religious and moral life of the student world at large, and in 1838 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 Federation, with a membership of over 180,000 students in some 40 countries. The S.V.M.U. has become a department of the more general work. Since 1896 it has systematized the study of mission-field maps, thus providing a basis for the formation of study circles and the provision of suitable textbooks for them. The Liverpool Conference of 1912 co-ordinated the foreign missionary and home social problems of the movement more closely than before, and the S.C.M. works at the solution of both as inseparable the one from the other.

From the British branch of the S.V.M.U. over 2000 students have left in thirteen years for the 60,000, 500 are still in college, and 500 are undergoing post-collegiate training for missionary work. The Union sends out no missionaries itself, but only through the societies.

In 1800 the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts was founded, and the first mission field was the Cambodian, the society's missionaries being taken over by other societies. The Moravians quietly continued their work and celebrated their first centenary in 1852 with much cause for rejoicing; their influence was felt, too, in new undertakings elsewhere. During their second 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 Jakob Reisner from 1800 to 1827 carried on a missionary seminary in Berlin whose alumni were sent out to Holland and England. They included pioneers in America (C. G. Windthorst and others), China (C. G. Gustaf). In S. Germany Christiana's life was strongest in Württemberg, Baden, and German Switzerland, and here missionary interest resulted in the foundation of the Evangelical Missionary Society in 1815, 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 (Kwantung), and in 1856 Cambodia, becoming a German colony, was taken over from the Baptist Missionary Society. The Indian Association connected with the Basel Mission has taken a lead in industrial work in S. India, where it carries on weaving, tile-making, etc., at Mangaluru 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 work of the Wupper Missions in West Africa is a strong centre of active Christian life, and here, after much preliminary work, the Rhinische Missionary Society was founded in 1835. This, too, began work first in S. Africa, extending in 1834 to the nation of the Chokwe in the Iuba valley, then in 1846 to China, and in 1837 to Kaiser Wilhelmland. The missions in S. Africa have attained a large measure of self-support, and in Sumatra many

Muhammadans have been brought in, together with masses of pagans.

The year 1836 saw the foundation of three German societies. The Bremer Missionary Society has had a chequered career, its principal mission being 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 by its directors, K. Graul, in 1848. It makes more use of university graduates as missionaries than do the other German missions, which generally employ by the formation of study circles and the provision of suitable textbooks for them. The Liverpool Conference of 1912 co-ordinated the foreign missionary and home social problems of the movement more closely than before, and the S.C.M. works at the solution of both as inseparable the one from the other. From the British branch of the S.V.M.U. over 2000 students have left in thirteen years for the 60,000, 500 are still in college, and 500 are undergoing post-collegiate training for missionary work. The Union sends out no missionaries itself, but only through the societies.

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Society (1842) has missions among the Zulus and in Madagascar. There are minor missions connected with India and China, and other societies. Sweden also has had its own Swedish Missionary Society since 1835, working in S. India and S. Africa, and a Swedish Missionary Union, since 1876, with missionary stations in Algeria, Persia, Asia Minor, and Chinese Turkestan, besides minor associations. Finland has a Lutheran Missionary Society with work in S. Africa and Free Church missions in China and India.

With 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 country, the Free Church to their own neighbours and to their race-fellows in Africa. In India and China, though very few churches are as yet self-supporting, various indigenous basic societies have been formed, such as the Tinnevelly Missionary Society and the National Missionary Society, for 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 completed their 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 falls 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 Abingdon (797 missionaries up to 1913, of whom 13 are bishops) and St. Augustine's College at Canterbury (307 and 5 respectively).

On the Continent the great majority of missionaries are semanticists, but their training is of a kind that most of them seem to have produced as many scholars in proportion as the university-trained men. In American missions it is difficult to distinguish accurately between university and non-university men. 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 missions.

Till recently good theological training with a university degree was considered the ne plus ultra of missionary preparation from the intellectual side. But since the beginning of this century 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 Commission VI. 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 1893. The Board of Missionary 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, finance, and other methods). Some colleges already give themselves more or less to the teaching of these subjects: in America the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Conn., the Missions-Oberlin Training Institute at New York, the University, the Bible Teachers' Training School, in Britain the U.C.C. Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh, and the Kingseat and Theological Institution, Birmingham, take up many of these subjects, and it is in contemplation to merge 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 1880 (126 members); London, Mildmay Park, 1878 (158 delegates); London, Exeter Hall, 1888 (1484 delegates); London, Westminster Hall, 1901 (1900 delegates); and Edinburgh, 1910 (1200 delegates). The bulk of the membership in these has consisted of delegates of missionary societies and boards, supplemented by missionaries from the field and experts of eminence. The composition of these conferences has become increasingly interdenominational and international; and in Edinburgh not only did High Anglicans attend as members, but messages of greeting were received from churches and Roman prelates, while Asians, Africans, Australasians, Americans, and Europeans of many nationalities took part. The conferences have no legislative or executive authority, but the reports and discussions are carried on by a Continuation Committee 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 many seem to have produced as many scholars as the university-trained men. In American missions it is difficult to distinguish accurately between university and non-university men. 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 missions.

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The report of the Edinburgh Conference especially (in Osb., London and New York, 1910) is indispensable to the student of missions. Its investigations are to be supplemented by a Continuation Committee 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 many seem to have produced as many scholars as the university-trained men. In American missions it is difficult to distinguish accurately between university and non-university men. 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 missions.

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 go together with N. America. S. America has been touched in Patagonia and Paraguay.

(a) Eskimos. —The Norwesmen who immigrated to Greenland in the Middle Ages had a bishopric of their own, but both they and their faith died out before the 18th 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 indiffernce. It was continued, how-
over, by his son, and eventually taken up by the Danes. M.S. The west coast population in this region is Christianized, and missionary work is going on among the pagans of the east coast. Further south on the west coast the Moravians, beginning in 1753, founded the settlement of New Hermannsburg, where the chief tribes were brought into the Christian Church, so that in 1899 they were able to hand over this territory to the care of the Danish Church. In Labrador since 1771 the scattered Eskimos have been more or less 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, immigrants, Chinese, and white men. Here in 1877 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 and morally 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 cent. onwards the relations of the colonists, whether French, English, or Dutch, with the Indians were those of perennial warfare and commercial exploitation, till the peace of the country was realized 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 Zeilberger (from 1745) gathered many thousands of Indians into Christian congregations of peaceful citizens, but again and again their work was destroyed by 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 mission church was begun in the Hudson's Bay Territory in 1829; it has been developed largely by the C.M.S., and much heroic work was done by its pioneers among the sparse native population before the colonists came. In the whole dominion is parceled out in dioceses of the Anglican 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 incompletely accomplished process.

(c) Negroes.—These (including coloured or mixed population) in the U.S. are 8,827,763 (1901), and in the W. Indies 1,280,000. Their introduction into the latter dates from the Spanish conquest, into the U.S. from 1640. Organized missions 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. The bulk of these Negroes are now connected with the African Protestant Churches. In 1913 they contributed about £20,000 for home missions and £10,000 for foreign missions, besides maintaining of churches, ministry, and education. The Negroes of Cuba and Haiti are but little touched by Protestant work, but in the remaining islands they are incorporated into self-supporting churches, the result of previous missionary effort, and their economic condition is less complicated by an overweight of white population than in the U.S. They number about 1,000,000.

(d) S. America.—The territory of Guiana is closely connected with the W. Indies. Anglicans, Moravians, and Methodists have gathered considerable numbers amounting to 90,000. These are partly from among the E. Indian indented coolies working on the sugar-plantations (who are also to be found on the islands). Catechists and clergy of Indian nationality work among them, and coolies returning home help to spread the faith in India. Of the 38,000,000 in S. America the aborigines number about 5,000,000, mostly belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant missions have touched them in Patagonia, where the work set on foot by the heroic pioneer, Allen Gardiner, changed the opinion of Charles Darwin as to the susceptibility of a savage race to higher culture. The Indians of the Chaco in Paraguay have also begun to come in, and the mission among them has been recognized by the government of the Republic as the best mediator between white and coloured peoples.

ii. AFRICA.—(a) W. Africa.—It is this part of the continent that, owing to the slave-trade, has had the earliest and most intimate connection 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 Christian 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 Sunday schools among the neighbouring non-Christian. A certain number of American Negroes have been sent as missionaries to Africa by their Churches in the U.S., 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 Muhammadan 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 settlement of liberated slaves began in 1808, after the abolition of the slave-trade, and it’s capital received the name Freetown. Up to 1846, 50,000 African slaves had been brought there, chiefly by British cruisers. For a long time the life of was experienced among the C.M.S. and other missionaries who worked there, and among the wailer of tribes represented only the common language available was English. To some extent the varying elements were sifted out, and Christianity spread by means of those who rejoined their kindred elsewhere. In 1852 an Anglican bishopric was constituted, and in 1861 the Church, in which meanwhile education had spread rapidly, was made self-governing. It carries on missions among its pagan neighbours. Here and elsewhere in W. Africa the missionary comes into contact increasingly with Muslims from the north. Among a population of 75,000 in the colony 57,000 are Protestant Christians.

The Gold Coast Colony has a population of 1,000,000. The western part is worked by Wesleyan missionaries, the eastern by the Baptist mission. The latter, since 1828, has penetrated effectively into the back country formerly under Ashanti rule; while Wesleyans, too, have moved into the northern territory. The country is being opened up by railways, and the rapid increase of commerce is enriching the Christian community here as elsewhere in W. Africa, to the advantage of self-support, but always to that of spiritual and moral good. The Christian community now numbers upwards of 30,000.

The German colony of Togoland, next on the
east, has considerably developed missionary work from that country, during the last few years, amongst the Bushmen. The climate being temperate, Christianity has spread by immigration from western nations, and the white population is reckoned at 1,300,000. Hence the racial problem is at its acutest in S. Africa, and it is spurious since the constitution of Nigeria, the richest of Britain's African possessions, as a Crown Colony, with a population of 18,000,000. The first mission stations (from 1849 onwards) were started to look after the new arrivals, and the mission stations were established from Sierra Leone to their own people. Lagos, the great port of the palm-oil trade, and the large interior towns of Abokuta 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 priest of the C.M.S., Samuel Crowther, was sent to this region. He planted several stations, and in 1838, the Rev. R.G. Christy was carried on by Africans, with some vicissitudes, but with substantial progress, till Crowther's death in 1891, when W. Equatorial Africa was placed under and by the two Rev. Africans, the wealthy churches of the Delta being granted self-government. In N. Nigeria the town of Lokoja had been occupied in 1865, but it was not till the end of the century that an effective advance was made from this territory, where a profoundly Muhammadan 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. In Calabar at the southeast corner of Nigeria 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 into the back country before the outbreak of the great European war. The Christians number about 15,000 out of an estimated population of 3,000,000. The Congo River was first opened up completely by Stanley in 1875-77, and the Congo Free State, under the protection of Belgium, has been the scene of rapid missionary advance along the river. Stanley's descent from the south to the north was 1,900 miles from the mouth. Among the first 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 intercourse caused 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 the trade, the increase in prosperity and intelligence, 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 which need appreciable progress 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 Zambezi on the west. It contains three African races; the Bantu (including Zulus and Kafirs), the Nama or Hottentots, and the Bushmen, 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 racial problem is at its acutest in S. Africa, and it is spurious since the constitution of Nigeria, the richest of Britain's African possessions, as a Crown Colony, with a population of 18,000,000. The first mission stations (from 1849 onwards) were started to look after the new arrivals, and the mission stations were established from Sierra Leone to their own people. Lagos, the great port of the palm-oil trade, and the large interior towns of Abokuta 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.

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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 into the back country before the outbreak of the great European war. The Christians number about 15,000 out of an estimated population of 3,000,000. The Congo River was first opened up completely by Stanley in 1875-77, and the Congo Free State, under the protection of Belgium, has been the scene of rapid missionary advance along the river. Stanley's descent from the south to the north was 1,900 miles from the mouth. Among the first 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 intercourse caused 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 the trade, the increase in prosperity and intelligence, 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 which need appreciable progress towards the regeneration of the Negro peoples. 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. Basuto, blessed with a more quiet development since
it became a Crown Colony in 1854, has been worked principally by the Paris M.S., which now counts about 70,000 adherents. Among the Bechuanas of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Dutch, Anglican, Wesleyan, and Lutheran missions have gathered a Christian community of considerable importance. The problems of moral and social development are greatly complicated by the consequences of Apartheid; both Christian and non-Christian, in the mine compounds of Johannesburg and the Rand. The thinly populated Bechuanaland Protectorate includes Khama's Country, where a Christian African prince rules his 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 Hovas, the ruling race of the central province, in 1820. In 1836 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 the queen was baptized in 1889, conversions began in masses. To cope with the situation other societies, Friends, S.P.G., and Norwegians, entered the island. In 1863 the island was annexed by France, and Protestant mission work was so severely hampered that the L.M.S. was fain to give over a large part of its work to the Paris M.S. The total number of Protestant Christians in Madagascar is estimated now at 287,000, while the scholars number 44,577.

(c. E. and A. Africa.—Missionaries helped to open up these lands both from the east coast and from the west, and even the interior. In 1844 Ludwig Krafft, a German in C.M.S. service, landed on the island of Mombasa and began work on the mainland opposite. He planned (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; and (3) to work for 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 Krafft was joined by Johann Rehmann. After nine years Krafft was invalidated; Rehmann held the field for twenty-nine years. By their discovery of the snow-peaks of Kilimanjaro, Rehmann ascended the equator, and of the great inland-sea of Nyassa, they revolutionized the geography of C. Africa, and their linguistic labours prepared the way for later workers in a fruitful field.

The next great work of David Livingstone is part of 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 Ilala 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 then spread the Gospel to the Moslems. To this end he launched a series of three expeditions to the Congo valley, and in the course of his work he gave the impulse which has resulted in the formation of a virile Christian State in the centre of Africa, now the kingdom of Uganda. Stanley found the kingdom, and the king the Christian religion. As a result, 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 to Uganda. In 1855 the murder of James Hannington and the barbarous persecution of the converts 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 a British mission; the work has gone forward peacefully. The country now contains 96,000 Protestant Christians, with a somewhat larger number of Roman Catholics and a smaller number of Musalmans. 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. missions remains round Mopaniwana, and another of the U.M.C.A. opposite Zanzibar. The German work is chiefly in the north and on the north shore of Lake Nyasa and its vicinity. The principal missions of the Nyasa Protectorate are those of the Scottish churches, with the two industrial centres of Livingstonia in the north and Blantyre in the south. It is the memorial of the great Scottish missionary pioneer. His successors have seen the slave-trade entirely wiped out and fierce animist tribes subdued by the influence of Christian love, examples of medical missions, and brought under training in civilised industry and commerce. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in its Muslim condition is closed to missionary efforts by government ruling; among the pagan Dinkas, Azand, and other tribes missionary work is in its first stages.

Oceania.—Missions in Oceania date from 1788, and owe their first impulse to the interest excited by the story of Cook's voyages in the South Seas. The main part of the area is suitable for European colonization, and the aborigines belong to more or less primitive states of culture, in which their physical as well as their moral nature has remained weakly. Owing partly to this and partly to unscrupulous exploitation by white settlers and 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 civilisations not imbued with the Christian spirit. In no part of the world have the results of missions been more rapid and widespread, but stability is sometimes lacking. The effects of kidnapping, strong drink, and disease have been appreciably 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 ensued, and in 1864 the strong Hanau apostaesy, C.M.S. missions succumbed. The missions 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 make over their converts to the local Church organisations. The New Zealand Parliament also has its Maori members. The Maori population of New Zealand is about 20,000, of whom some 30,000 belong to Reformed communions. 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 74,370, of whom 21,000 still inhabit the pethorn 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 Lapps. Besides, despite the fact that the aborigines have proved susceptible to the elevating influence of the gospel, and decadence has been to some extent arrested, though independence is far from achieved. 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 as its capital, was first evangelized by the American Board from 1820 onwards and Christians with partly yecman, especially has sent out and supported missionaries to several other islands. Tahiti, occupied by missionaries of the L.M.S., had a similar history, but after the annexation of the group by France it became necessary to transfer the work to the Paris M.S. Raiatea, the home of the famous John Williams, has remained in British connection. In the Tonga and Viti, or Fiji, Islands the Wesleyans have been the principal workers. Practically the entire population is Christian, and is efficiently ruled by princes of the same faith. Education is wide-spreading, and evangelists from Fiji have carried the faith to many other settlements.

Melanesia has a population of 475,000, of whom 111,000 are Protestant Christians. The gathering in of these numbers has cost not a 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 1851 called forth much enthusiasm and service, and during his long life John G. Paton of the United Presbyterian Mission saw 29,000 natives converted in the New Hebrides and contributing £1300 in one year for Church purposes.

On the Micronesian Islands, now under British, German, and American protection, developments since 1852 have been similar. Missions from Australia have taken part. Roman Catholic work is stronger here than in the other islands; out of 12,000 Christians 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 (1876–1901). The Christians now number 35,000. Anglican, Wesleyan, German, and Dutch missionaries have taken part.

In various parts of Oceania, 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 as yet. The barriers of caste and social opposition are less rigid than at home, but the restraints of conventional morality are also loosened.

The total population of Oceania, excluding Australia and New Zealand, is reckoned at some 2,000,000, of whom 20,000 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 land and sea. The culture of the people ranges from the most primitive to a highly developed, though 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 system of caste (q.e.). 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 poity of those nations that now constitute by far 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 the Nestorian community of Persia, whose members had sailed with the Malabar Coast in early days. From about the 4th cent. a trading and landholding community accepted the Christian faith, and has continued as a local caste to the present day. Early in the last century they were aroused from 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 church and in evangelical zeal. The work of St. Francis Xavier, Roberto de Nobili, and other great Roman Catholic missionaries of the Portuguese period 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 18th cent. the greatest name is that of C. F. Schwartz (landed 1759, died 1798). The 39,000 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 19th cent. the work of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. in Tinnevelly (principally among the palm-tree climbers), together with that of the L.M.S. in S. Travancore, yielded much more, but the entire number of Protestant converts in India, and naturally also the best organized churches. In 1851 these missions had 51,335 adherents, the remainder of the Madras Presidency 23,921, and all the rest of India 19,016. 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 728,425 (besides over a million and a half Roman Catholics and Syrian Christians), and they contribute £33,731 to the support of worship and schools. The Indian ministry includes 492 ordained men (including some 7 foreign missionaries, and the self-administration of the churches is on the increase. Self-extension, too, is shown by the activity of more than one mission of the Indian Churches. The largest is the Tinnevelly Missionary Society, with an income of 152,500, 36 ordained men, and 2000 converts in a mission which they carry on in the Nizam’s territory. Part of their work was made over to the diocese of the first Indian bishop of Dornakal, when he was consecrated in 1913. In Travancore a similar movement has made headway in the L.M.S. and C.M.S. missions, which
now number 73,000 and 57,000 Christians respectively. Still more widespread is the movement in the lower castes 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 the Anglicans, American Baptists, Lutherans, and others are estimated at some 50,000. In Bengal an older movement in the forties of the last century left a considerable church in the Nadia district; more recently the Namasudras of the Blessing Church are turning their hopes towards Christianity, and the B.M.S. has admitted hundreds from among them. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the Chamars (leather-workers) and sweepers have been principally gathered in by the American Methodist Episcopalians, 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 Punjab, where the Christians entered in the government Census returns had increased from 37,000 in 1901 to 163,000 in 1911 chiefly in the American Presbyterian missions.

The movements among the Indian village proletariat which have resulted in these large and growing ascensions to Christianity all form part of one upward tendency of populations representing pre-Aryan inhabitants, enslaved by the Aryan conquerors and kept for millenniums in servitude, but now afforded the opportunity of 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 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, 1911, Calcutta, 1918, vol. i. pt. i. p. 138).

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 Musalmans of the plains. They may number (accuracy is very difficult to secure) some 30,000,000. But there are some 10,000,000 more of non-Hindu sects, living mainly in hilly regions, among whom the Christian faith has found ready entry. Such are the Karams of Burma, the Chais of Assam, the Kols and Santals in Bengal. The Christian communities among these amount to some 200,000 persons. Both among these and among the 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 its service. The effect of education and Christian influence in raising the status of the Christian community as compared with its Hindu and Mohammedan neighbours has been very marked. Some progress has been made in improving their position as agriculturists in the Punjab; the Christians have been recognized by the Government as an agricultural tribe, and in the irrigated districts there are several flourishing villages of Christian cultivators, holding land direct from the State.

Education of a simple kind, including that of girls, was at first a regular part of missionary activity, but was on a small scale, and mainly in 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 Macaulay and others, had already been adopted by Government as the vehicle of learning for India. Duff was assisted in his plans by Rajâ Râm, the Chief of the Brahmâ Samâj (q.v.). Duff's converts were counted rather by the score than by the hundred, but they included men who made their mark on the Christian Church as leaders throughout India. His school also had a parallel in the development of the Brahâma Samâj and other liberal movements in Hinduism, and not less did it 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 Allâhabâd, and recently by a Hindi university at Benares and a Muslim one at Alligur. 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 Pr. 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 1912, 5447 students, including 41 women, the latter practically all Christians. Of the total, 481 students were Hindus, 530 Muhammadans, and 436 Christians. There is a fully-organized missionary college for women in Lucknow; and a college department works in connexion 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 instituted in 1874. 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 8440 girls; 880 boarding-schools contain 22,193 boys and 17,586 girls, all Christian. In 87 theological schools 1832 students are in training, and 127 training-schools have 1904 male and 1173 female students. The boarding-schools are partly secondary and partly primary. The result 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 care bestowed on the education 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 Brahmans. 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 population. 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 about 450,000, 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 (1793-1834). Together with Marsham and Ward, Carey also worked chiefly in making Bible translations into a multitude of different languages, and also founded a missionary college in Serampore. Most of these versions were mere bollettos d'esai, but the Bengali became the foundation of all further work in that..."
tongue. Henry Martyn at the same time pro-
duced his remarkable Unu version of the NT, and a
number of other editions of the Bible and
supportc by the publishing societies mentioned
above. Krishna Mohan Banerjee among Hindu
converts, Imaid-ul-Din among Muslims, and John
Museeth among African Christians and publishers of
Christian literature are outstanding names.
Besides Bible versions there is also an incipient
Christian literature in all the principal Indian
languages, amounting in some of them to several
hundred thousand copies, occasionnally in families,
with here and there outstanding personalities.
The Census of 1911 gave the number of Protestants
Christians in India as 1,692,759, compared with
970,283 in 1901. The largest proportion is in S.
India (629,000), 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; Punjab, 155,000; Bombay, 51,000;
Central Provinces and C. India, 24,000. In the
native states they are generally fewer e.g.,
Haidarabad, 29,000; Mysore, 9,000; Panjab States,
300; Kashmir, 700.

Syncretism, in the shape of reform movements,
both religious and social, is much in evidence.
The earliest example is the non-theistic Brahm Samaj,
found in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy—a small sect, but influential owing to the social standing, literary ability,
and philanthropic zeal of its members. The teach-
ing of its sections ranges from a modified Hinduism
to a kind of Unitarian Christianity with Indian
atmosphere. The Arya Samaj (q.v.), founded in 1875 by Dayanand Sarvastav, represents a cruder modifi-
ation of original Hinduism, professing to hold
the Vedas as absolutely inspired, and accord-
ingly forcing their interpretation to fit modern
standards. It has a strong political and nationalist
vein, and is bitterly hostile to Christianity; but it
has done good work in the cause of education and
social reform. It prevails chiefly in the Panjab
and United Provinces. In Bombay the Prarthana
Samaj (q.v.) does a similar work. These bodies,
following missionary example, are beginning to
interest themselves in the amelioration of the depressed classes by education, and the Arya Samaj
actually admits them and also Muhammadans into
the "Vedic religion" by a ceremony of purification
(uddhi).

Modernist movement among the Muhammadans
dates from the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad, who
began in 1838 to arouse his fellow-religious 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
wide-spread movement was inaugurated by Qutub
Ahmad of Qadiana in the Panjab in the year
1870. He, like Dayanand, harked back to his
sacred Scriptures, and treated the Qur'an as
verbally inspired, interpreting it in a new fashion
with an eye to modern thought. This sect, too,
is strongly opposed to Christianity, and some
members of it have started a mission to England at
Leeds. In India itself, as a result of this and
these new sects all owe more or less of their origina-
ting impulse and of their specific doctrine to the
message of Christian missions. The Indian national
movement has also effected a closer proximity of
sects nearer together, and its influence is being felt
in the Christian community also in a certain
thoughness and impatience of foreign influence.
At the same time there is a 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 Indonesia were previously under Hindu rule, but since the 12th century they have gradually been overrun by Muslim chiefs. First, the total population in 1867 was estimated at 2,000,000, are now Muhammadan.

The Dutch East India Company, while building up its Eastern empire, also Christianized the natives after a fashion, but their condition at the beginning of the 19th century was low. Since then it has improved, and the so-called permanent congregations (gemeenten) are under the care and superintendence of missionaries appointed and maintained by the State. Missionary work is carried on from time to time at places 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 Bataclan country on the north coast of Sumatra, and in the Minahasa region of Celebes. In the second of these an effective barrier has been erected to the inland advance of Islam. The total number of converts from Islam in these islands is estimated at 30,000.

v. CHINA.—In contrast with India, China has but one 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 I.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 Mills, 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 1850, 3 Englishmen, 11 Germans, and 7 Americans had begun work, and the converts have 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 reform 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 into the breach. Meanwhile, missions on the coast were increasing their stations in the interior China had been quieted (1865) Hudson Taylor formed the China Inland Mission, which led the way to the formation of a network of stations during the last half century, new extend-
the Bible, and hundreds have actually joined the Christian Church.

The creation of a Christian literature for China has been carried on mainly by cooperation between the missions represented in the Christian Literature Society (Chairman, Dr. E. S. Richards, and others). The rapid opening of the mind of China to appreciation and reception of Western thought has given missionary scholars both the opportunity and the task of providing not only general and scientific literature for readers, whether Christian or non-Christian. Both this 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 1914 two million and a quarter.

The first L.M.S. woman missionary in China was appointed in 1860. The work among women has been greatly hampered by the custom of foot-binding and by social prejudices, but these have been in great measure overcome, largely as the result of missionary effort, and there is now a desire for or education of women is greatly on the increase; some are using their education not 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 Christian ministry, putting aside prospects of lucrative careers. The tendency in this class is to work for the formation of an indigenous Chinese Church, self-supporting, and not dependent on the missions. Over 500 girls from among the converts are being trained in the self-support of native churches. Meanwhile the various cognate bodies which have hitherto been carrying on separate missions, such as Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists, are amalgamating their organizations as a first step towards larger union.

In the outlying provinces of China work is still in its beginnings. It is furthest advanced in Manchuria, where Presbyterians and Lutherans have a community of some 33,000. The devoted work of James Gilmore (1870-91) in Mongolia left little visible result, and the societies which are following it up are struggling against a lack of funds and great difficulties. In Chinese Tibet these are insuperable, 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 missions are in the early stages 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 the result that the openings of missions 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 islands of the Kingdom of Tosa, and were baptized in 1864, but meanwhile persecution of Christians continued, sometimes with severity, till the Revolution of 1868, which once more brought the Mikado to power, and inaugurated the modern government of Japan (G. Euss, "G. M.B."). When in 1869, was the first English missionary, but full religious toleration was not granted till 1873, to be speedily followed by the serious suggestion that Christianity should be made the State religion. This was, however, negatived, and subsequently there was a distinct reaction against foreign influence which Christianity was included, especially during the first decade of this century. But a swing back of the pendulum was indicated by the action of the Minister of Education in the first decade of this century, when he announced that the government had resolved to recognize Christianity, alongside of Shinto and Buddhism, as a religion deserving of encouragement, expressing, at the same time, the hope that Christianity would conform itself to national aspirations. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Christian message in Japan has appealed specially to men of culture. A quite disproportionate number of Christians are found among members of Parliament, high military and naval officers, doctors and professors, and Count Okuma has recorded that 'the indirect influence of Christianity has poured into every realm of Japanese life.' ("Intern. Review," Oct. 1912, i. 554). The number of Protestant Christian adherents in Japan may be reckoned at about 100,000. Forty per cent of the mission stations are said to be self-supporting. Three-fourths of the converts are members of the four amalgamated Churches representing the Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist missions respectively. The great majority of the Protestant missions have established a organization for the promotion of common work, called the 'Federated Missions of Japan.' This has formed a general Christian Literature Society, and promoted joint efforts for evangelizing both in the towns and in the neglected rural districts.

The work of missionary education builds less largely at present in Japan than in China, owing to the fact that from the first opening of the country education has been steadily taken in hand by the State, which now provides a completely organized system of education from the primary schools (at which attendance is compulsory) up to the universities and technical schools. There are 14 Protestant middle schools, with about 5500 scholars, and two colleges of university grade, of which the Doshisha College at Kyoto, founded by Joseph Nishima, has 700 students. In 1950, the number of students in all schools is about 200,000. Elementary missionary education among Chinese children has been carried on by both missionaries and the government, and Chinese children have access to well-equipped Government schools. The educational work of the Y.M.C.A. has been much appreciated in Japan, and has strongly influenced the student world; the Y.W.C.A. is reaching women increasingly. Christian missionary efforts among the aboriginal Ainu of Yezo have been appreciated by the Japanese Government, who bestowed a decoration on John Batchelor of the C.M.S. in recognition of his work for this dying race.

Among the dependencies of Japan, Formosa, first entered in 1865, now has some 20,000 Christians. Korea, after three and a half years of absolute seclusion, was not effectively entered till 1882, first by American missionaries, and, in 1890, by Anglicans. The growth of the work has been phenomenal, especially in the years following the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, when 380,000 children were under education in mission schools, and 29 hospitals and 25 dispensaries were in operation. This progress has been made in the remarkable isolation in the study of Scripture and by reformation of life.

vii. THE NEAR EAST.—Under this we include the lands, stretching from Morocco to Persia, in which Islam, after Arabia, has long been the long domination of Islam. The work of Christian
missions to Muslims in this region is either non-existent or of supreme 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 among Oriental Christians, missions to the missionaries, in the Turkish empire and Egypt has resulted in the formation of considerable Protestant communities, whose progress in intelligence, morality, and wealth has raised the Christian name in the eyes of the Moslems and which is not so far unfavourably viewed by the ancient churches by stimulating a desire for reform and progress. There is among the Protestant Orientals also the dawn of a desire to evangelize the Muslim—a feeling that had been eradicated from the Oriental Christian by a thousand years of oppression and misrule, which prevented him from seeing in the Muslim anything but an irreconcilable tyrant. The most effective missionary work done by them of the nations is that of Bible colporteurs. The Muslim verbally acknowledges the Scriptures of the OT and NT to be inspired, and, if once induced to study them, he is in Asia capable of realizing that the theory of their corruption subsequently to Muhammad is a fragment of his divines. Thus their witness to Christ, as well as their incompatibility with the Qur'an, is a powerful means of the conversion of the Muslim. The British and Foreign Bible Society employs in the countries referred to 71 colporteurs, and has 27 depots, through which 128,926 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, Tunis, and Tripoli, among a total population of about 14,000,000, work is carried on mainly by the N. Africa Mission and other undenominational agencies. There are converts here and there. The principal agency, besides that of colportage, is schools, which are elementary. In Egypt work was begun in 1854 by the American United Presbyterians, principally among the Copts, and resuscitated by the C.M.S. in 1892. Considerable access is made by the Effendi class, and a number have been baptized, while medical work has to some extent extended the masses, in both town and country. Schools, primary and secondary, contain 17,994 pupils (largely of Coptical background). The establishment in Cairo of a Christian university is being actively promoted by American missionaries. German and English missionaries are pushing on 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 Mohammedan world, and from the Christian side vigorous efforts are being made by the Nile Mission Press, an Anglo-American undertaking, to produce and circulate evangelistic literature in Arabic.

In Asia Minor and Syria Protestant work has been done chiefly 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, is unexcelled. The spirit of the Missionary community in thought and attitude towards Christianity, Medical missions, in Palestine especially, have testified in the same direction. Arabia is touched on its outskirts at Bagdad, Bahrain, and Aden 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. Pflander visited Persia, and wrote his celebrated Balance of Truth, laying the foundation of a Persian Christian literature, built upon later by W. St. Clair, the compiler of the 1871 American Presbyterians organized work among the tribes of N. Persia, and in 1876 S. Persia was occupied by R. Bruce of the C.M.S. Medical and educational work on an extensive scale, and the demand for schools on a Western model far exceeds the power of the missionaries to supply it. The modernist sect of Bahais, sprung from the Babi reformatory movement, has borrowed freely from Christianity; but does not so far openly profess Christianity (q.v.). 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 65 societies, maintaining 550 men and 320 women missionaries. The Church of England, with the aid of the Society for Christianizing Judaism (253 missionaries; income in 1914, £51,000) is the principal one. Their work is quite imperfect. Some 250 of the Anglican clergy and others labor among the Jewish converts from Judaism. J. F. de la Roche represents this work during the 19th cent. in Protestant churches at 72,740; Roman Catholic, 57,300; Greek, 74,500.

The theodurists Neander and Eidersheim, the missionary bishops Schenkel, Kollmann, Alexander, and Gobat, were Christian Jews.

III. GENERAL ASPECTS. —I. Principles. —As a result of the work of missions by the Reformed Churches since the close of the 18th cent., 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 unexampled 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 faith was the legitimate and necessary consequence of the principles which He enunciated and exemplified. To suppose that the Church of this life and teaching, which have persisted in spreading their vitalizing influences among the nations for nineteen centuries, was Himself without desire for or intention of producing such an effect would be to face the most insoluble dilemma. The judgment which we have sketched makes it abundantly clear that 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 missionary effort unchanged, under the influences like G. Warneck in Germany and B. F. Westcott 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. This broader conception of missionary work and the research into the origin of Christian missions has helped us, with a truer historical perspective, to test our contemporary missionary work by the example and spirit of the Christian Church of the apostolic age. In the course of medieval history, too, the Church has had 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 an amplification. But this larger sweep of outlook and effort has by no means made the original conception of the mission 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 success or failure of the mission will become evident.

2. Methods, apostolic and contemporary.—The method is raised again and again whether the close following of the methods of St. Paul is not the true solution of our most fundamental difficulties. Will it not result in the complete independence of our mission churches? Were the evangelist to make brief sojourns instead of settling down, to devolve authority straightforwardly on native helpers instead of keeping them in long tutelage, to demand instead of giving pecuniary assistance, Christian congregations might be urged, the smaller, but they would be stronger and self-reproducing. Each of these paths has been tried in modern missions, generally with scant success, and the same end under different conditions may demand different means. Where there was a Jewish diaspora standing at the threshold of Christianity, teaching and disciplining and devoting themselves to the same task, the success may now require a generation; where habit and civilization of evangelist and evangelized were practically identical, the problems now arising from disparity of civilizations and distance of abode are non-existent. Recognizing these and other special difficulties and defects 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 those terms. Thus in the adventure of faith undertaken by the C.I.M., which has so remarkably opened up China to the gospel, we have a contemporary adaptation of the methods, rapidly following the main lines of communication and occupying the chief cities of an empire which in culture and administration offers 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 effect of modern thought on the adaptation of NT principles to contemporary missionary work may be traced in the development of the chief missionary methods. The mission school and college have no place in them, but the concept of the diocesan school of 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 educating the mind of a nation and creating an atmosphere permeated by Christian ideals has exercised increasing influence on missionary educators, especially in high schools and colleges, and it is evident that the successes have lain mainly in this direction. The value of such preparation of the community for the eventual reception of Christ as Lord and Master is immense, and it may be hoped that even the work which commonly falls to be done after conversion is thus being accomplished beforehand. But there is need of balanced judgment and steadfast will, lest elaboration of the teaching 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 they have become so fundamental a part of the Kingdom of Christ as to be realized in things temporal as well as spiritual, and have led to emphasis upon the fact that the work of healing, even apart from any spiritual effects, is a way of attaining the end. But when the end 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 of spiritual and economic independence in our mission churches. That was the essential notion of the mission which 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 it will allow him to be the bosom 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 want of spiritual training in order to the need latent in each human heart of something higher, less prone to controvert their doctrines and defiles than to set forth Christ in life and teaching. The conviction assimilated which may now require a generation; where habit and civilization of evangelist and evangelized were practically identical, the problems now arising from disparity of civilizations and distance of abode are non-existent. Recognizing these and other special difficulties and defects 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 those terms. Thus in the adventure of faith undertaken by the C.I.M., which has so remarkably opened up China to the gospel, we have a contemporary adaptation of the methods, rapidly following the main lines of communication and occupying the chief cities of an empire which in culture and administration offers 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. They differ from each other in spiritual gifts and strength, but everywhere they include whole-hearted followers of Christ, and, as a body, they have advanced greatly in tone and conduct from their Monothestic-Christian manor of life. The atheist, the pantheist, the agnostic, and the devotee have all had to believe in one all-wise Father, one sinless Saviour, one indwelling sanctifying Spirit. From this tree grow the fruits, both of higher morality and of social civilization, and intellectual progress. In many directions the desire is shown to hand on the benefits of the gospel to others, and readiness to make sacrifices in so doing is evident. It has been remarked that the churches of 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 teaching and status of the foreign teacher is so far superior, in the great majority of cases, to that of his converts that it would be difficult for them to maintain positions contrary to those which he has laid down. But all the more so as the possible variations of intellectual formulation have been fairly 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 is to be found in the change of attitude, the new beliefs and ideals 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 Brahma Samaj of Hinduism represents a kind of Ariasism; the Baha'i offshoot of Islam would stand for one variety of Gnosticicism, and theophysics (q.v.) 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 amateur collector is not more likely to stand than now among the early centuries, though it is a pitfall of which the abler intellectuals of the young churches need to beware.

Analogous to this is the problem of unity in the Reformed Church. The rivalry of the divisions 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 dividers in doctrine. The resulting 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 indiscriminately 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 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 question. In which it has initiated or stimulated. From these successes a difficulty of some springs. In the context of two deeply-separated civilizations the converts naturally assimilates that of his Western teacher, but without the exercise of wisdom and judgment it is a mere caricature of Western culture without its balance and restraint, thereby repelling alike his own countrymen and his Western fellow-Christsans; and among other races he may acquire needs and habits which involve him in economic and financial difficulties. Meanwhile, Western culture and commerce are ceaselessly flooding into mission lands, and the change of life connected with them is affecting non-Christsians scarcely less than Christians. As a result of this the efforts of the missionary to promote the growth of indigenous style of living may be resisted as intended to represent the progress of the native Christian. One of the missionary's most difficult and delicate tasks is to decide and to convince his charges what is justly due to the necessities and what is illegitimate as ministering 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 $7,000,000. The amount recorded as raised by the native churches in the same connection is $1,600,000. 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 may be great for some time to come. Almost every advance is dependent on fresh expenditures made by the mother churches, who also contribute largely to the organization 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 coloured races on the white, 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 is measure of the messenger 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 southern 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 control in the part of converts and 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 relations, is the part of wisdom. 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."


H. U. WEITBRECHT.

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
missionary activity. When he began his prophetic career, his first efforts were directed towards persuading his own family; his earliest converts were his father, his mother, his wife Khadija, his half-brothers, 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 al-Arqam, one of the early converts, and many Muslims dated their conversion from the days when the Prophet preached in this house, which was in Medina, a city which was 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, to be sure, in Muhammadan literature to correspond to the abundant materials for the history of Christian missions provided in the biographies of Christian saints, the annals of the Christian religious orders, and the innumerable journals that, in the West, form one of the various branches 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 history of the Church, not in the official chronicles, are usually accurate for the first century of Islam. Yet to this poverty of information from Muhammadan sources there is one notable exception, namely, the biography of Muhammad himself. The missionary activity of Islam begins 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.

In the Qur'an, 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):

'Sacrifice them to the way of the Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning; dispute with them in the kindest manner' (xxi. 120). 'They 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' (xxiii. 62), and walk uprightly therein as thou hast been hidden . . . and say, in whatsoever Book God hath sent down do I believe: I am commanded to decide justly between you: God is your 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 on the Day of Resurrection and shall we return' (xxii. 62). 'Say to those who have been given the Book and to the Ignorant, Do you accept the Lord of the Religion of Abraham as your God?' (xxvii. 39). 'Then, if they accept it, they are guided aright: but if they reject it, then shall we return' (xxiv. 36).

'This God clearly sheweth you His signs that permissiveness may be ascertained: there is no doubt that there are from among you a people who invite to the Good, and enjoin the Just, and forbid the Wrong; and these are they with whom it shall be well' (iii. 164). 'Verily thou art a guided aright'; but if they debate with thee, then say: God best knoweth what ye do' (xxvi. 61). 'If any one of those who join gods with God ask of thee a reason, then say: God ask him as a settlement as thou askest him, in order that he may hear the word of God; then let him seek his place of safety' (xxvi. 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.

'God's religion is not other than an exhortation to all created beings, and after a time shall ye surely know its message' (xxxix. 97). 'This Book is no other than an exhortation and a clear Qur'an, to warn whomsoever liveth' (xxxvi. 69). 'We have sent thee as mercy to all created beings' (xxi. 9), and 'He is the Lord of the heavens and the earth and He is the wise, and His apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it victorious over every other religion, though the polytheists are in awe of it' (xxiv. 9).

In the hour of Muhammad's deepest despair, when the people of Mecca turned a deaf ear to his preaching, when the converts that he had made were few and far between until they recanted and others had to flee from the country to escape the rage of their persecutors, the promise was revealed:

'One day we will raise up a witness out of every nation' (xvii. 96).

The life of the Prophet himself presented, for succeeding generations, an example of Muslim
of the Mongols had brought ruin to the centres of learning and culture in the Mongol countries which they overrun, and it was only by slow degrees that Islam began to emerge out of the mists of former ascendency and take its place again as a dominating factor in the history of the 13th and 14th centuries. The Mongols, in the latter part of the 13th century, began to be made of use from among the Mongols, and a new epoch in Muslim missionary history then commenced, and in which the Sufis, who had already played a prominent part. In the profound discouragement which filled the Muslims after the defeat of the Mongol conquest, there had been in their belief in mysticism, and the vīhār of 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 ruler to profess Islam was Sênâk Khan, who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1259 to 1287; according to one account, he owed his conversion to two merchants whom he met coming with a caravan from Bukhara; but the conversion of his prince gave great offence to many of his followers, and half a century later, when Uzbeg Khân (who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1313 to 1340) attempted to convert the Mongols who still lived along the Theran Tsû, it is said that he should we abandon the religion of Jenghiz Khân for that of the Arabs? In other parts of the Mongol empire the progress of Islam was more gradual and more fluctuating, and it did not become the paramount religion in the kingdom of the Khans of Persia until 1395, or among the Chaghatay Mongols until three centuries later. The first Mongol sultan to profess Islam was Tâqīq Timur Khan (1247-55), who is said to have owed his conversion to a holy man from Bukhara, by name Shaikh Janâl al-Dîn; but so late as the end of the 13th century a dervish named Isagâ Wâlî found scope for his missionary activities in Kâshgâr 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 Muslim merchants had been found in the coast towns from a much earlier period, the firm settlement of the Chinese in Western cities was not commenced until the 13th century. The settlements of immigrants from the west, which were founded from that period, developed into great communities 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 century, and in the north after the establishment of Mongol rule at the close of the 12th century, 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 establishment of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. Sumatra had 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 large sections of the population of this island remain unconverted. The conversion of Java, according to the native annals, began in the 15th century and spread to the Moluccas and Borneo. The arrival of the Portuguese and, later, of the Spaniards, in the 16th century, checked for a time the growth of Islam in the Malacca Archipelago, and the rival faiths of Christianity and Islam entered into conflict for the adherents of its peoples; but the aggressive behaviour of the Spaniards and the zeal of the missionaries 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, and in the absence of the native leaders, the activities of Islam have been carried on sparsely 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 meagre 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 been largely overthrown by the circumstances of the history of the country. The history of the spread of Islam in India by missionary effort is not quite so scanty, but it has been largely overthrown by the circumstances of the history of the country. Among these may be mentioned Shaikh Isâkimâ, a Bâbârî Sayyid who preached in Lahore in 1066, Sayyid Nâdir Shâh, the patron saint of Trichinopoly (where he died in 1396), and Abd Allah, who landed in 1397, and is said to have been the first missionary of the Mustâfî Isâlî sect (known in India as the 'Bohurâh'). Towards the close of the same century another Isâlî missionary, but of the Khojâ sect, Nûr al-Dîn (generally known as Nûr Satâqân), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarât. In 1236 there died in Ajmer one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khâwâjâ Mu'in al-Dîn Chishti, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindu rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later he died in Chittagong, where he died in 1338, and 'Abd al-Lâh, who landed in 1367, is said to have been the first missionary of the Musta'fî Isâlî sect (known in India as the 'Bohurâh'). Towards the close of the same century another Isâlî missionary, but of the Khojâ sect, Nûr al-Dîn (generally known as Nûr Satâqân), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarât. In 1236 there died in Ajmer one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khâwâjâ Mu'in al-Dîn Chishti, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindu rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later he died in Chittagong, where he died in 1338, and 'Abd al-Lâh, who landed in 1367, is said to have been the first missionary of the Musta'fî Isâlî sect (known in India as the 'Bohurâh'). Towards the close of the same century another Isâlî missionary, but of the Khojâ sect, Nûr al-Dîn (generally known as Nûr Satâqân), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarât. In 1236 there died in Ajmer one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khâwâjâ Mu'in al-Dîn Chishti, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindu rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later he died in Chittagong, where he died in 1338, and 'Abd al-Lâh, who landed in 1367, is said to have been the first missionary of the Musta'fî Isâlî sect (known in India as the 'Bohurâh'). Towards the close of the same century another Isâlî missionary, but of the Khojâ sect, Nûr al-Dîn (generally known as Nûr Satâqân), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarât. In 1236 there died in Ajmer one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khâwâjâ Mu'in al-Dîn Chishti, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindu rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later he died in Chittagong, where he died in 1338, and 'Abd al-Lâh, who landed in 1367, is said to have been the first missionary of the Musta'fî Isâlî sect (known in India as the 'Bohurâh').
watered by the Senegal and the Niger, and Arabs from Egypt spread their faith in the eastern Suddan during the 12th cent., to which period the conversion of Kordofan and Kamer appears to belong. It is evident that some came forward as zealous missionaries of Islam, to be followed by the Hausas, whom they had converted, and the Hausas have carried their faith with them from one place to another. Their propagandist efforts were intermittent, however, and many parts of the Sudan remained untouched by Muslim influences until the 19th century.

Except in India and the Malay Archipelago, there are few records of Muslim missionary activity from the 15th to the 18th century. Nevertheless, many conversions occurred during this period; e.g., the Turkish conquests in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries were followed by conversions to Islam on a large scale, and in the 17th century, thousands of Christians in Turkey in Europe went over to the religion of their rulers; similarly the conquests of Ahmad Grani in Abyssinia (1528-43) were signified by numerous conversions to Islam, but there is little evidence of any direct propagandist efforts on the part of the Muslims.

A great revival of the missionary spirit of Islam followed the Wahhabite reformation; this movement stirred the whole of the Muslim world—either to sympathy or to opposition—and thus directly or indirectly gave the impulse to the great missionary movements of the 19th century. In India the Wahhabites preachers aimed primarily at purging out the many Hindu practices that caused the Muslims to deviate from the ways of strict orthodoxy, but incidentally they carried on a propaganda on the basis of their example, which was followed by other Muhammadan missionaries, whose preaching attracted to Islam large numbers of converts throughout the country. In Sumatra Wahhabite preachers stirred up a revival and made proselytes. But a more momentous awakening was felt in Africa. Uthman Danfodo returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca full of zeal for the Wahhabite reformation, and, under his leadership his people, the Fulbe, who had hitherto consisted of small scattered clans living as shepherds, rose to be the dominant power in Hausaland; the methods of the Fulbe were violent and political, and they endeavoured to force the acceptance of Islam upon the pagan tribes which they encountered. On the other hand, a peaceful propaganda was carried on in the Sudan by members of the Amiri, haniyyah and Qadiriyyah orders; the former takes its name from Muhammad Ibn al-Amir Ghani, whose preaching won a large number of converts from among the pagan tribes about Kordofan and Sennar; after his death in 1853 the order that he founded carried on his missionary work. The Qadiriyyah order had been introduced into Western Africa in the 15th cent., but awake to renewed life and energy in the 19th. Up to the middle of that century most of the schools in the Sudan were established and conducted by teachers trained under the auspices of the Qadiriyyah, and their organization provided for a regular and continuous system of propaganda among the heathen tribes. Another order, the Chundan, which was founded in 1857, has also been very active and successful in proselytizing.

A fresh outburst of Muslim missionary zeal in Africa is noticeable when the greater part of that continent was partitioned among the Powers of Christian Europe— Britain, France, and Germany; by establishing ordered methods of government and administration, and by facilitating communication by railway and rail, they have given a great stimulus to trade and have enabled that active propagandist, the Muslim 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 attracted a large number of converts for various reasons—political and social—wholly unconnected with missionary enterprise; at the same time it has always retained its primitive character, without, however, having any permanent 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 are not many religious teachers who may be looked upon as professional missionaries of Islam, especially the members of the religious orders, it is the trader who fills the largest place in the annals of Muslim propaganda; but no profession or occupation for the propagandist for the office of preacher of the faith, nor is any priestly ministrant needed to receive the convert into the body of the faithful. Some observers, entitled to respect for their knowledge of the Muhammadan world, have gone so far as to say that every Muslim is a missionary:

A tout musulman, quelque mondain qu'il soit, le prosélytisme semble être une passion, et qu'il en prospère... 'Le Missionnaire', 1904, p. 427. ‘The Muslim is by nature a missionary...’ and carries on a propaganda on his own responsibility and at his own cost’ (W. Munzinger, Petremanes Mittheilungen, 1907, p. 43).

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 prospect of their Prophets' teaching. ‘Set men to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning’ (Qur'an, xlii, 180).

Even the prisoner will on occasion take the opportunity of preaching his faith to his captors or to his fellow-prisoners. In the case of Muslims sent to Eastern Europe was the work of a Muslim jurisconsult who was taken prisoner, probably in one of the wars between the Byzantine empire and its Muslim neighbours, and was brought to the country of the Pechenegs (between the lower Danube and the Dniester) 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 Shawkat Ahmad Mijaddid, who had been unjustly imprisoned, is said to have converted several hundred idolaters whom he found in the prison. Women as well as men were preying for the spread of their faith; the influence of Muhammadan women, especially the wives of Christian princes, who had to pretend a conversion to Christianity on the occasion of their marriage, brought up in the church of the children in the tenets of Islam and used every means to spread their faith. In Abyssinia the legend that the Tatars of women of Kanaz are said to be zealous propagandists of Islam.

The individualistic character of Muhammadan missionary effort explains the absence of detailed records of conversion; there is a clear lack of the common apparatus of modern Christian missionary.
missions—e.g., tracts and other missionary literature for general distribution; but in learned circles and among those who have been exposed to which some of the ablest Muslim thinkers have contributed—e.g., al-Kindi (†735), al-Mas‘udi (†951), Ibn Hazm (†1064), al-Ghazali (†1111), etc., as well as other orators who have written apologies for their change of faith and the defense of their new religion. Several documents making a direct appeal to unbelievers have been preserved; the earliest of these are the letters which Maimonides addressed to the potentates of his time, the emperor Heraclius, the king of Persia, the governor of Yemen, the governor of Egypt, and the king of Abyssinia. To the reign of al-Mansur (†883–932), who himself is said to have been zealous in his efforts to spread the religion of Islam, belongs the interesting treatise of 'Abi Allāh b. Ismail al-Hāshimi, in which he makes an impassioned and affectless appeal to his Christian correspondent to accept Islam. A great many more formal characters are the two letters, one in Arabic and the other in Persian, which the Timurid prince, Shah Rukh Bahadur, addressed in 1412 to the pope, Giovanni Battista Valvasor, in favor of the doctrine of the law of Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and to strengthen the religion of Islam, so that he might exchange the transitory sovereignty of this world for the sovereignty of the world to come. A similar letter was written by Hāwī b. Shāfi‘i of Morocco, to King James II. in 1608. Coming from such an exalted source, these documents have been preserved, while the efforts of humbler men have been less successful. The publication of tracts and periodical reports of missionary societies makes its appearance only in the latter part of the 19th century.

LITERATURE.—Some attempt to give a bibliography of the scattered writings of the missionary societies is made in The Preaching of the Gospel, London, 1913, by the present writer. For the history and the most valuable sources see Annali dell’Islam, by Leone Caetani, Milan, 1869, E. Becker, Die Staaten der arabischen Rassen und die Mmissionen in Arabien, Berlin, 1879; C. Simon, Islam und Christentum in Kairo und dem Syrien der Romanischsprachigen Moslems, aus der Kaiserm missionsunion, 1915; C. Bonet-Maury, Islamisme et la Christendom en Afrique, Paris, 1906; A. Le Chatelier, L’Islam dans l’Afrique occidentale, Paris, 1910; L. del Rio, Al-Andalus, der Islam in Deutschland, Berlin, 1912; S. Meinecke, Ideen und Wirkungen der Moslemischen Missionen in Deutschland, 1912; and Der Islam und die Welt. See also Mission d’Ollone, Registres des missions des m missions chinoises par le commandant d’Ollone, etc., Paris, 1911. For different parts of Africa separate monographs have appeared, such as E. Becker, ‘Zur Geschichte des ostafrikanischen Islam’ and Materielle und spirituelle Bedeutung des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika, Berlin, 1912; G. Prentzel, Die mission der ostafrikanischen Missionen in Ostsudan, etc., P. A. van der Lub and L. H. Nellens, Leyden, 1898–1906; C. Storck, Die Islamisierung der Länder und Völker der Welt, 1911, etc.


In the West the missionary literature is much more extensive and numerous than in the East. The Zeitschriften der Missionen für Islam und Christentum, Berlin, 1888, is the only periodical devoted to the study of Islam. The Zeitschrift der Missionen für Islam and Christentum, Berlin, 1888, is the only periodical devoted to the study of Islam. The Zeitschriften für geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orient, Strassburg, 1908; G. C. Sevina, A Quarterly Review of current Events, Literature, and Thought among the Churches of Today, London, 1911, etc.

Missions (Zoroastrian).—Zoroastrianism began as a distinctly missionary religion. Accord-
described as 'desired afar' (diárfos-fôte) (VI. xvi. 17). On the other hand, the missionaries sometimes encountered opposition, as when Keršaani sought to suppress them, but was driven from his kingdom by Íaena (IV. ix. 24), through the Greek consul. The missionary inclined to regard this account as an inflated story of the mission's success during the 10th century. The king's veneration for the Virgin of his name, the role of the hero being reversed, is as the case also in certain other figures surviving from the period of Indo-Iranian unity. When, in like manner, the Pahlavi Sînab-i-mah (671) has four sons of Vistâsa (even wandered to Arûm [the Byzantine empire] and the Hindû, outside the realm, in propagating the religion,) the tradition of missionary activities in these countries (on which see Jackson, pp. 83–90) deserves no credence, and equally apocryphal is the statement of the Dīnkart (ŠBE xxxvii. p. xxxi) 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 Selcücs nor Parthians seem to have taken much interest in the religion. Nevertheless, there was considerable dislodge, if not of orthodox Zoroastrianism, at least of Iranian during this time. We have already had occasion to note the spread of Iranian concepts in Cappadocia as shown in the numismatic form of that country (art. CALENDAR [Persian], vol. iii. p. 130;) and a curious amalgamation of Semitic and Iranian religions is revealed by a Cappadocian Aramaic inscription of the 4th century B.C. (M. Lichtheim, Aramäische Inschriften, Epigraphik, i. [1902] 67–69), which runs as follows:

This (l) Dym-Mazāyastīn (šērvarshān, the queen (l), the sister and wife (nirin ṣannā) of Bit, spake thus: ‘I am the sister and wife of Bit, the king of Bit-Mazāyastīn: ‘Thou, my sister, art very wise, and far above the goddesses; and therefore have I made thee wife of Bit (l).’ The monuments (on which see Maxon, ‘Iranian,’ i) is also of interest.

An inscription of Antiochus i. of Commagene (1st cent. B.C.) at Nimrud, Dağh is of much value as the expression of the religious favour of a prince who traced his lineage, on the paternal side, to the Achemenid themselves, and also now showing the charismata of the late Zoroastrian cult in a foreign land. The relevant portion of this text (ed. most convincingly by W. Dittenberger, Orientis Græcici inscript. selecta, Leipzig, 1903–05, no. 383 [l. 593–93]) may be summarized as follows (cf. also F. Umbreit, Monumenta figurata relatùe à cultu de Mithra, Brussels, 1896–99, i. 11, 233, 258, ii. 89–91, and below, p. 754;) :

1. considered piety (mizâr-tas) not only the strongest founda
tion of all things good, but also the sweetest joy to men, and held it to be the criterion both of fortunate power and of blessedness (mizâr-xv farzâr-xv varâsh-xv zapâr-xv); throughout my life I was seen by all to be a holiness (bhrâhiva) both the most faithful guardian and the

2. Keršaani is apparently to be identified with the Vedic Rākṣa, an archer who shot at the eagle which was carrying off Rosna (Rigveda, iv. xxvii. 31; cf. A. Bergsagel, Religion indienne, Paris, 1896–98, iii. 261; A. Hihlén, from, i. 306., Brussels, 1901–02, i. 487.; A. A. Macdonell, O. V. Smith, Brascha, 1901, p. 137). For Keršaani see F. Jost, Iran. Namenbuch, Marcell, 1895, p. 112, and M. Ernst, ‘Zoroastrianism und die Identifikation von Herodot und dem Achae, in the Avesta, Paris, 1892–93, i. 90–91; and a similar praise.


4. For the Seleucids see the See E. R. Bevan, House of Seleucia.

5. It is implied in Lx. xlv. 16 that Dağh (Religion personified) is the daughter of Ahura Mazda and Ararti, but she is neither his sister nor his wife.

6. The previous section (enpshâr) looks very like a literal translation of Av. yasna, Yas, partypiece of an individual.

With the rise of the house of Sasanian Zoroastrianism not merely revived, but again developed a markedly missionary spirit. According to the Dīnkart (art. and tr. P. B. and D. F. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874, vol. x. p. 12), Ahura Mazda commands the faithful to spread through the world the word, and in elucidating the meaning of Av. vrâvârine, 1 profess, the Pahlavi commentators add that every Zoroastrian was bound to propagate the religion among all mankind, while the highest punishment attached to the quondam non-believer who renounces his former tenets in favour of Zoroastrianism (ŠBE xviii. [1892] 416), Sipan ii. (300–79), aided by his great priest (said to be Viznash, see Jost, Iran. Namenbuch, p. 49), worked zealously in the cause of proselytism (Dīnkart, vol. iv. p. 579), and the Dīnkart (vol. viii. p. 26) directly sanctions propagandists by force. It thus means a

1. Cf. art. Images and Icons (Persian). The term usrayazh (urâpshâr) is a transliteration of Anv. urâpshâr, Vaiz, partypiece of an individual.

2. The speaker above may possibly translate Av. urâpshâr, Vaiz.

3. For the brief individual inscriptions to all these see Dittenberger, nos. 304–320 (l. 694–697).
merely academic attitude is amply recorded by the reports of the mission of the Christians by the Sassanids rulers in Persia. The Parthian portion of the Niranjan-ia (ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1894, fol. 16, 17th) bears witness to the admission of the move to proselyte, and the Parthian Matsuč-n-i-Haazr Dohastāna (e.g., J. M. Moir, Poona, in 1901, pp. 1, 234, Bartholomae, WZKM xxvii, [1914] 347 F) states that a slave belonging to a Christian should be ransomed by Zoroastrians from his master if such a slave is to be Christian. Proclamation, though he is not to be set free if he becomes a Zoroastrian together with or after his master.

During the period under consideration there was the phenomenon of Zoroastrianism in China (cf. Jackson, pp. 278-290) which if far is thus far known. It would appear, however, from the discoveries made by M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. von Le Coq, and P. Pelliot in Turkestan, where Buddhist, Persian, Turkic, and Chinese relics lie intermingled, that Zoroastrianism passed along great trade-routes. It may be doubted whether there was any active propaganda.

You have just seen that the Sassanids proceeded by force against the non-Zoroastrians in Persia; they pursued a similar course in Armenia. Ample proof of this is given in the Armenian historians, and much further information is doubtless to be obtained in the hitherto untranslated Acts of the Armenian Martyrs. As an example it will be sufficient to summarize the data of the 5th cent. writer Elini (Hist. of Vartan, tr. C. F. Neumann, 1836).

All non-Zoroastrians were oppressed in Armenia from the reign of Aršak II (341-367) till that of Aršak IV (422-430). The Persian Vans (q.v.) (430-457) followed this example, urged by the Zoroastrians in order to expel the "Christians," and he deprived them of their property and money. He also forced some of them to become apostates by money and high rank, saying, "Oh that you would join the doctrine of the Magi into your souls! Oh that you would help exchange the hero of your souls for the true and excellent gods of our god!" The Magi exhorted 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 promulgated an interesting Zoroastrian statement of theology, to which the Christians replied (pp. 11-20). The persecution provoked a reaction in the Persia of Christian Chaldaea.

The war ended in 451. The whole account of Elini shows how the Zoroastrians were the only unimportant, but the spirit of sincere conviction must be recognized.

With the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty by the Parthians, the missionary enterprise of Zoroastrianism practically came to a close. The plight of those who remained in Persia was—too

wretched to allow more than a diminutive and hopeless toleration at best from the dominant Muhammadan race. Those who, in the 7th cent., migrated to India and Thibet gave rise to the great religion of Parsi (q.v.), were received with none too warm a welcome. As Dhallo observes (p. 292), with regard to their abstention from propaganda in India,

"the present condition in which they lived for a considerable period made it impracticable for them to keep up their former proselytizing zeal. The instinctive fear of disturbance and assimilation in the vast majority of races 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 culture. Living in an atmosphere suffused with the HIndu caste system, they felt that their own safety lay in their keeping their fold by rigid caste barriers.

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 (drona) for the festivals or to allow the proselytes to be excised after death in the Parsi way. The question was referred more than once to the Zoroastrians in Persia, whose replies were in favour of admitting converts. From the point of view of orthodoxy Zoroastrianism cannot be the slightest question that the ruling dynasty of the Sassanian (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, or has desired to have children by such a wife, or by a non-Zoroastrian mistress, received in the Parsi community. In all these cases admission has been granted only in the face of intense opposition.

The motives of the converts have been, in practically every instance, worldly, not religious, and the conversions have been purely nominal. Parsis hold that such proselytes are harmful to the faith, and that, if conversions are admitted at all, it must be under conditions which put the sincerity of the converts and their religious convictions beyond suspicion. The Zoroastrian community has no organization for training new converts; the matrimonial opportunities of Parsi girls are lessened by the possibility of converting prospective wives of other religions; and the admission of illegitimate children of Parsis is felt to be virtually a condoning of immorality.

This attitude—so different from that of Zoroaster and of Zoroastrianism until the migration to India—is fraught with grave possibilities for Parsism. The age of marriage is rising, and the birth-rate 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 (q.v.) is making a form of 'esoteric' Zoroastrianism which can scarcely be reconciled with the Avestan. 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 the moral and the religious values of the Parsi, both priests and laymen, but whether, so long as all accessions from without are forbidden, can advance and extend the good religion? Is it a question of the tithe for the future?


MISTRIOE.—See CELTS, vol. iii, p. 295 f.

1 See art. ZOROASTER and the literature there cited, to which may now be added five papers in the Jahrbuch für Orientalische Wissenschaft, Jahrg. VI, pp. 259-318, 340-413.

2 On these movements generally see J. H. Parshuram, Modern Religious Movements in India, New York, 1915, pp. 34-40, 243-246.
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 the divine Mithra in the Indo-Iranian period by the two most easterly branches of the Aryan race, as is shown by the fact that his name appears in the form Mitra 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 is Sanskrit means 'friend' or 'fellowship' 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 they are divinities manifested in the celestial light. In the Brûha-pantheon, indeed, the view prevails that Mithra represents the light of day, especially that of the sun, while to Varuna belongs the dominion of night. This seems, however, to be a later refinement, the beginnings of which may be traced in the Athravaveda, especially IX. iii. 18, where Mithra uncovers in the morning what Varuna has concealed. The theory of Oldenberg, that the group of divinities known as Adityas, who are said in Rigveda IX. xxiv. 3 to have been seven in number, originally represented sun (Mitra), moon (Varuna), and five planets, and was borrowed by the Greeks into the Mithraic, has little to commend it. It is more probable that Varuna was by origin the all-encompassing vault of heaven ('the ear, cover'), 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 Manzla (= 'Wisest Lord,' the word Ahura corresponding to Skr. atrya—a term which in later Vedic literature means 'demon,' but in the Rig-veda always 'the good,' the god, and used of Mitra and Varuna, and is plausibly suggested to have once denoted the possessed of occult power.

2. Mithra in Iran.—Among the Iranian peoples the position of Mithra, Mitra, was of 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 Bogaz-köri in 1907, 4 especially the treaty between the Hittite king Subbüliliumna and Mattiinana, the son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, it appears that Mitra, Varuna, India, and the Naṣatya, or 'Twins,' were worshipped in the district of Mitanni in the 14th cent. B.C. Eduard Meyer ('Das erste Auftreten der Arier in die Geschichte,' S.B.A.W. 1908, p. 14 ff.) regards this fact as a proof that the Indo-Iranians once existed in Mitanni; in E.D. xxii. 263 he suggests that the Arians in question were a caste ruling over a non-Aryan people. It is, however, uncertain whether this supposition is correct; 4 the names Mitra and Varuna are attested by cuneiform documents of the 18th and 17th centuries B.C. in Babylon and Elam. The connection with the Avestan Mitra and Varuna is, however, uncertain; the evidence of the Bulduk inscription is not conclusive, and the-Assyrians also called Mithra. It cannot be said to the name Varuna is otherwise unknown in Iranian texts, whilst Ahura Mazda, who takes his place, appears under the form Assur, Assurān, Assurānā. Moreover, the Assurite text of the Apadana of Darius I. contains a list of divinities of about 650 r. c. (published by F. Hommel, F.S.B.A. 1889, pp. 127, 138), and had, no doubt, borrowed from an Iranian people at a considerably earlier date. To the same period belongs a tablet from the library of Assurbanipal in which Mithra is identified with Shamash (R. lii. 69, 5, 1. 75). Our next evidence dates from the Achaemenian dynasty. The inscriptions of Cyrus, it is true, throw no light on his worship of Iranian divinities, and Darius I. mentions Ahura Mazda only, but the evidence of theophoric names (Mihira, Mihisra, Herod. i. 110, 121, Mihisra, (ii. 130, 120, 127), and, earlier still, Mihisra, if this is the correct reading, makes it plain that Mithra was prominent in the Persian pantheon, while Artaezeres Mmnon (406-385 B.C.) names as his divine protectors Ahura Mazda, Anahita, and Mithra (Art. sus., art. Naha, Zinna, O. Por., text). The compiling of the Mithraic with the goddess Anahita reminds us of the confusion which the idea of the god of life is also the name of the Persian zoroastrianism, and identifies Mithra, 4 with the 'Assyrian' Mylitta (an appellative of Ishtar).

3. Mithra in early Zoroastrianism.—We have next to consider the position of Mithra in the Zoroastrianism. Adopting the position (1) that the Gathas go back to the time of the Prophet himself, and that this was not later (and very possibly earlier) than the traditional date (7th cent. B.C.), and (2) that the Yashts, at any rate as regards the metrical portions, are not many centuries later, 5 we observe that Mithra is never 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 daeva, or demon, whose worship was to be banished from the pure faith. In Zx. xxi. 10 we hear of the teacher of evil who declares that the Ohr and the Sun are the worst thing that can befall man, and which may perhaps refer to the nocturnal sacrifice of the bull by Mithraists; and it is also possible that the Ohr-Creator (Gēnah-tāsān) named in Zx. xxi. 2 was a substitute for Zarathushtra. These are only conjectures; 6 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 regarding 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 of the Arians, and which may be sufficiently explained by the finding, which we are asked to think (on astronomical grounds) was introduced into Cappadocia by Darius I. 7 the Zx. xxi. 10, the names of the months are derived from divine names, which include those of Mithra.

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=rural of Mithra-worship the Yasht tells us little; kaoma (g.v.) and milk were offered to him in Khotan, and the Mazdaian is bidden to sacrifice beos small and great; his weight, that sty,' and to prepare himself for the sacrifice by abstinence and penance (Yt. x. 119-123).

4. External influences on Mithraism.—(a) In Babylonian. — The picture is sketched — and nothing essential would be added by drawing on the later portions of the Avesta or the Pahlavi texts—is in many ways very different from that of Mithraism as known to us from the inscriptions and monuments of the Roman period, and the problem of accounting for the difference is one which the evidence at present available does not enable us to solve. It is, however, clear that the transformation was partly to Babylonian influence, partly to contamination with beliefs current in Asia Minor. The former influence, no doubt, began to exert itself at an early date, since the confusion of which Herodotus was guilty, in identifying Mithra (as a supposed female divinity) with Ishtar, and the coupling of Mithra with Anahita (g.v.), who, in spite of her associations with the Osiris, was a goddess of an easily recognized Semitic type, point to a close rapprochement between Persian and Babylonian religion. The most important feature of later Mithraism, due to Chaldaean influence, was the prominence of astrology. There is nothing to show that this was a feature of early Iranian religion, and we know that the observation of the heavenly bodies and the belief in their influence on the affairs of men were of great antiquity in Babylonia. When, therefore, we find the busts of sun and moon and the circle of the zodiac stand as features in Mithraic monuments, we can have no doubt as to the ultimate source of this element; nor can it be questioned that the elaboration of a body of doctrine, expressed in and through myth and symbols, also took place in the Farther East, although the details of the process escape us. We can say no more than that the dualism of Iranian religion furnished a clue both to the cosmic process and to the destiny of the individual soul, and that the results which flowed from the dualism were worked out in detail on the banks of the Euphrates. The brief account of Zoroastrianism given by Plutarch in the sixth century, 1 Iside et Osiride 2 shows us how far the Magians had already carried the formation of the simple Persian faith into that which meets us in the Bundahishn and other Pahlavi texts of the Sassanian era, and enables us to rely on these to some extent for the interpretation of doubtful details in the evidence. Essential features are: 1 the separation in the material universe of the province of Ahura Mazda, 'withdrawn beyond the sun as far as the sun is from the earth,' from that of Angra Mainyu, the prince of darkness, and the intermediate position of Mithra, the mediator; and 2 the doctrine that the soul is a divine spark of light descending from the highest heaven and acquiring a gross and earthly envelope which taints it with corruption and makes its existence on earth a continual struggle with the power of evil. The moral consequences of this doctrine, particularly the inspiring conception of Mithra, the Mediator, as the true commander under whom the individual shares in the fight against the prince of darkness and the Redeemer 3 who grants to his faithful servants final deliverance from the body of death, followed by the return of

1 At the close of the Yasht (x. 145); cf. xiii. 113) Mithra and Ahura are jointly invoked, just as Mitra and Varuna are in the Vedic hymns.

2 "Ch. xlv. 1.

3 In a Manichaean Turfan fragment Mithra is designated as redeemer and benefactor (bistaer st eremtsh, C. Saalmann, Manichaeische Studien, l. (Petersdorf, 1908) 44, p. 60).
the purified spirit to the sphere from which it came, we may believe to be characteristically Iranian; to Chaldea we shall attribute the elaboration of the astrological dogmas connected with the influence exercised by the planets upon those in the greater worlds, and the prominence given to the conception of Destiny as revealed in the unchanging order of the heavenly process, carried on throughout unending time (seeu adorans in later Zoroastranism), Fatalism, and the like, as the corollary of these doctrines, but its acceptance in theory did not prevent Mithraism from becoming an intensely practical creed, full of stimuli for the activity of the individual.

(b) In Asia Minor.—It is much more difficult to say what was the effect upon Mithraism of its diffusion throughout Asia Minor. We have no contemporary evidence for the stages by which the gods in Pontus (see below), and was assimilated in art with Attis (q.v.), and 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 Iranian antiquity. The tavoebolium, 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 kevrens. This was conceived as a kind of mystical effulgence or aura derived from the heavenly light, possibly borrowed 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 Mani, the soul lost the gift of this precious talisman; and in the Mithr Yiasth the dask-kevrens, 'he of evil glory,' is the man who 'thinks that Mithra sees not all his evil deeds and lying' (Vt. x. 105). But the kevrens was more especially the talisman of the royal house of Iran, and as such is the main subject of an entire Yiasth (Vt. xix.), which deals with those who have or will possess it, beginning with Ahura Mazda himself and ending with Mani, the future deliverer of the world from evil, but giving in the main, as Darmesteter points out (SBE xxii. 266), a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Siath Nakhsh (Tale of the Mirror) therefore, the Ascendency was the token of Iranian kingship and the talisman which gives victory over the Turanian. 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 fervent worshippers of Mithra, 'the spiritual Yastha which their spheres, and the prominence given to the conception of Destiny as revealed in the unchanging order of the heavenly process, carried on throughout unending time (seeu adorans in later Zoroastranism), Fatalism, and the like, as the corollary of these doctrines, but its acceptance in theory did not prevent Mithraism from becoming an intensely practical creed, full of stimuli for the activity of the individual.

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 sources of our knowledge of the cult. The group of Mithras the bull-slayer, to be described presently, though ultimately made up of the bull-slaying Nike of the Athenian arena, is manifestly the creation of a Pergamene artist, and adorned every sanctuary of Mithras. In spite of this fact, however, it is not to be supposed that Mithraism never became popular in Greek lands; it is but found, e.g., at Delos, where so many foreign cults flourished in the later Hellenistic age, and its

4 The word appears in the compound names which the names of the great Mithras, and the name of Zeus, and the name of Poseidon which he appears as the god of the winds, and the name of Poseidon which he appears as the god of the winds.

5 For this inscription see R. Halm, Hermes, 1896, p. 439, and also (as Cumont points out) by the fact that the form Mayavestos is a transliteration from the Aramaic.

6 The expression 'two invicto Mithra Mercurio' found at Stockstadt together with a statue of (F. Drexel, Das Rostock, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 82; Cumont, Mystères, p. 145).
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, ἐνθαρρυτος τοῦ φωτος (Doctrum Cosm. 9).

The cult of 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 failed to achieve the popularity already attained by 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. 106 f.), 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. 228; 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, Cappadocia, Commagene, and Lesser Armenia—principally those regions in which the specialized form of the cult had been developed—were recuiting-grounds largely drawn upon by the Romans, even while as yet only client-kings ruled the empire, and still more when they were annexed and became provinces. During the Parthian wars under Claudius and Nero a considerable Oriental element thus entered the service of Rome, largely as auxiliaries, but also in the legions. Whether or not the soldiers of the third legion whose cult the sun at the second battle of Betricum (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. Adiutrix, founded by Vespasian from the sailors of the Ravenna fleet, who, as freedmen, were doubtless in many instances of Oriental birth. But the widespread spread of Mithraism on the frontiers was largely due to the auxiliary corps—aevi et cohortes—raised in the East under the Flavian and succeeding dynasties and used to garrison the line of the Danube and the Rhine or the Vallum in Northern Britain. Except for a relief found in London (Casson, x, pl. 154), 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)), or to the forts or on the near the Rhine valley, such as Bovocovium (Hunsensteins (CIL viii. 645-650 = Cumont, ii. 161, 393-396)), Ambriacum (Birdswood (CIL vii. 831 = Cumont, ii. 162)), Bremer (High Rochester (CIL viii. 103 = Cumont, ii. 192), Vindolava (Rutchester (CIL vii. 3924)), and others. So, too, in the two Germania the sanctuaries of Mithras (with some few exceptions) are found either in legionary camps, such as Vetra Castra, Domna, and Magenta (Cumont, ii. 389, 393f., 381-388), or in the forts along the Shop Germanicas, where they are lacking in none of the principal posts—Butzach, Friedrich, Saalburg, Hedderingham, Grossrotzenburg, Oberburken, Birkbands, Munich (ib. ii. 354-356, 472 f., 382-383, 351-354, 343-351, 151), and others. We have already mentioned the military settlements of Carnuntum and Aquincum, on 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.

The finds have been published fully by Pierre Paris (R.A. a. 1941).
province and drawn 'ex toto orbis Romano' (Estrop. vii. 6) were many Orientals who brought with them the Mithraic rite, which is confirmed by 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 found, are marked in red. It will be seen at a glance that, except in the places and districts of which we are to speak below, the Mithraic evidences clearly correspond with five of the grades mentioned by St. Jerome. We find also 'ostenderunt (or tradiderunt) cryfoi (cryfoi)' 4. The last word seems to be equivalent to exponere, and has been substituted for the corrupt exputare in the text of St. Jerome. The title pater (or pater patrum) for the highest grade is common in inscriptions; and a passage of Porphyry refers as follows to the others: 'υπὲρ τοῦ μαθητῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαθητῆς πάροικος καλεῖ, τὴν δὲ γενεάν εὑρίσκει, τοὺς δὲ πατέρας μαθητῶν κόραν εἰς τὸν πηγὴν . . . τέτοιο γα τιμῶν μαθητῶν προσφέρομεν ἐν τοῖς χριστιανοῖς προσφέροντες παρὰ τῇ σφαίρῃ τοῖς παρατάσσομεν' (de Abstin. iv. 16).

We infer that the σαβεία was a low grade, and that initiation into the mysteries proper began with that of lea (cf. τοῖς τὰ λαόντα μαθηταίς [Porphy. de Antro nymph. 15]). The mention of women called καμάρι stands alone; it has been proposed to read καμάριa, and some confirmation may be found in the discovery of a tomb at Caelestia Tripoli in which a husband and wife were buried and described as lea and lea (Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscriptions, 1903, p. 387 ff.). For the eagles' and hawks' indications (Cum. p. 12) it is hinted 2 that the animal was associated with a country of lions; and the passages quoted are strikingly illustrated by a relief found at Konjica, 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 boar. At each side are two figures: on the left a man wearing the mask of a crow, and a 'Persian,' distinguished by his dress, is raising a lion's mask, and a figure of the upper portion of which is unfortunately lost. It will be noticed that the masks of St. Jerome does not appear in the other sources—though the use of the term lea by the latter is confirmed by a passage of Tertullian (de Franc. hier. 40) and by the title lea majus in two inscriptions from El Pujol and Callosa (see above, p. 52). In Greek eπαρτέμιον νῦν τινος (inscription of Amauro, Benelai des inscr. du Pont, Brussels, 1910, 106). It is possible, therefore, that the祝贺ed figure on the Mithraeum relief represents the cryfoi, and that the miles, though he belonged to the rank and file of Mithra's soldiers, was not admitted to participate in the mysteries. He was, however, initiated by a ceremony described by Tertullian (de Comm. 101); a crown was set on his head, interposito gladio, and placed on his head, but removed by the neophyte, who exclaimed Mithras is my crown.

In the passage previously quoted Tertullian speaks of a soldier of Mithras as 'branded in the forehead'; and the καμάρια παρεκκλησία of which Gregory of Nazianzus speaks (Orat. iv. 70 [PG xxxv. 592]) may refer to this. Tertullian (de Bapt. 5) also mentions a Mithraic purification 'per lavacrum' resembling the rite of baptism; and it is to be noted that the Mithraeum which have been excavated either contain natural springs or have water specially laid on. Of the ceremonies which accompanied the higher degrees of initiation we know little; Porphyry (loc. cit.) tells us that the lea had both hands and tongue purified with honey, which was also used in the initiation of the ordinary initiate. The passage quoted above Gregory of Nazianzus mentions the σαβεία to which the initiates were subjected 1.
ject; and his commentator Nonnas (PG xxxvi. 989, 1009, 1012) enlarges on this topic and speaks of "imago resurrectiones" by water and fire, frost, hunger, thirst, and journeying in an unending scale of severity. These may to some extent be imaginary; but it must be remembered that the Mitth Yatha (§ 122) speaks of ablutions and stings. Terence, in Eun. (vii. 4. 168) uses the phrase "imago resurrectionis," which suggests a simulated death; and the biographer of Commodus tells us that the emperor's "sera Mithraico vero hoc tempore morabantur." Thus the little that we know of the Mithraic rites of initiation has shown 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 (Justin, Apol. i. 66, Iosias oblatio [Tert. loc. cit.]), which seems to have been represented on the Koskica relief.

9. Sanctuaries, ritual, and monuments. — The central act of worship in Mithraism, however, appears to have been the sacrifice of the bull, the prophecy (CIL iii. 4429 = Cunliffe, ii. 146), for which we also find crypta (CIL iii. 1096 = Cunliffe, ii. 182) and antrum (CIL vi. 754 = Cunliffe, 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 Arianz. 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 cells—e.g., the Mithraeum below the church of San Clemente in Rome. It should be noted that the Mithraeum is never of great size, and, where the adherents of the worship were numerous, the number of apes was multiplied. Thus Ostia possessed five, Aquincum at least four, and Carmona (CIL vii. 3) three sanctuaries. The more elaborate examples show a fore-court, or pronaos (the term is used in CIL xiv. 61), leading to a small chamber, whence the staircase descended to the crypt in which the mystic meal was taken. This was traversed by a central passage, on either side of which were podia about six feet broad with inclined surfaces. Whether, as Cunliffe supposes, the worshippers knelt, 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 asep (called cavedra in CIL iii. 1096), was placed the relief of Mithras and the bull, often accompanied by other sculptures, such as figures of Cantes and Cantopeses 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 Pergamene artist, probably in the 2nd cent. B.C., Mithras, clothed in the conventional costume which in Greek art signified the Oriental, placed 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 apse, 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 crown rests upon either Mithras' or the serpent's head: as if to symbolize the fact that this is both god and victim are, in a sense, one; but this seems fanciful. The "Alexandrian" type used by the artist was a "romantic" creation.

1 For the crown in Zoroastrian literature cf. Bundahish, xiv. 22.
discharges an arrow as a rock, from which a stream gushes over a rock figure receiving the water in his hands or running through his hair. Sometimes a suppliant kneels before Mithras and makes a gesture as if he were cutting his throat. A lyre-player accompanies him. The sun-god kneels before Mithras, while he holds the radiate crown on his head with the left hand, while in the right hand he holds an indistinct object, probably a drinking horn; (d) allusion to the sun and the sun’s path is made; the two figures are represented clasping the right hand in token of friendship; the sign of peace is conveyed by the myrmidons crossing the ocean, represented as a reclining figure in the style of Greek art; (e) banquet of Mithras and the sun (sometimes with other guests) is represented as a banquet on a couch, generally holding drinking horns, and before them is a small table with viands.1

(2) Mithras and the bull. — The theme of the slaying of the bull is never excepted as the principal scene, other episodes of the legend are often used in the decoration of the side-pieces. The following are the chief: (a) the bull in a box, the bull issuing from a gabled building; these two scenes, when found in the same monument, are always in juxtaposition; in one case (a relief found at Sternberg in Loreno) two figures in Oriental costume are setting fire to the building; (b) the capture of the bull; this is represented in a series of scenes, which display, first the bull at pasture, then Mithras seeing it by the horns, vaulting on its back and riding on it, and eventually carrying it on his shoulders. More often, dragging it by the hind-legs, while its fore-feet hang on the ground; the last scene seems to be described by the word 'brucer' (CIL. iv. 14384, 27 and 28).2

(3) Scenes in which Mithras takes no part. — There are other simple representations of other divinities in the form given to them by Greek art, such as the unexplained head of the Sester, the Eubate, a figure of the Eubate, goddess of Ath, of Ocean (i.e., the three Pates, or in access in which they are shown, either receiving the thunderbolts as the symbol of power at the hands of Kronos or in combat with the giants.3

So successful an attempt has been made to explain the series of representations just described; the last class, no doubt, clothed in Greek form, conceptions derived from Persian sources, the identification of which can at best be a matter of great difficulty. We can, however, be certain that whatever the original content of the Mithraic legends, it had been profoundly modified by the astral religion of Babylonia. Mithras, as we saw, was but the god of the heavenly light; and it is possible that his birth from the rock may symbolise either the appearance of the dawn on the mountain-tops or the effulgence of light from the vault of heaven covered with a solid dome. As any rate, there can be no doubt that the meaning of the two torch-bearers, dressed in the same Oriental costume as Mithras himself, who regularly appear on either side of the scene of the bull-slaying, and are present at the birth of Mithras. One holds his torch aloft, the other lower it, and these actions clearly symbolise the rising and setting of the sun,4 so that Mithras and the torch-bearers form but one part in the phrase 'Mithras  

But the monuments show that the heavenly phenomena played a still more important part in Mithraism. Mention has been made of the lion-headed figure of human form, wrapped in the coils of a serpent, of which a large number have been found in Mithras. The figure often has four wings and holds in its hands a pair of keys, or a sceptre and thunderbolt. The symbolism of the figure would be easy of comprehension even apart from the fact that we find the signs of the zodiac engraved on its body in some instances. It represents eternal time—"the abode of time" which became the chief deity in the zodiacal systems that sprang up in the bosom of later Zoroastrism and seems to have been described in Greek as Kpdrwv, though we have no direct proof of this.5

1 John. 4:8. 2 But see also § 9 sub fin. 3 In the MS. of Mysites and Cantor, p. 18, is given the title of Mithra and Cantor's passage, as the inscription show, to these figures; that they were the be-infants of Mithras himself is proved by the full explanation of the inscription (Mycetes Cantor, s.v.) CIL. v. 455 = Cumont, ii. 161. 4 P. Leg. Roma (1913) 123 & following. 5 See this in this

The zodiac is also commonly found as a framework enclosing the scene of the bull-slaying or, as in most of the reliefs from Vindolanda, as a border to the upper edge of the scutum on 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 exhibit the signs of the zodiac, generally holding drinking horns, and before them is a small table with viands.1 We also find the seasons and the winds; and it is beyond doubt that the lion, the eagle, and the serpent must be combined with these as the elements of the universe. It may be added that the sun (Oceaus) and the moon (Hecate) are both mentioned on a stele from Hedebyehms (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 being applied to the soul and its destiny. The doctrine of the microcosm, which pervades all the speculations of later antiquity, was popularised by the Stoics, especially by Zeno, and, together with other elements which accompanied it, was derived from Oriental sources. It formed part of the common stock of teaching imparted to the votaries of the various 'other-worldly' religions (of which Mithraism was one), which became diffused through the world from the beginning of the Christian era onwards. We should be able to give a more definite account of Mithraic eschatology if we could assume that the 'Mithmicrocosm' published by Dieterich from the Paris magical papyrus (Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Grec. 574) deserved that name. This document, committed to writing about A.D. 300, is in its present form part of the stock-in-trade of the Egyptian magician, and is interspersed with 'voces magicae' and supplemented by directions for its use in the sciences of this practitioner. The question is whether the compiler made use of a genuine Mithraic document; this is left to 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, whom I have reared in the secret school, and have sent him to me, that I may belong, a little, to the heavens and behold all things.2

It is to be noted that this private revelation made by the initiate 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 system by a 'corruption of Dieterich.'3 In the revelation itself we find nothing that distinguishes Mithraism from other theosophies, and 'a . . . 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 Vindonissa (Cumont, ii. 338, fig. 218); but the identification is extremely doubtful; other examples of the same subject show nothing as 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 of a representation of Ares, whose worship by Mithraists is attested by dedications 'deo Armanico' (Cumont, ii. 98, 141). A mutilated relief at York (Cumont, ii. 350) seems to represent this figure with those variations in the inscription (also mutilated) contained the same ARMANICUS.4

2 Ardenti nature sacrumacum lamento Mithrae philosophophantem' (Tert. adv. Marc. vi. 21). 3 See the papyri and "dieu de la vie" of the "dieu reves" (Forsh. de Natale Ex 19). 4 See the "requisitoires" of the "goutte" (Forsh. de Natale Ex 19).
nothing more than a syncretistic product. It is likely enough, however, that the ascent of the soul through the seven spheres was taught in the Mithraic mysteries; Celsus (ap. Origen, c. Celts. vi. 22) explicitly tells us of a 'ladder with seven grapes' and the seven metals assigned to the planets which was shown to the initiates; Porphyry cites a certain Eubulus, who attributes to Zooster the doctrine that the 'caelo' was a symbol of the universe, of which Mithras was the creator, speaks of it as containing 'caele gemmate, anastate spherulos kai stgeanos kai elaejimos.;' and it can be no accident that in one of the Mithraea at Ostia six semi-circles are traced on the floor of the central passage, while six planets are represented on the walls of the pristos 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, for he mentions (de Abst. iv. 16) as his chief authority on the mysteries a certain Pallas, who explained the animal disguises worn by the initiates either as symbols of the zodiacal constellations or as避 shadows for the doctrine of metempsychosis (which Eubulus also startlingly gave to Mithras). It is not necessary to repeat the astrological speculations, confused in themselves, by means of which Porphyry endeavours to interpret the symbols of Mithras, though we cannot doubt that the all-pervading influence of astrology affected Mithraic doctrines. Thus we sometimes find that the figures of Cautopates and Cautopates hold 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 pantheism' which supplied Roman society in the 3rd and 4th centuries with its philosophical and scientific needs. Its first contact was with contemporary philosophy and science, and, under Aelian, 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 that of many other syncretisms, which served the same purpose. Thus 'invictus Mithras,' 'deus invictus Mithras,' or 'sol invictus Mithra' became the commonest title of the god. It was with this modification that Mithraism had more during the last quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D. to become a world religious movement. The State-cult of Sol was less fitted than that 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, par 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, 'founti imperii sui, in one of the oldest centres of his worship in the empire; but the victory of Constantine did not possess him in favour of a rival creed, which had struck its roots more deeply in those populations of the west, 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 the position of privilege to one of toleration, and before long became a popular object of persecution, its days were numbered. It lingered on, on the one hand, in certain less civilized outposts of empire and in the Alpine valleys, while, on the other, it became a lost cause to the group of cultured pagans which maintained the defence of paganism in the senate-house. The emperor Julian, whose oration, eis Bureta 'Dios,' and his characteristic exposition of 'solar theology,' was a votary of Mithras, 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 Mithras 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 Gracchanus, profectus urbi 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 Macrinus was bishop. Vettius Agorius Prætextatus († A.D. 385) is called 'pater sacrorum' (CIL vi. 1779 = Cumont, ii. 95) and 'pater patrum' (CIL vi. 1778 = Cumont, ii. 95), and these inscriptions are the latest datable evidences of the cult. The measures of Theodosius gave the death-blow to the practice of pagan worship; and the Mithraeum at Saalburg 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 women; and it seems to have been specially associated with the cult of the Magna Mater. We find our syncretisms adjoining each other at Ostia and on the Saalburg; dedications are commonly made simultaneously to both divinities; and the taurōbolium, 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 Danubian region a curious form of Mithraism is revealed to us by a series of reliefs and leaden plaques which have been interpreted by Rostovzew in the article (in Russian) quoted above. Here a female goddess, whose symbol 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 Franz Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux religions de Mithra, 2 vols., Brussels, 1896-99, superseded all previous treatises, a list of which he gives in vol. i. p. xxv. He has also published an abridgment of his larger work under the title Les Mysteres de Mithres, 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. Dieckert, Eine Mithraismusquelle (ed. R. Wünsche), Paris and Berlin, 1919, and J. Toutain, Les Cultes pagains dans l'empire romain, Paris, 1910-11, vol. ii. ch. iv., 'Le Culte de Mithra.' Other works and articles dealing with special points are referred to in the course of the article. For the Vedic Mita see especially A. A. Macdonell, Indo-Iranian Religion, Strasbourg, 1897, §§ 13, 44, and authorities there cited, especially A. Hillebrandt, Aryas Mitra und Mithra, Breslau, 1877; H. Oldenberg, Die Religion der Perser, Berlin, 1865, p. 145, and articles Gott Mithra, Derp. 1894. For the Avesta Mitra see especially M. N. Dhalia, Zoroastrianism in Ancient Persia, 1914, pp. 103-111.

H. STUART JONES.

MOAB.—The name 'Moab,' like that of the neighbouring peoples, Israel, Edom, Ammon, Aman, etc., appears to have been the name of a race rather than of a district, for, as G. A. Smith has pointed out (EB, art. 'Moab,' § 1), in Nu
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211-12 (cited by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, A Heb. and Eng. Lexicon of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1906, p. 535), as evidence that the name of Moab in E, and perhaps also of P (v. 14 of v. 34 Moab), is parallel to the Gentile Amorite; in v. 35 also it is the people. The derivation and meaning of the name are unknown. The etymology ʼıwph, 'from my father,' given in Gn 19:17 (LXX), which doubtless refers to the story of Moab's origin, is merely popular. Since Moab and Ammon are represented as related to Israel through Lot, Abraham's nephew, whereas Esau is Jacob's 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 (Gn 19:31); 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 is not certain. The statement of Gn 11:12-14 might be inferred from the belief that the Israelites were connected with Mesopotamia. Since, however, the expression 'children of Lot' (Dt 23:7, Ps 83:4) occur outside the direct line of descent (Gn 19:35), Lot was probably more prominent in early times than the OT as a whole would imply; but whether the Moabites and Ammonites regarded themselves as 'children of Lot,' or succeeded them in the distinction which they occupied, cannot be determined. The late antiquarian note in Dt 23:7 implies that the population of Moab was not altogether homogeneous, while the place-names clearly show Canaanite influence.

The constant boundary of Moab on the east was the Dead Sea and the Jordan; on the north, east, and south frontiers varied from time to time. Probably the Wady el-Hasy represents the farthest extent of Moabite territory to the south and the Hajar road that to the east. The Wady Nairin, some 8 miles north of the Dead Sea, may have been 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 Ramses II, nothing is known of its history before the period of the Israelites' invasion of Palestine. According to Nu 21:28, shortly before the arrival of Israel, an Amorite king, Sihon, seized the Moabite territory north of the Arnon. What circumstances determined the Israelite invasion of Palestine from the east is not certain. It is more likely that the Israelites attacked Sihon in response to an appeal from the Moabites (as Wellhausen, EBE, 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, are probably traditions that the Israelites crossed the Jordan near Jericho, all point to a belief that N. Moab was occupied at least for a time by Israel. After the invasion of Moab, however, the Israelites were dispersed, integrated and engaged in a 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 its reputation for bravery, was nearly exterminated (Gn 49:27, Dt 34:9), 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 Moab again at war during the reign of David, and again, perhaps also during the reign of Solomon (1 K 11:11; 12:21). It is inferred that Reuben had already been nearly exterminated or practically absorbed in Moab. Whether Moabite influence was strong in Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, notwithstanding 1 K 11:11, is very doubtful; Solomon's idolatry is a remembered in terms of a later age. It was probably during his reign or that of Rehoboam that Moab recovered independence.

Under the rigorous rule of Omri the Moabites again felt the hand of Israel. According to the inscription of Mesha (found at Dhiban [Heb. Diblah]) in 1868, commonly called the Moabite Stone), the period of Israelite domination occupied forty years. It is possible that Mesha's inscription is earlier than the events recorded in 2 K 3:5; for it is clear from that account that the campaign of the allied kings was unsuccessful. Moreover, an ancient king's 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 Ararah' (2 K 14:25), and may refer only to the north of the Dead Sea. For the Ararah Amos 2:6 speaks 'the brook of the Ararah,' which has been identified with 'the brook of the Aradbeh' or 'willows' (Is 15:1), which may have been identified with the Wady el-Hasy. 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 2:6 mentions a judge of Moab in lion of a king, and it has accordingly been argued that at the time Moab possessed no king of its own; but this cannot be decided with certainty.

During the Assyrian period Moab appears to have shown more prudence than the Israelite kingdom in bowing to the storm. Tiglath Pileser exacted tribute, and, although in 711 B.C. Sargon mentions Moab in conjunction with Pekah, Xerxes, and Judah, and Edom as having formed an alliance with Assyria, Moab probably avoided an invasion by a timely submission. It continued subject to Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Assurbanipal, and, according to 2 K 3:9, furnished troops to Nebuchadnezzer 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 Jehu, king of Israel (Jer 37) 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 40:10). It is not improbable that after the destruction of Jerusalem the policy 1The summary of Sani's war (1 S 14:19) bears such a strong resemblance to that of David's (2 S 8:8) 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 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 in relation to Saul.

2 A discussion of the way in which this statement is to be harmonized with the Biblical chronology lies outside the scope of this article. It is to be noted, though, that the son of Omri, Mesha probably means Ahub, the expression would not designate a later successor (see W. H. Bennett, The Moabite Stone, pp. 20-23).
of Moab coincided with that of the king of Ammon, who apparently intended by the murder of Gadahiah to compel Judah to join a confederacy against the Chaldeans.

Moab was menaced, however, by a danger even more imminent than that from Assyria or Babylonia: east and south the country was exposed to invaders from the desert, and Ezekiel (25:14) already perceived the coming disaster. The criticism of Jeremiah (48), which inveighs against Moab, is not open to great difficulties; the chapter, however, appears to be of a great extent a cento of various earlier passages, and this in itself implies a late date. It is 15-168, 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 invader advances 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 interpretation the book of Jeremiah becomes an appropriate messianic prophecy, as it is impossible that we regard as peculiarities of Moabite speech once belonged also to the spoken Hebrew of W. Palestine. Although portions of the OT Book of the History of the Moabites (see e.g., xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xvi.) appear to have been preserved in a 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 warding off the attacks of dwellers in the wilderness. Moab, being inhabited by a people who had not a far more peaceful history than Israel, as the word of Jer 48:1 Moab had been at ease from its 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 number of 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, yidgud) 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 Banhab, the profane love of the early religion of the land resembled the pre-Israelite religion of W. Palestine, and was in fact Canaanite. This inference is confirmed by the occurrence of the curious compound 'Ashtar-Chemosh' (Moabite Stone, line 17). The name of Chemosh is also familiar to us in Judah as the god of war.


the combination of it with Chemosh suggests that some ancient sanctuary of Ashtar or Ashur was appropriated by Chemosh, just as the ancient sanctuaries of Canaan in W. Palestine came to be considered sanctuaries of Jahweh. We know both from the OT Book of the History of the Moabites 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 come down from the ancient Canaanite conception of Jahweh. The name Chemosh appears compounded in proper names precisely as the name Jahweh. Thus Mesha's father's name was Chemosh in combination with some word which has been variously read as nadek and gad; a Chemosh-nadab (cf. the Israelite name Jonadab) paid tribute to Sennacherib; and the name Chemosh-yahi (cf. the Israelite Jehiah) is inscribed on a gem found near Beerit (EB 341, art. 'Chemosh').

Mesha speaks of Chemosh in precisely the same terms as an Israelite of his day might have used in speaking of Jahweh, and in Nu 21:22 the Moabites are called 'the people of Chemosh' and also his 'sons' and 'daughters.' It is not improbable that the existence of other cults in pre-Moabite times may be found in the occurrence of such a name as Nebo, but there is no reason for supposing that such worship continued among the Moabites. The name Dawkah or Dawdach, occurring in the 1st, 11th, 12th and 13th centuries B.C., is apparently as a divine name; but, since Ataroth, where the altar-hearth of Dawkah was visited, was Gaddite, the name throws no light on Moabite religion. Whatever the worship of Chemosh may have been before the existence 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 Jahweh was introduced in precisely the same way, and Nu 25 affords no evidence that Moab was worse than Israel in this respect; only, whereas, by the 8th cent. B.C., Israelite religion had to a considerable extent been purged of the grosser Canaanite elements, that of Moab remained unrefrained. Besides religious prostitution, indications of the prevalence of drunkenness in Moab have been found in Gn 19:23, Jer 48:12; 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 3:27) that Mesha, when harnessed by Israel, sacrificed his son, and we may therefore assume that human sacrifice was a practice at least. 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. Mesha's sacrifice of his son should probably be compared, not with 2 K 16, 31, 6, for in the case of Ahaz probably only the ordinary offering of the infant first-born is meant, but rather with Jg 11:29. Further evidence of the general agreement of Moabite religion with that of Israel is to be found in Mesha's boast (Moabite Stone, line 17) that he has been or made tabo 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 Israelites pre-Moabite, as account for the stringent law in Dt 23, though political considerations may also have dictated this.

LITERATURE.—See the excellent articles on 'Moab' in Handbook of Biblical Literature and EDB; also W. H. Whiston, A Dictionary of the Bible, Edinburgh, 1911, with the bibliography there given (p. 64).

R. H. KENNETT.

MOCHI.—See CHAMAR.
MODERATION. Cicero in an interesting passage expresses some hesitation as to the proper Lat. equivalent of the Gr. word συσσως:

"...moderatio, seu ende, qui temperatura, quae Græcorum συσσως appellavit, summa virtutem, seu temperantiam, sum moderationem appellare, nonnullum enim dixit esse ædificatum, aec virtutis frugalis appellatius posse" (Tus. Ques. III. 8).

He proceeds to describe the virtue in question as follows:

1. Elus videntur propriumia, motus animi appetitum exequac et sedare, semperque adversantes illam, moderatam in omnibus severius constantiam.

Moderation, according to this view, is a part of temperance. If temperament consists in self-control in regard to the pleasures of sense, moderation is self-control exercised in less difficult situations. Limitation (modus, moderatio), is, of course, a feature in all virtues; 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, 1898, vol. I. essay IV). The word 'moderation,' however, is in Christian ethics specially assigned to the virtue which 'in less 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 "modesta" (Summa, II. ii. 160).

Following the guidance 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 in II. ii. 161-169.

(1) As regards the desire of superiority, the virtue which moderates it and regulates it is humility (g.v.).

(2) The virile virtue of the desire of knowledge is called by Aquinas studiosa as opposed to a form of excess which he calls curiositas (cf. Ang. Conf. x. xxxv, 84). Little needs to be added to the discussion in the Summa (II. ii. 166, 167). We may, however, call attention to a fine passage in Bernard (in Cont. xxxvi, 3), who points out that "quid prius probat antea, quam sciendum modum necerit." Christian moderation, he says in effect, will prescribe the limits which under which knowledge should be pursued, in the choice of the subjects of the degree, and the zeal 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 "tropis curiositas." Those who pursue knowledge 'at a definite' are guided by charity; those who seek it "at aedicuntur," by prudence (cf. T. Wilson, 'Maxims of Piety and Morality,' no. 429 [Works, Oxford, 1847-53, v. 429]).

(5) Moderation in the matters of work and recreation and other corporal actions and movements is discussed in Summa, II. ii. 168. What Aquinas says generally amounts to this—that man's external behaviour is to be consistent with his dignity as a reasonable being and with the claims made upon him as a member of a community. Moderation in matters of life is understood to mean 'the virtue that controls all and to regulate everything as is necessary. The virtuous man is temperate in all things.'

1 Cf. Grat. pro Deiot. ix. 28: "Ego frugilatatem, id est, moderationem at temperamentum, virtutem esse maximam indicum" (De Veritate, ed. in Dec. Off. Min. i. 45, treat moderation and temperance as synonymous).


As to which Trench (Synonymy of the NT, Cambridge, 1856, xvii.) draws the following distinction:

"Whatever there may be implied in ἅπασα, there is something more involved in συσσως. If the συσσως orders himself well in that earthly τεχνης, of which he is a support and an ornament, the συσσως in πεπαλαιωσεν δια νυμνης δυναμεις not only a new dignity then lost him from 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,' 'intemperate labour,' is one of its most prominent characteristics (A. Wylie, Leisure, and Luxury, new ed., London, 1887, 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 Seriously Culto, 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 pleasantness more than lovers of God' (2 Ti. 3:5), and the result is seen in a wide-spread disorganization of will and conscience. Recreation is, of course, a duty which we owe to our nature—a duty distinctly implied in the Fourth Commandment, and there is a virtue concerned with the self-regulation of the natural desire for relief from labour (1 Cor. 28)."
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Off. Min. i. 18. We may note that the word 'modest' as applied to the dress of women (1 Ti ii 23) and a similar word 'sobrius' in the dress of men (1 Ti ii 9) is found in Tit ii. The principle implied seems to be that a person's dress is to be proportioned to his station or office in life, or to the occupation in which he is employed, and such as is likely to be engaged in study, or recreation, or worship. 1 Law goes to the root of the matter when he represents 'Paterens' as advising his son on these points:

'Let your dress be sober, clean, and modest, not to set out the beauty of your person, but to declare the sobriety of your mind, that your outward garb may resemble the inward plainness of your heart. For it is highly reasonable that you should be one man, all of a piece, and appear outwardly as you are inwardly.' (Violentia Cal., ch. xvi.)

As to the dress of women see what is said of 'Miranda' (Coh. Ic.)

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 they act. Moderns are regulated by moderation, sobriety, and temperance respectively. There is, however, practical convenience in following the literal meaning of Christian texts. He may be criticized as an over-systematic, and we need not suppose that his classification is intended to be exhaustive. The virtue which 'in minimis monti ponit' will be differently estimated according to the various circumstances which men find themselves placed in. 'Quaedam enim in omnibus quae quisque, quisque temperantia, atque ad utilitatem sui, quae solummodo ingenti sit accommodatione, ut singulorum rei vel opera, aliter non decet. (Ambrose, de Off. Min. i. 63 [212], speaking of 'moderation').

It remains to add that the word 'moderation' occurs in AV only in Ph 4:8 (cô érvebôth). In RV the word is translated 'forbearance.' The grace which St. Paul has in mind—considerate-ness (considerateness)—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':

'Let 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 Christians (that is, to govern one's self by motives of Christianity) in the most common actions of civil life.'

This is essentially the spirit enjoined by St. Paul (1 Co 7:32). Cf. Ambrose, de Off. Min. i. 18 (70):

'Let your dress be modestia, quae cum sitia manitur juris remissor, nihil abi usus, nihil vindicatus, et quod non modo uraeus, iura, et honesta, dives est apud Deum.'

LITERATURE.—Ambrose, de Officiis Ministerii, i; Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, ii t. 139; J. Taylor, Baptism in Leic., ch. xii 9; H. L. Martensen, Christian Ethics (individuelle ed.), Edinburgh, 1881, 179; J. Ruskin, Modern Painters, pt. 3, sect. 1, ch. 9 (on the relation of moderation to art).

R. L. OTTLEY.

MODERNISM.—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 St. Augustine into closer relation with the intellectual habits and social aspirations of our own time. These movements arose spontaneously and, for the most part, in response to a sense of irresolution on another during the last decade of the 19th century. They have, as purpose, to promote the common life among Christians, and thus a common inspiration and a common purpose, it was neither unnatural nor unfair that the authority which condemned them should unite under a single title.

1 In classical writers sentiments of this kind occasionally occur: e.g. Hor. Carm., v. 57; Ter. Hort., ii. 47; Cic. de Off. L. 36; 'a forma removetur omnino vino non dignus erat'; etc. See also thead. e.g. Cato postuma.

2 We are reminded of the advice of Polions to Laertes in Hes. Iliad, ii. 674: 'ambros saequenti est animi, corpus mortis.'

3 The 'Officia Ministerii' says simply ('de Off. Min. i. 18 [71]): 'vix quaeasdat est animi, corporis mortis.'

It is necessary to insist that, in the earlier stages of their development, the various movements of this group, including together with them at one time or another, the authors of the encyclical-on Pascendi had little or no conscious connexion, and that it was only the external pressure of adverse charity 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 spell of the Reformation, and the Lamen- nais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert were the chief names in France; in Italy, Gioberti and Rosmini. But the hopes of the earlier Ultramontanism, open to all the winds of the century, perished in 1848. The consolidation of the spiritual empire of the papacy was to be achieved by other instruments and in another spirit. The Coucill of the Vatican seemed, both to the victors and to the vanquished, to be the definite reproof of the generous dreams which had made it possible. Its real 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. His numerous encyclicals, while conservative in spirit and traditional in tone and perhaps still more so in intention, were nevertheless so framed as to be capable of being turned to account by the progressives. Of these encyclicals, three may be specially recalled: Letterum Patrum (4th Aug. 1879), 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; Encyclical Letter (15th May 1891), which dealt with the condition of the working classes; and Providentissimus 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 the Bible.' The warnings and counsels contained in these documents were resumed and reinforced in a further encyclical, and logically correlated by ultimatum 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 these documents with its three predecessors. Such a comparison reveals a growing alarm on the part of those who at the development of both of these new tendencies in apologetic and ecumenical 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 Communion, that the reason for it can be most clearly traced. The breaking away of the younger clergy, especially in the church of St. Denis, from the government of the Third Republic the right to establish what were practically Roman Catholic universities free from all State control. Of the foundations thus authorized the most important was the Catholic University 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 Châlons, 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. Duchesne’s critical boldness in the treatment of ecclesiastical legend speedily aroused the hostility of the traditionalists, and Loisy found it necessary to suspend his course for a year. He was compelled to suspend his course for a year at the Institute. It was not till 1893 that Loisy was forced to resign his chair—a resignation which was followed by the condemnation of the encyclical Providentissimus Deus, of the principles of Biblical interpretation which he had upheld. During the decade of his connexion with the Institute, however, a group of students had been formed who, having become teachers in their turn, carried an enthusiasm for the critical method into the other 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 Brunetière 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 speculative dogmatism. The tendencies in philosophy were beginning to appear which assigned to the will or to 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 desired to retain or regain religious belief without sacrifice of intellectual honesty. The society (its title, L’Union par l’action morale, sufficiently indicated its object) had amongst 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 written a letter to the bishop 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 intellectual and social good. 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 its aims. Meanwhile many of the younger clergy, especially in L’Oeuvre Nouvelle 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 democratic journals were started, commonly by groups of laymen, and so 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 encyclicals 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 attempt to utilize the results of his critical studies for popular apologetic purposes in his little book, published towards the end of 1905, was afterwards described by its author as ‘(1) a historical sketch and explanatory account of the development of Christianity, and (2) a general philosophy of religion and an essay in the interpretation of dogmatic formulas, official Symbols, and conciliar definitions, with a view to bringing them into agreement, by the sacrifice of the letter to the spirit, with the modern ways of thinking’ (EHRLE xl. [1905] 570). It precipitated a ferment which had been slowly and silently working throughout the Roman Church during twenty years. In Italy, Germany, England, America, and even in Spain, Loisy’s ideas were hailed as an interpreter of ideas which had long been more or less clearly present to many minds. His treatment of religion on its side of human growth had welded together the philosophical and the more strictly theological elements of the new apologetic method. His treatment of the nature of ecclesiastical authority in the Autour d’un petit livre (a sequel to L’Evangile et l’église) served to demonstrate to the social reformers of the Church a close kinship between their own aims and methods and those of the theological reformers. Loisy had all unconsciously become the center of a movement which, whatever its attempts, tended to knit together all the various elements of reform and extended its ramifications throughout the whole 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 unity 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 old theologians, notably by C. F. Turinian, the bishop of Nancy, and J. Fontaine of the Society of Jesus. Leo XIII. had probably no sympathy whatever with the attempted reconciliation between the Church and modern life, but he had himself issued an encyclical of reconciliation, and he therefore shrank from direct condemnation. Pius x. had no such difficulty. Reconciliation implied that tradition was perfectible, which he declared to be impossible. He hastened within a few months of his election, to strike at the papacy, logical and the social activities of the reformers. On 18th December 1905 five of Loisy’s books were placed on the Index, and two days afterwards a 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, was met by repeated condemnations, on the other. Loisy indeed made another front for the attack, and devoted himself in silence to the preparation of his great work on the Synoptic Gospels. But Blondel's 'philosophy of action' was popularized by Lucien Laborthousière, a priest of the Oratory, who published, for the most part in the Annales de philosophie chrétienne, and afterwards issued in two small volumes—Essais de philosophie religieuse and Le Rêve d'Un même philosophe grec. In the Quinzaine, a review edited by Georges Fosseigne, a professor of the university, another university professor, Edouard Le Roy, inaugurated 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 pro- gramme of religious reform, till he had object a general renewal of Christian life, in his novel Il Santo (Milan, 1906). In the same country Giovanni Semena, a Barnabite, did much by his lectures on both the historical and the philosophical aspects of the subject to disseminate the new ideas, while Romolo Murri, a secular priest of the diocese of Ferrara, 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 Minocchi, a professor of Hebrew at Florence, who had also become known as a Biblical critic through his studies of the Psalms. 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 progress of OT criticism as it concerned the Hexateuch at a Roman Catholic Congregatio held at Fribourg-in-Switzerland in 1897, which afforded ample evidence of his accurate scholarship and 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 thinker on all the problems of religious history, and 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 affirming 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 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 1915. Another leader of the movement was for the most part confined to an agitation for ecclesiastical reform. Franz Xavier Kraus, a professor at Freiburg-in-Breisgau, was the determined opponent of Ultramontanism, and he regarded as one who places the Church before religion, who identifies the pope with the Church, who is ready to sacrifice a clear decision of his own conscience to the sentence of an external authority ('Kirchenpolitische Briefe,' ii, in Allgemeine Zeitung, Supplement, 1895, no. 211; the letters were signed 'Spektator,' one of the pseudonyms adopted by Kraus; see Sch兜tr, Der Katholische Modernismus, in the series Die Idee a. d. XIX. (1905), p. 339, where the letter is given in full as the work of Kraus). Kraus, however, died in 1903, too early to be involved in the distinctively Modernist controversies. Hermann Sch兜tr, a professor in the Theological Faculty at Wurzburg, published a book entitled Katholizismus als Prinzip des Fortschritts, 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 Sch兜tr's views on eternal punishment, and four of his books were placed on the Index. Sch兜tr made a formal submission after receiving an assurance from the bishop and the Theological Faculty of Wurzburg 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 in the leadership of a strong liberal movement in German Roman Catholicism. Among his most influential disciples were Albert Ehrhard von Strassburg, Joseph Schnitter of Munich, and Hugo Koch of Braunschweig. Pius x. did not fail to reply to the growing menace of this movement. During the years 1905-06 he issued a series of encyclicals in condemnation of the Christian Democratic movement in Italy. Notably among these decisions, by the Biblical Commission which Leo XIII. had appointed in 1902 reproved the audacity 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 summoned the Bibliotheca and the Italian Congregation, and in July 1906 the Congregation of the Index removed the books of Tyrrell and Fogazzaro's Il Santo were condemned by the Pope. But it was not till the beginning of 1907 that the storm burst in its full fury. Murri was suspended as 'a divinis' on 15th April. Two days later the pope delivered an allocution in which he denounced the new movement as 'the compendium and poisonous essence of all heresies,' and called upon the cardinals to aid him in eradicating these errors. At the end of the month the Cardinal Prefect of the Index wrote to Cardinal Ferrari, archbishop of Milan, enjoining him to procure the suppression of Il Rinascimento with religious writings. The censorship of the Cardinal Prefect of Paris was at the same time forbidden by the bishops who controlled that seat of learning. But the pope's allocution did no good, by similar action on the part of the Cardinal Vicar, prohibited the reading of Le Roy's Dogme et critique, and at the same time forbade any priest in his diocese to collate in Loisy's Revue d'histoire et de litterature religieuse. 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 Domains, a small Modernist weekly which had been founded at Lyons in 1895. In June Pius x., in a letter of solemn charge to his professors at Vienna, who had written an attack upon the theology of Hermann Sch兜tr, described those who had projected a monument to Sch兜tr's memory as 'either ignorantly or wilfully forgetting the authority of the Holy See,' though among them were the archbishops of Bamberg and the bishop of Passau.
prepared for a more stringent and inclusive condemnation of all the various heresies, exegetical, apologetic, philosophical, and social, that were troubling the Roman Catholic world. That condemnation was pronounced in the decree of the Imposition, Lamentabili sane existimatis, dated 3rd July 1907. The decree Pascendi Dominii gregis, of 8th September in the same year. The decree Lamentabili was a mere collection of sixty-five propositions which were to be condemned. No information 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 Loisy, in some notes on the decree which he published at the beginning of the following year, accepted its condemnation as directed against him. 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 30th September and 1st October, in the full knowledge that he was exposing himself to the severe censures of the Church. On 28th October a more detailed reply was published in Rome under the title Il Programma dei modernisti. The encyclical had been deduced from an unison philosophical principle all the various errors which it grouped together under the name of Modernism and it maintained that the false conclusions of the Modernists with regard to history, dogma, and the Bible was all the necessary result of an erroneous philosophy. To this the Programma replied that it was, on the contrary, the undeniable results of historical criticism that had made necessary a new apologistic of some kind. The attitude of Tyrrell and of the authors of the Programma revealed a determination to resist the action 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 might 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 Grande Revue, and remained till his death its most consistent adherent. But the difficulty of giving effect to the policy soon became apparent. The open opposition lay in the economic dependence of the Modernist clergy, which prevented their action in the open. On the morrow of the publication of the Programma, 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 against 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 saddening suppression of Modernist journals, both scientific and social, new ones continually appeared in that country. Among these the most influential was Nota Veteris, founded in January 1908, in which for the first time 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. Modernists and Modernist declarations were launched against the leaders who had appeared in the open. Loisy was formally excommunicated on 7th March 1908. The same sentence was pronounced against Murri, who was accused as a deputy to the Italian Chamber, on 22nd March 1909. Tyrrell had been deprived of the sacraments on 22nd October 1907. The same fate befell Schnitzer at the beginning of February 1908. Minicchi was suspended '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 Silenc, the organ of the movement, was formally condemned on 28th August 1910, and its promoters ordered to work henceforward for social reform under the direction of their respective bishops. Mare Sangnier, the lay leader of the movement, made his submission, but Pierre Dabry, its most 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 even to a layman, but to a woman, to make a protest against what she conceived to be a violation of Christian liberty. Mande Petre, the biographer of Tyrrell, having been called upon by the pope to resign as the diocese in which she resided to subscribe to the condemnations contained in the encyclical Pascendi and the decree Lamentabili as a condition 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 the 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, appeared in a Parisian newspaper, the Siete. 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-Modernist oath was generally taken by most of those suspected of being Modernists, and the history of Modernism as an organized movement in the Roman Catholic Church had come to an end.

2. Forma.—(a) Apologetic of immanence.—It was the aim of the philosophic Modernists, notably of Laborthomtre, to establish the cardinal points of Christian belief by the aid of the modern evolutionary or dynamic view of universe. That involved a departure from the traditional scholastic method of apologetic. But they did not abandon scholasticism arbitrarily, simply because it was old. On the contrary, they held that their sincere belief that the Aristotelian metaphysic and logic utilized by the scholastic theologians provided a less perfect instrument for the clarification and defense of specifically Christian belief than the more modern conceptions of life. It is, e.g., an essential part of the belief that God is personal and that He is Creator. But it is only in the light of a dynamic conception of the universe that the full significance of these affirmations is disclosed. The God of Aristotle was a logical abstraction, the ultimate Idea. The Creation was but the logical derivation of the divine idea in specific forms towards a passively receptive matter. It 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 by 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 action. For action is always creative, an extension of life beyond itself, its prolongation into another life, not a mere continuation of what it is, but a result of which it remains the constitutive principle. Thus creation is God's transcendent reality introducing itself into the world and becoming immanent within it. And this is creation is the source of the divine love by which God is eternally pledged to His world, by which His world, becoming self-conscious in man, needs and can receive His grace. Again, as Lapethomière points out, it is just because God is not the 'pure act' of Aristotle, but the power which by His own nature acts continually, that we can conceive of a plurality, a society engendered within the unity of His own Being. The doctrine of the Trinity assuages 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 motif of our belief in the personality of God. That personality is far beyond the common religious conception, it is real presence which stands for the transcendent and immanent, for the eternal and the temporal. It is the vital essence of our life, the integral unit with which it is combined. The experience of life, then, is a personal experience, it is a personal revelation. And the true character of man, his essential nature, is the creative act of life which makes him a new person, a new creature, a new reality.

(b) *Historical criticism.*—It was the aim of the philosophically Modernist, in particular the Christian, to vindicate the Church and its traditions as the supreme organ of the vital religious tradition of mankind. The historical Modernist sought to do the same thing in his own special field of study. The attempt to interpret the Bible on its own terms, to place it on the level of the other portions of Holy Scripture, was a new and revolutionary departure. 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 to trace the development and expose its character. But as a Christian apologist (the role which alone constituted him a Modernist), he had to undertake the much more difficult task of interpreting the 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 an empirical and mutable value. By the spirit of a dogma such a apologist aimed to make its witness to a certain aspect of religious experience which was necessary to the reality of the religious life, and therefore essential and capable of becoming universal, although 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 as intellection and conceptualization, and the intellectual methods and habits of their period of growth, were clearly perfectible. But the growth of dogma was something more, and more truly organic, than the adaptation, as it were 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, and deepening its import. So the methods of the Church, the symbols, the concepts, were to be imposed upon the intellect from without, is shrug of much of its religious character. Assent to 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 instrument of that revelation are the Incarnation, the Incarnation, 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 truth-statements, are but the partial and ever-perfectible translation in terms of one aspect of man's activity, of his power of intelligently apprehending deity; of its living apprehension of God in Christ. Thus even the Gospels themselves are not a completed revelation. They indeed contain the real perfection of the Revelation of Christ. But that revelation can be apprehended only in proportion as it is lived, and by those who are the household of the Word. The Gospels are a transparent life, of which those who have lived it have the right to read and interpret its mysteries. Thus history is not merely accidental importance to Christianity, but is, on the contrary, of its essence of life. Lapethomière has said, "a living Christianity has dared to conceive of God sub specie temporis. God condescends to weave the texture of His vast designs with human 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, value.

(c) *Ecclesiastical and social reform.*—Yet the movement did not propose simply to divineize the existing Church. Her actual institutions came into existence in a distant past in response to the needs of the spirit then operating within her. But in the early centuries of Chrisianity, it was by the spirit of the Church in the Church. By the spirit of the Church in the Church, the spirit of a true life. They may even, as Poggio'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 the Church is not the spirit of legality III (pp. 336-342). Yet none of the chief Modernist writers can be said to have put forward any definite programme 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 continuing movement upon tension; the Church is the irrational and the sensible, the metaphysical and the ontological, the Divine truth which reaps upon official theology; the Church does not die, the Church is not a name, but it is heart that more than in its lips the Living Christ, the Church is a laboratory of truth is continuous action" (p. 230).

On the other hand, 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 cornerstone of national, political, social, and economic life, and therefore the principle of a larger and humaner life which may embrace all these trades. He has conceived of the Church as an instrument of world-civilization rather than of world-renunciation, and of world-renunciation only so far as it is involved in and necessary to a genuine world-text, and the first decade of the 20th cent. to understand sympathetically and to cooperate with all the generous hopes and endeavours of the modern democratic, movement, whether among Churchmen or among laymen in the Church's pale. It has been perhaps the chief bane of his offence in the eyes of authority. The Modernist social reformer has been at one with the Modernist ecclesiastical reformer in thinking that the Church needs especially to be saved from the danger of becoming a clerical autocracy, exacting from the laity as the sum of their duty a passive submission to its decrees. It may be said in connection with the modern movement as a whole that the attitude 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 itself 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, a reform which was to be the guaranty of the capacity of the Church to have the right to have a voice and influence in the world's affairs.

The story here summarized is, in almost identical terms, in various commentaries. It is curious in that it shows how on being asked to give the spirit of the Buddhist doctrine in a few words, would choose the words of Assajà'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 Siriputta and Mogallana, for they had already renounced the sacrifice as a satisfactory solution of the problems of life, and were seeking for something more satisfactory than the vague hints now to be found in Buddhist literature, such as Jata 14, where the ambrosia is brought into a mystic connexion with cause and passing. The chief authority of the present work is "Moggallana." The other authorities are: Ed. H. Oldenberg, l. c.; translated in "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit" (P. P. 1891); "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanskrit"; "Buddhist Texts in Old and New Sanko
Moggallana was frequently mentioned in the canon, and usually with the epithet Mahi (the Great). A number of verses ascribed to him, including one long poem and several shorter ones, are preserved in the anthology called Theragatha ("Poems of the Brethren"). The Digha is curiously silent about him; but a whole book is assigned to him in the Sutta-sūtra; and about two score of passages in the Majjhima and the Aṅguttara, and elsewhere in the Sutta-sūtra, record acts done or words spoken by him. 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 side, of the teaching. There is, e.g., an interesting passage where the Buddha compares Sāriputta with Moggallana:

"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 to the highest truth. But Sāriputta can set forth the Aryan Truths and teach them, and make others understand them and stand firm in them, he can expand and elucidate them."

In one characteristic Moggallana is stated to have been supreme over all the other disciples. This is in the power of the iddhi; and the meaning is vague. The early Buddhists, trying, as they often did, to pour new wine into the old bottles, distinguished two kinds of iddhi — the one lower, intoxicating, ignoble; the other, higher, temperate, religious. The former has preserved for us the belief common among the people, the latter the modification which the Buddhists sought to make in it. The former reminds us of the mana of the South Seas, or the orujava of some American tribes, or sometimes of the strange accomplishments of a spiritualist medium. Birds have iddhi, with especial reference to their mysterious power of flight. Kings have iddhi of four kinds (differently explained at Digha, ii. 177, and Jātaka, iii. 454). It is by the iddhi of a hunter that he succeeds in the chase. Idhi is the explanation of the luxury and prosperity of a young chief. By iddhi one may have the faculty 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 the gods in their various heavens. All these are worldly iddhi, the iddhi of an unconverted man. That of the converted, awakened man is self-mastery, equanimity. Both these kinds of potency were regarded as natural, that is, neither of them was, 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. We are also told how, in order to attract the attention of the gods in the extreme classical position of this authority that thought suitable to their intelligence, he shook with his great toe the foundations of the heavens. Some instances of Moggallana's instructing the gods are given in the Moggallana Sutta-sūtra referred to above, and in the Aṅguttara (iii. 301, iv. 85), while two anthologies, probably the latest and certainly the most dinky books in the canon, the Vināda Vattavā and the Pāla Vattavā, 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. 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. Sāriputta died a natural death; Moggallana, it is said, was murdered, at the instigation of certain jealous Jain monks, by a bandit named Saṃsāra-juttaka, at the Black Rock cave on the Ischil Hill near Rājagaha.

When Cunningham opened the cairns (memorial mounds) at Sāñchi, he found in one of them two boxes containing fragments of bone and inscribed respectively 'Of Sāriputta' and 'Of Moggallana the Great' in Pāli letters of Asoka's time. A similar discovery was made in the neighbouring group of cairns at Satdhāra. 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, even in the practised ages, the belief in it soon died out. There is no evidence, later than the canon, of any

1. The stock passages are at Digha, i. 33; Majjhima, i. 54, 404; Aṅguttara, i. 966, ii. 17, 27.
2. Digha, i. 313.
3. Majjhima, i. 322 ff.
4. Jātaka Com., v. 126; Dharmapadda Com. iii. 60 ff.
5. Jātaka Com., i. 261.
contemporary cases of the lower, worldly iddhi of the unconverted man.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. MOKSA (Skr., also mukti) and VIMUTTI (Pali, also (m)imokkha).—These terms, other prefixes being sometimes substituted, are all derivatives from much, "to let go," discharge, 'release,' and, with varying import, are identical in primary meaning with our 'deliverance,' emancipation, 'freedom,' 'liberty,' 'release.' Whichever equivalent be selected, the inquirer may start with two general way-posts. In the first approach, the concept in question has a negative side, viz. a handing over, loose from, or rid of, and a positive side, viz. the concomitance, or general sense of expanded outlook, calm, security, attainment, power to be and do, with the virtual certainty of the self from 'were it' in some cases too costly a gain. If these two aspects be held together in the mind, the common terms for them, stated above, may—and this is the second stage—be considered as, more perhaps than any other, the pit and kernel of the religions faiths of India, and as coming nearer to the Christian 'salvation' than any other. It should, however, be added that the concept grew well in the do. 1914 (2nd ed.), ed. Rhys Davids and J. A. Carpenter, do. 1890-1111 (PTFS).

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It is very possible that the translators were encouraged in this habit by consulting the medieval commentaries of Saṅghamangala, in which philosophy moksa was a well-evolved concept, and who uses it liberally in his paraphrases.

For instance, in Ṛṣṭhita Upanisad, vi. 15—Nachiketa becomes free from passion (taṇāja) and obtained Brahman—the last clause is explained as 'because freed' (mukta bhanu).

In being thus advised to discount much factitious emphasis laid in these ancient works on a notion that was evolving in them, the reader may contend that most at least of the translations criticized render only what is really implicit in the various riddles referred to, namely, a liberty emerging through the entire and the words rendered 'freedom in all the worlds' are, literally rendered, 'faring as they list' (bhūvadāna); and in Maitrīyana Upanisad, i. 2, 'had obtained freedom from all distress' (M. Müller is, in the original, 'had turned to renunciation' (Deussen).

"There is but the faintest anticipation of this in the Vedas. The only 'setting free' in those pages is the resting-place (siṃchana) where heroes are eased for a while from harness. Gods are called upon to deliver from sin—but it is such 'as clings to our bodies' (Ṛgveda, vi. xxiv. 9, viii. xviii. 12, mūchakata) and to let the enemy catch snakes and be slain (Vili. 8). But such a prayer as 'May I be detached from death like a gourd from its stem, but set from the immortal (anaryya)' (ib. 12) is the precursor of the later thought. Beyond such expressions the vocabulary of freedom was, it would appear, unborn. The Brāhmans give in the elaborate ritual of the altar-building, a rite to be chanted with it the 'bricks of saving' (sṛtyaḥ), that is, from evil.

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and from death (Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, VIII iv 2), but elsewhere (XI iii 3) it is said that none but a brahmāna or religious is exempted by Brahman from death. It is only on the condition that he daily tends the sacred fire. Not here any more than in the Vedas does the grasp and realization of an emancipated consciousness appear. It is still apparently only a glance in the Upanisads ranked as the oldest. Of these three the Kena Upaniṣad is silent on the matter. In the Aitareya Aranyaka, an ancient mystic nature-monologos, there are hymns prescribed for rites proficiency in which brings the consciousness of all desires. These desires are consumed—long life, luck, wealth, fame, etc.—but 'liberty' is not among them. Progress in spirituality is revealed in the Taittiriya and Chāndogya Upaniṣads, but the emancipated-spirit is still immature. The former likewise shows the growth of the at in the end of the second part:

He who knows the bliss of that Brahman whence speech, whence mind turn back, not finding is ... tortures not himself: "What good have I left undone? What evil have I done? He, knowing this, saves himself." [Ch. iv 20 10]

The latter (Chāndogga) in IV 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 home again; even so does one who has gained true knowledge through his teacher know that: 'I shall only so long belong to this system of reborning till I am emancipated (vāṃsbṛhat); then I shall go home' (to Dassena).

And in the closing section occurs the favourite simile for deliverance:

'Freely myself from the body as the moon frees himself from Rāhu's jaws, I go into the world of Brahman.' [Ch. iv 20 7]

The same simile is hinted at in the Katha Upaniṣad:

'He who has perceived the soundless, the intangible (the at) which is not unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death.' [Ch. iii 15]

But in the following passage (ib. ii v 1) we see how the idea is finding expanded expression:

'Very few, there's a town with seven gates of the Unborn, of thought ineffable. Whose approaches (Dhema, 'honours') it, he grieves no more and, emancipated, is set free (vāṃsbṛhat sa vāṃsbṛhat).

Verify this is that:

From what 'set free' is not unambiguous (M. Müller: bonds of ignorance; Dassena: the body), but 'liberty' is becoming realized as an ideal.

Turning now to the long Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, a long passage is to an enthusiastic and enthusiastic designation of certain attainments as constituting 'liberty' (III 3 ii). The priest asks the Vedantists how he who institutes a sacrifice may be free from all the thraldom of death, of day and night, and of the waxing and waning moon, and how the bright worlds shall be reached up a stainless sky. By this or that celestial priest are given the several replies, and each reply is added: 'That (sūkṣvikāt atāt) is that which is utter liberty (sa muktiś atiś atīkāthi), These are then termed the atimoksha.

It is noteworthy that, while these four 'liberations' are so emphasized, aspiration does not (in the adjacent section) extend to liberation, urged by another interlocutor, a Kṣatriya, again and again with proffered largess, to 'speak of that higher thing which awaits for emancipation,' Yaśvātā; but the Vedantists, finally discourses of the soul and of beholding the soul as God.

'Scarce visible and old there lies a path
That reaches into me, was founded by me
Pare onward to the world of light, and thence
That are utterly released.'

(ātāmasya mokṣaḥ labhād vāṃsbṛhatā)

As though of a snake lies on an ashy hill and cast away, there lies, Verily, the Veda, that becomes immortal, that life, is Brahman only, only light' (IV vi 8, 7).

This with its context is not designated as atimoksha, or an unconditioned. When we find again the snake-skin simile, in the Pratāna Upaniṣad, v 5, where the emancipation described is that of spiritual ecstasy rather than of a disembodied spiritual unity, or full realization of the same, the freeing, on the one hand, is made more explicit, and, on the other, the liberation is described as 'from evil.' But, whether emancipation be free from the power of the body during life or from the body itself and from all subsequent bodies at final death, the main positive consciousness, realized in this early stage of Vedāntist moksha, is, intellectually, discernment of the identity between the Absolute, Brahman or Atman, and the soul located in man, and, emotionally, the sense of security and assurance resulting therefrom. For the individual becomes invested with the powers, negatively expressed, of the Absolute Being: undying, imperishable, unattached, unbound, unlimited, unsuffering, etc. (Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV 2 4).

If a man clearly beholds this self as lord of all that is and will be, . . . who has entered into this patched-together hiding-place, he is creator, maker of all, his is the world, he is the world—then is he no more afraid' (Ch. iv 10 10).

Proceeding to the less ancient Upaniṣads, such as may have been influenced by Buddhist and other developments, we find in the '常德 of the Shavellings' (Mundaka) the compound pari-mucchānti (III ii 6), 'completely freed': who have grasped the sense of Veda-loka, all acclamations, their intangible power, he is free; in earthen resignation, at the final death.

In Brahman-being becomes immortal, wholly freed.

But in the Svetāṣṭarā Upaniṣad, and the allied but perhaps still later Maitreya Upaniṣad, the reader finds himself among new ideas jostling against the older ones. These are yet presented—soul and Brahman, release from life and death, and knowledge as giving release—but the conflict 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 Buddhism, and the tragic earnestness of the two former and of Jainism—all have caused a revolution in outlook that strikes a new note at the very first words:

'Om! The Brahman teachers say: What is the primal cause, what is Brahman? Whence are we?' (Svetāṣṭarā Upaniṣad, 1).

Through it all the moksha-idea appears as the work of a creator:

'The Dēva' or līvara ('Lord'), himself self-caused, is the cause of the maintenance and the movement of all (bhūta anātme); the bondage and the liberation (jandōka, saha) of the world (Ch. vi 16). To the gods (Devas) he says, making his own being a lamp, the being of the Lord, is to have all fetters fall away, all sufferings destroyed, and the cesing of birth and death come to pass (Ch. i 17, ii 10). Through freedom, take him in my refuge, supreme Causeway to that which is not dead (ananta paraṁ purusha), Fire that burns where no fuel is' (ib. vi 17).

'So soon as a man might wrap the atmosphere
About himself like any cloak, as need.
The end of suffering, not knowing God' (ib. vi 20).

Yet both here and in the Maitreya Upaniṣad the Atmanism monism is none the less maintained, and all personal détails are recognized as names of the self (IV v vii, VI vi 8).

Much, it is true, is made of a disparate 'element-soul' or self, bound by the fetters of the fruits of good and ill, and, as one in priests, till by knowledge, by tapas (austerities), by meditation he is freed from those things by which he was filled and overcome, and obtains union with the Atman (IV vi 4).

Yet this concept no longer satisfies:

'Having seen his own self as the Self (or soul), he becomes self-conscious (násīdā); and, in virtue of self-consciousness is to be conconsidered immovable, unconditioned. This is the highest mystery, betokening emancipation' (kāndāna) (IV xx 7).

A wondrous blend of Buddhist and Sākhyā concepts.

Yet another new term reveals a fresh and notable development of the moksha-consciousness, that
of 'autonomous,' or independent—vandanta (v. xxxv).

'Independent, standing on his own greatness, he contemplates the cycle of rebirth as it were a rolling chariot-wheel' (that has ceased to control him). Cf. the 'autonomy' prescribed in and vital for Buddhism (Dipha Nibbāya, ii. 109, and elsewhere).

The psychology also of the process of self-liberation is greatly indebted to the ethical character, existing in Buddhism (Maitreyaana Upanisad, vi. xxxiv.). Mamas (i.e. the mental mechanism of sense-cognition, a narrower concept than 'mind') is, like īsvara himself, called 'the cause of bondage and of liberty.' Both, to bring about 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... that man is wholly freed (parinirvāṇa). 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 'lingering treating all creatures' (īsvara, vi. xxx.).

That the yet later Upaniṣads could use mokṣa as practically synonymous with religion appears in the Mātki Upaniṣad, which recommends him who desires for mokṣa to study the Mātki Upaniṣad, and, if that suffice not, certain others, and so on till all are included. The one named consists in a concise effort to define the essence (śrīra) of the soul or Brahman. More pertinent is the definition of mokṣa in another of the aforesaid Upaniṣads, the Sarva-sūtra, 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. An illusion is the blind, 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 Mahābārata epic called the Bhagavad-Gītā. The allusions occur almost entirely in the parts judged by R. Garbe to be older (see Bhagavā-Gītā). We find mokṣa applied to liberation from evil (iv. 16), from the body (v. 28), from lusts and anger (v. 26), from decay and death (vii. 29), from works (ix. 28), from the illusion of opposites (xxv. 5). But, however the bondage be conceived, release is effected here also, by a spiritual union with Brahman, conceived as, or as behind, īsvara, 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. ix. 29, xxv. 9f.). The central section of the epic is called 'the mokṣa-doctrine'; yet it is in the Amrūtā section that the complete picture of the emancipated individual occurs (Ādhibhūta, 19). In this we see īsvara contemplating Ātman, attaining Brahman, sunken 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, upholding all, as if they were he, 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 labourer, too, may enter on this upward way, and even women, but much more the Brahmans and the Ksatriya who study, joy in their duty, and hold the Brahman world as highest; for the fruit of achievement is liberty, and the utter abatement of ill, stories no greater lies.

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 felt; for mokṣa had made itself 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 Vedantic literature, but it attains emphatic isolation in that which must have felt the impress of Buddhism, to say nothing of Jainist and Sāṅkhyan influence. Now, in the doctrine of Arahantship, or the release from continued deaths and rebirths by the perfected character, existing in Buddhism (Maitreyaana Upaniṣad, vi. xxxiv.). Manas (i.e. the mental mechanism of sense-cognition, a narrower concept than 'mind') is, like īsvara himself, called 'the cause of bondage and of liberty.' Both, to bring about 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... that man is wholly freed (parinirvāṇa). 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 'lingering treating all creatures' (īsvara, vi. xxx.).

Hence the terms 'freed by understanding,' 'freed-bodily-ways,' meaning emancipated by the work of understanding only, or emancipated both thus and by the eight vimokṣas or similar exercise in samādhi (cf. Mahākammam Nikāyā, i. 477).

Moreover, vimuttī, as expressing final achievement, with the rapturous assurance it imparts, was at the heart of the Buddhist Dhamma from the start. In that which is recorded as his second sermon—the Anuttara-lakṣhaṇa Sutta (Vinaya Texts, i. 101; cf. 107)—Gotama Buddha stated how he 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 Ātman-qualities (permanence, omniscience, bliss) in these denuded them of factitious attraction. Craving to renew them is future lives fell away. The freed individual knew that he was free, and therefore needed only to await the final hour in quieted but blissful well-being and righteousness. Again, in sending forth his first missionaries, the Buddha named as his and his supremely adequate qualification—'I am freed from all snares human and divine... Go ye now... for the welfare of the many..." (Vinaya Texts, i. 6).

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,' 'taasting' (Dipha Nikāyā, ii. 220; Mahākammam Nikāyā, i. 477; Aṇguttara Nikāyā, ii. 244, iii. 36, iv. 296, etc.).

Awareness of full attainment was realized as a timeless moment of ecstatic consciousness (Kathāvatthu, ii. 4), but the reverberations formed an abiding joy.

'Gladdened springs up within him, and rapture thesels; the thoughts of his enraptured consciousness become transmuted; thus transmuted he knows bliss; and in that bliss his consciousness is stayed' (Dipha Nikāyā, ii. 241, 'The five occasions of emancipation'; cf. 1.73).

Imagination plays about the term:

'He with fair flowers of Liberty everywhere, Safe and Immune, shall reach the perfect peace' (v. 560).

'Above the rolling chariot of this earthly life spreads the silken canopy of emancipation' (Ānappatā Nikāyā, iv. 289).

And in the later Questions of King Mihinda:

'As the ocean is all in blossom with the immemorable... ripple of its waves, so is Nibbāna all in blossom, as it were, with
the innumerable, diverse, delicate flowers of purity, knowledge, emancipation’ (ib. vii. 89).

Arachantship, again (ib. v. 17), is called ‘the highest jewel of emancipation (vimutti-ratana), chief diadem of all.’

The three terms here brought together—Nībhāna, Arachantship, emancipation—are largely, though not wholly, coincident in range, presenting differing aspects of the Ideal, Nībhāna; the having eliminated ‘the fires’ of evil desire, craving for continued life human or divine; the contemplation of an Ātman-less Absolute; Arachantship: supreme positive attainment in life on earth; Vimutti: the subjective aspect of both, the negative force in it never far off:

‘Let go (saṅkāra) that which has been, let go what will be, let go what thou art, thou that dost Transcend Becoming! On every side tree-minded Thou’rt not again come toward birth and dying’ (Dhammapada, 349).

But the self-knowledge that he is free is a clause in the formula confessing Arachantship:

‘Emancipated by right (or perfect) gnosis (sammadassadhā-vidissana);’ in him thus: see tree there arises the knowledge ‘tread’! (ib. Nikāyas, passim; Dialogues, l. 93).

And the unity connecting the negative and positive aspects may be discerned in the Sutta Nipāta verses:

‘...in whom no sense-desires do dwell....’ (ib. Nikāyas, passim; Dialogues, l. 93.)

‘What sort of freedom (waits) for him? To other freedom (waits) for him (1289 l.).’

In the Nikāyas vimutti and Nībhāna are declared to be ‘comparable’ one with another (in the same thought-category, Majjhima, i. 304). But in the Dhamma-sanghaviṃśati vimutti is distinguished from the higher mental freedom and Nībhāna (p. 234; cf. Dīgha Nikāya, i. 174).

As the subject of a distinct group (khaṇḍhika) of religious experience, vimutti is ranked in the Suttas fourth with the groups ‘ethics’ (sīla), concentration studies (sāmaṃdāta), and insight (paññā, Majjhima, i. 214; Anguttara Nikāya, i. 125, passim), while for the Arahant a fifth was reckoned: knowledge and intuition of vimutti (vimutti-dhamma-viveka, i. 162, etc.). Closely associated with the fourfold path to Arachantship and called, later, modes of progress, avenues, or channels to vimutti, are the studies in ‘Empinness,’ the ‘Signless,’ ‘the Not-Made-After’ (Dīgha Nikāya, iii. 219; Sānīya, iv. 295–297; Dhammapada; Compendium of Philosophy, London, 1910, p. 216).

A very frequent allusion to emancipation in the Nikāyas is that of chetottasmi paññāvimutti, corresponding very well to emancipation of heart and head. The systematic expansion of ethical emotion was not peculiar to Buddhism (see LOVE (Buddhist)). But the founder of Buddhism is represented (Sānīya, p. 118) as claiming that he alone insinuated in such exercises emancipation of the heart.

In this way, in sufficing the idea of more and more beings with (1) love—‘let all beings be void of enmity and meekness,’ (2) pity—‘let all be set free from suffering,’ (3) sympathy—‘let all be happy and fortunate,’ (4) equanimity—‘all are the owners, these are the fields, these are the exercises, if fully practiced result in a thorough self-mastery through complete emancipation from the respective opposed moods of (1) enmity, (2) harmfulness, (3) antipathy, (4) passion (Loek Sadah, Mahāthana, in a letter to the writer).’

Taken all, apart from that supreme enfranchisement from all the conditions for rebirth, they constituted the best way to Brahma-heavens.

‘Sārīputta: This, I told Dānañjaya, is the way to share existence with the Brahma gods.

The Buddha: What did you tell Dānañjaya in that inferior Brahma-world, when there was more to be done?

Sārīputta: I judged, lord, that these Brahmans preferred that heaven (Majjhima, i. 196).

Other all bases of meritorous acts which are stuff for rebirth (pavārasaya), and for accomplishment of the heart by love. That takes all those up into itself, as the moon1 over the waving leaves, the sun over the shank, the morning star the night, shining in radiance and in splendour’ (Iti-evutteka, 19–21).

But to be emancipated by intuition or insight is to have broken all the ten ‘fetters’ by the four successive stages of the Araya-path—stream-winning, Once-Returning, Never-Returning, Arachantship—and to have reached the going-out of all feared desires as to lives on earth or in the heavens (Dīgha Nikāya, l. 108).

‘...and 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-Nipāta and the anthologies of Theragāthī and Therigāthī—that the theme of emancipation is maintained most steadily:

‘Come now, let us see Osiana, who lion-like DOTH room alone ... and let us ask of him How can we be set free from sneeze of death? Declare to us with your voice as to the Lord How may a man from sorrow be set free? (Sutta-Nipāta, 164.)’

‘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 Lo! then my heart was as a liberat (ib. 477).’

‘Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked And Liberty—as flight of birds in air So hard is it to track the trail of him (ib. 29).

And see, O Master! Sundari who comes To tell thee of Emancipation won And of the night no more to be reborn; Who hath herself from passion freed (tadāraged), Unyoked from bondage (Psalm of the Sisters, 334).

‘Thou be suffering and weak and all My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come, Leaning upon my staff, and climb aloft The mountains peak. My cloak blown off, My little bowl o’erturned: so sit I here Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps The breath of Liberty! (ib. 29, 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-Nipāta, 74).

‘Even as a fish that breaks life into ocean Even as a few that turn not back to burnt stuff — Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely (ib. 69).

‘Dwelling in peace, in joy, in confidence, And in friendly joy, in balance, each in season, Nought in the world disturbing his composure — Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely (ib. 69).

The evolution of mukti, or mokpa, 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. 468, 470).

Similarly the (v) mokpa, or aparaya, concept of Sāṅkhya thought, which survives in medieval commentaries, and which, even in the aphorisms on which these are based, shows a later and a more habilable metaphysics than such as the foregoing discussions reveal, will be dealt with in art. SĀṅKHYA.

In those aphorisms (Sūtras) the individual soul, called puruṣa, is conceived as 'neither bound, nor liberated, nor migrating' (lxiv.), 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 (jñāṇa ca uṣṇavara), by the opposite bondage (lxiv.). With this knowledge the task of good and evil is done; the union of soul and organism may ‘go on like the potter’s wheel revolving from the effect [of his impact]’ (lxvii.) after the finished pet is removed, but, when the organism assents to act, the soul obtains absoluteness (kauśalya āpnoti) (lxviii.).

'MOKSA' 773
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 propensities of human beings, on the other. The problem includes three difficulties: (1) How is it possible to reconcile God's foreknowledge with the freedom of the human 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 for evil actions to be imputed to us? (3) Given the sincere will of God to save all men, how can such a will, in the light of the experience of evil, be consistent with the light of faith and never attain to eternal salvation!

The endeavours of theologians to throw light on the problem have been noted in the work of Aquinas, whose summa of the Thomist doctrine of grace and free will has become a classical statement of the subject. In his work, Aquinas makes the point that God's foreknowledge is not the same as knowledge of the future, but rather a knowledge of the possibility of the future. This distinction is crucial for understanding the nature of human freedom and divine providence.

The controversy between the two systems of Thomism and Molinism has raged in Roman Catholic schools of theology.

I. HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY.

—In the 13th century, St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, synthesized the summa of human knowledge with regard to God as the First Cause and Final End of all things in the work called the Summa Theologica. Herein is contained all that the human mind, aided by the natural light, can know concerning God's providence, universal causality, grace, etc. So great became the renown of St. Thomas for the solidity and subtlety of his doctrine that at the Council of Constance the Summa Theologica, alone of all theological treatises, was thought fit to be used in consultation with the sacred Scriptures. The Order of St. Dominic is sworn to love and defend the doctrines of St. Thomas as by hereditary 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 century, the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535-1600) published a new doctrine on predetermination, grace, free will, etc. The basis of the whole system is the so-called scientia media, 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. Molina's book was published at Lisbon in 1588 and is entitled: Concordia liberii arbitrii cum gratia donis, diversa praedestinatione, et regregiorum. Had this theory been known, says Molina, Pelagianism would never have existed. Luther would not have denied free will, and Semi-Pelagianism would easily have been abandoned. Molina further adds that St. Augustine and the other Fathers would have unanimously approved of this theory of predetermination and this manner of concluding free will with the foreknowledge and providence of God, if it had been propounded to them (Concordia, ed. Paris, 1576, p. 548). This new doctrine, however, did not arrest the teachings of Michael Baius, nor did it prevent the papal condemnation in 1570 of the cause of an ending and bitter controversy which has lasted for centuries between Thomists and Molinists. The above assertions of Molina aroused the ire of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Dominicus Baius vigorously attacked the new theory, and so great was the dissemination caused by the ensuing controversy that in 1594 the matter came before Pope Clement VIII, who, in 1598, instituted a special board of inquiry, known as the Congregatio de Auxiliis. There were, in all, 181 assemblies of this congregation, which debated the doctrines under discussion. Three condemnations in succession were drawn up by the consultors against Molina. On 13th March 1598 they declared that the Concordia and the doctrine of Molina must be unreservedly condemned. On 19th Dec. 1601 they condemned the remaining propositions taken from the Concordia. At the assembly of the Cardinals (8th March 1606) it was decided to give orders to the consultors to draw up a bull for the condemnation of 42 propositions taken from the work. The said bull was actually prepared for publication, but on 28th Aug. 1607 Paul V. held a congregation of cardinals in which it was decided to postpone the condemnation. The result of the Congregatio de Auxiliis was then, a mere decree, without the light of faith and never attain to eternal salvation!

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In this matter an important point to be noted is the declaration of Paul V. that both Molinism and Thomism agree in substance with Catholic truth, but differ only as regards the mode of explaining the efficacy of grace, both of which opinions may be held. Innocent XII., in a reply to the University of Louvain (7th Feb. 1694), and Benedict XIII., in a brief (Dominus precator, 6th Nov. 1724), vindicated the Thomist doctrine of the efficacy of grace in effect, intrinseca and the gratuity of predestination. Lastly, however, the words uttered by Benedict XIII. should be understood to minimize the doctrines of Molinism, Clement XIV. said (2nd Oct. 1773).

Since the encyclical Eterni Patris of Leo XIII. (4th Aug. 1879), 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 the preacher of the Franciscan order, Molinists have endeavoured 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 known ("etiam per annum quidem", as C. Tiplans, himself a Jesuit, declared). The first crossing of swords took place between P. B. Beaudoin and C. Mazzella. Not long after, G. Schneemann published a work in 1811, in refutation of which the[P. A. M. Steijnemuth published a work at Paris in 1886, which is a complete demonstration of the mind of St. Thomas. In 1853 V. Frins essayed a reply, and in refutation of this Steijnemuth published another work in

1 De ordine divinum priori et posteriori, 54.
II. ESSENCE OF MOLINISM. - I. Natural order.

(1) God's foreknowledge and free will. - The knowledge of God, considered in itself, is one and indivisible. It is a relationship 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 objects' (scientia simplicis intellectus) 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. i. qu. 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 (t. qu. 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 of virtue of the divine decree, and 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. Hence, he says, a means must be provided whereby the will is free before, and independently of, the divine decree. Now there is a third kind of object. Continues Molina, which neither is purely possible nor yet belongs to the category of those objects which, in some difference of time, have actual existence. There is the event which would exist if certain conditions were realized, which, however, will not be realized. Under this head are to be classed all those free acts which, though never destined actually to exist, would exist if certain conditions were fulfilled. These are called conditioned future events (futura conditionata, or futurabilis); and God knows these by the scientia media, a knowledge which is midway, as it were, between that of vision and that of simple understanding. Although a future conditioned event is that which will never come to existence, because the condition on which it depends will never be fulfilled, the scientia media, as such, abstracts from the realization or non-realization of such a condition; hence, by the scientia media, God explores and knows, with infallible certainty, what the will will be, if the condition is true, but the will is free. Hence, it can be certain of its innate liberty (conscient or dextra; i.e., its行动 or free will); and it can determine to act in such a way that the event will be caused.

(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 the act (i.e., makes the will pass from the state of not acting to the state of acting), thus rendering the will in acto primo capable of freely determining itself in acto secundo. The free will infallibly conceives the event to which it is promulgate, i.e., the promotion is efficacious; yet the power to dissent remains with the will, for the promotion, divinely efficacious, effects that, although the will resists, not; and the will, if it desires to dissent, it infallibly consents and does not dissent. According to pure Molinism, the divine influx does not precede the action of the free will, but simultaneously co-operates with it, helping, as a partial cause, to produce the same action and the same effect. This divine action, called 'simultaneous concourse,' is, therefore, not received into the will, but is rather alongside of it, and is received immediately into the action and effect of the will. In order to safeguard the universal causality of God, it is said that, although God and the free will are partial causes of the free act, nevertheless the effect is wholly produced by God as the First Cause, and wholly by the will as the secondary cause. The simultaneous concourse is not efficacious, but is, of its very nature, indifferent, and is modified or determined by the free will, and hence can be used for volition or non-volition, for this act or that act, indiscriminately, according to the determination of the free will. Other Molinists reject this simultaneous concourse, and admit a kind of promotion, i.e., a physical influx received into the faculty of the will of the free will; by this influx the will is moved and determined to general or universal good,
but of itself the influx is indifferent and inefficacious: for the same good without any further influx from God, the will determines itself to act, not to act, to do this, or to do that. Thomists are accused of making God the cause of the sin by the physical preposition which is effec- tive: from God. Molinists also. Physical premonition effects, it is true, that the will cannot but infallibly do that to which it is premoned, but no Thomist allows that God acts on the will in order to premoned. The simultaneous concourse of the Molinists is a 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 another commit 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 omniscience. To argue as does a recent Molinist (Lakoussas, Them. Nat., 1880, cap. 9, art. 3, no. 592), that there seems no reason why this quality (i.e. the determination of the will whereby it makes itself pass from the state of nature to the will of willing) cannot be sometimes produced by a created being is not only to beg the question, but manifestly to deny, in very words, God’s universal causality.

2. Supernatural order. (1) Grace and 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 necessity of actual grace, even for the very beginnings (prima gratia vocans) of justification. Against Calvin, Luther, and 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 and sufficient and efficacious grace, which both agree to be a division of actual grace. For the Thomist efficacious grace is essentially, i.e. intrinsically (ab intrinsecus), different from sufficient grace. Sufficient grace gives the proximate power of producing 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 is 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 extra personam), to the actio of the will, and is received into it, thus elevating and making the will the principle in actus primo of the salutary act (this saving act is called free from Semi-Pelagianism). Preventive grace is a physical reality produced by God in the soul moving it (owing to which it is called gratia excitans) morally (not physically, i.e. efficaciously) 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 of the necessity of the 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; it is to be solved by Molinists also. Physical premonition effects, it is true, that the will cannot but infallibly do that to which it is premoned, but no Thomist allows that God acts on the will in order to premoned. The simultaneous concourse of the Molinists is a 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 another commit a sin; Molinists have chosen a lesser evil, but have not solved the difficulty.

Bellarmine, Suarez, Vasques, etc., modified this doctrine, and held what is called Congratinism. In this form of Molinism sufficient grace is not indeed intrinsically different from efficacious grace, but differs only as regards the manner in which it affects the will. Leuvin is also accommodated to man’s temperament and to the circumstances of time and place that the will infallibly, but freely, consents; sufficient grace (gratia congrutoria) is that which is so accommodated to man’s character and to the circumstances of time and place, and the will de facto resists. If, therefore, God wishes Peter to consent to grace, He decrees to give him consent to grace, i.e. a grace perfectly adapted to Peter’s character—to put him in the most fitting circumstances, etc.

(2) Predestination. Against the two theories of grace there are two theories of predestination: predestination due to foreseen merits (post previus merita) and gratuitous predestination (ante previus merita).

(a) Predestination due to foreseen merits.—God truly and sincerely wishes all to be saved (the salvific will of God); to all he gives sufficient grace. Foreseeing, by the scientia media, who will consent to grace and persevere in it, God predestines them to glory. In this way predestination to glory presupposes the good use of grace and is therefore not gratuitous (Lessius, Vasques, Becanus, Franzelin, H. Tourmel, etc.). As is evident, this theory contains all the insoluble difficulties of the scientia to which the man has he receives from God, according to St. Paul (Rom 11:36). Who hath first given him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things;” cf. 1 Co 4:4 (What hast thou that thou didst not receive? but if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?). Now Pelagians, Semi-Pelagians, and Molinists deny the gratuitity of predestination, for no other reason than because they presuppose something on man’s part which is the reason why God predestines some to glory and not others. The Pelagians presume works, the Semi-Pelagians the beginning of good works, and Molinists the good use of grace. But, if all these things are from God, He cannot look for or await them in order to predestine some and not others; on the contrary, He gives even the good use of grace to some because he pre-elect them to grace in accordance, then, with the teaching of St. Paul, with the doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, Thomists, and so produced of high repute, teach the absolute gratuitity of predestination, i.e. irrespective of foreseen merits.

(b) Gratuitous predestination.—God wishes all to be saved; to all He gives sufficient grace. By a
MOMENTARY GODS

very fact that God gratuitionally elects some and not others, those not chosen will infallibly not be saved; hence a reprobation of some sort is consistent with the predestination of some to glory; this is called 'negative reprobation.' The theory of negative reprobation is to conciliate negative reprobation with the universal salvation; will of God. Suarez and his followers say it is a 'positive act of nolition to elect;' some Thomists (as J. B. Gonet, V. Con- tenson, etc.) that it is a 'direct effect from the glory'; others (as A. Goudin, C. R. Billuart, 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 reprobation 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 volution or nolition? It is the mere absence of the act of assumption.


ALFRED WHITACRE.

MOMENTARY GODS.—'Momentary gods' (Ausprechungsgötter) is an expression coined by H. Usener (Götternamen, Rome, 1856, p. 970), and some whose credentials are open to question. It must certainly be admitted that the phenomena which Usener brings under the term are of very diverse kinds. It is true, of course, that human beings whose minds are dominated by fetishistic and animistic ideas may, under the influence of a momentary impression, ascribe to objects or occurrences a divine or demonic character; but the question is whether it is worth while to differentiate such a procedure from the general mass of fetishistic and animistic phenomena by the use of a special term. Thus we frequently meet with the practice of worshipping a tree or a stone, an animal, or an evil spirit (L. Deubner, ABW viii. (1905), Beltz, p. 71), such being often invoked to witness an oath (Esch. Sept. 629; school. Apol. Rhod. i. 57); but these facts in reality furnish reasons for doubting whether the weapon was the direct cause of the act rather than just that it was thought of as permanently possessed of divine qualities. Thus, while Vergil makes Mezentius say: 'dextra miri dens et teulum, nummis et mare et arida montibus, nummis et mare et arida montibus,' Tacitus inveigh by later epic authors (Silv. Ital. v. 118, vi. 137; Statius, Theb. iii. 615, ix. 548), such poetic fancies throw no light whatever upon primitive religious feeling. The lightning-flash striking down upon

5. \[\text{E. x. 772.} \]
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 (Δεσμή, Ἐρυθησίας), and for the latter a lātēud, which is expressed by the phrase Fulgur conditum. Thus the lightning-flash actually appears to be regarded as a divine being: some of the Dioscoi adopted the name Keranmos; in Seleucia Seleucus Nicator instituted a cult of the εὐπαίρης (Appian, de Rebus Scipion. 2). It is consecrated by numerous coins; and there is an Orphic hymn dedicated to this deity. Keranmos is often represented as subordinate to Zeus, who in this capacity is called Keranios, Katalabes, and Kappetas, just as Jupiter Fulgur is designated Fulgurator and Fulminator (Usener, Kleine Schriften, iv. Leipzig, 1913, p. 471). The natural phenomenon here involved is, of course, one of relatively rare occurrence, and the latter, the special gods are deities by leaving visible traces of its action, but the worship of lightning, in its essential features, cannot be separated from that of winds and meteoric storms. Quite as again, is presented by the worship of the last sheaf, or of the harvest-wreath (Gr. ἀγνοόν), and by other practices which have been explained by W. Mannhardt; the harvest-wreath, which was wound round with white and red ribbons, and presented to the Zeus. When the sheaf was left hanging at the door as an amulet for the house, it was unmistakably a fetish, i.e. a sacred object fashioned and consecrated by human beings (R. M. Meyer, Ant. Erit., 1908, 280); in the last sheaf, however, and things of similar formation, is concealed the corn-spirit which, according to animistic ideas, renewes 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 adds the conceptions of the ἄναξ and the genisa 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 the ideas of the soul, and, in the case of the ἄναξ, by the notion of possession (C. T. Teubner, De antiquorum demonismo, Giessen, 1909), while the snake-form of the genisa seems to point in quite a different direction (W. F. Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, vili. 1155). In any case, the present writer can see no logical grounds for bringing ἄναξ and genisa 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. Sondergotter) 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 certi; like the _special gods_ of the Greeks, these 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, at all events, no doubt, be very widely generalized. Unmistakable examples are found in Greek heroes like Endos (G. Kühnel, Ephemerides Graeca, Berlin, 1873, no. 825), Myiagros (Paus. viii. xxxix. 7), Teisiphon (Hesych. s.v.), or Horaphy (AJP VIII. 1887, 296), who never had more than a local significance and a narrow sphere of action. Other beings of this type were absorbed by the great gods as, for instance, Janus and Zeus Erechtheus; thus Krouktrophos (also in plur., Ephemer. Arch., 1899, p. 143) was originally an independent deity who at length became a mere epithet of Zeus. Athena Hygeia, etc., are to be interpreted in the same way. We may even venture to say that the displacement of these special deities by the Olympians was one of the most important processes in the development of religion and mythological times. Among the Romans such special deities are found more especially in the Indigintamenta (q.v.), in which every particular operation—e.g., in agriculture, which is connected by the Flamines with the worship of a particular deity. Vervactor, Redactor, Imperior, Insitor, Obarator, Oroctor, Sarrtor, Subruncinator, Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promptor. It is said, indeed, that even the _Italinae_, _calvinae_, and _cabrarii_ 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 had 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 Usener (Gotternamen, p. 79; cf. Dehnss, ARW ix. [1906] 284; O. Schroder, ERE II. 31). Here we find Athelitha, the goddess of bees, Babilos, the honey-god, and Thamaita, the goddess who arises from sleep, Kauliulukuia and Krumeta, the swim-goats, Meletele, the goddess of the colour blue, Rangraturis, who causes the fermentation of beer, and Wepatis, the lord of the wind. Kindred figures are found among the Lapps.

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 religion—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-identical Baal to whom divine honours were paid; on the contrary, each separate city or town 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 confirmed by the Church. (D. H. Jerke, Die PestIDDEN, Ulm, 1900). Thus, e.g., among the Cumanites of Prussia, St. Agatha took care of the household fire and St. Nicholas was the guardian of the children, St. Apollonia cured toothache and St. Laurentius rheumatic pains, St. Crespin was the patron of shoemakers and St. Goar of potters. In the Vorogues St. Abdon is believed to drive away fleas, St. Catherine to secure husbands for maidens, St. Sabina to

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1 Cf., however, the criticism of L. R. Farnell, 'The Place of the "Sondergötter" in Greek Polytheism,' in _Athenaeological Essays presented to E. Tyley_, Oxford, 1906, pp. 410-418.

2 The necessary corrections of Usener's statements in this connexion will be found in_Thesaurus Linguae Graecae_(ed. W. Schwyzer, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 364, and W. F. Otto, Rel., ii. 1899, 440, 446).

3 On Italian 'special gods,' cf. the memoirs of H. Moulton, _Early Zoroastrianism_, London, 1913, pp. 69-71, 105, 159. A notable instance is Verantichna, 'Victorio.'

4 On the saints who exercised an official function Dehnss, De Incubatione, Leipzig, 1900, is well worth consulting.

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1 Ann. Marcell. xxiii. 513: 'hoc modo [i.e. fulminea] contacta loca nec interius nec calculi debarcer fulgurum praequantur libri.'

2 Ancile Wale's _Feudalism_, Berlin, 1877.
MONARCHIANISM

MONARCHIANISM. — Monarchianism is a term generally used to designate the views of those heretics who sought to safeguard the Divine unity (monotheism), so refined away the distinction of the Divine Persons as to destroy the Trinity. Polyeuctus 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, Clement, and further propagated by the latter's disciple, Cleomenes. From Epiphanius we gather that Noetus must have died shortly before A.D. 250. But Hippolytus, who appears to have been martyred about A.D. 240, and who composed his Philoquemena between the years 220 and 235, says in his Trypaktos against Noetus, i.e. that he ‘died not very long since.’ And this seems more probable; for Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus, wrote the Epigraphus, according to the Philoquemena, caused much trouble during the pontificates of Zephyrinus and Callistus, viz. 198–218.

Hippolytus endeavoured to show that Noetus's views were in reality only those of the philosopher Heraclitus the Obscure, who held that ‘the Father is an unbegotten creature who is creator.’

Noetus and his disciples held, says Hippolytus, these Heraclitian tenets, for they say that one and the same God is the Creator and Father of all things, and that when he pleased Him, He appeared. And again: ‘When the Father had not been born, He yet was justly styled Father and; when he pleased Him to undergo generation, having been begotten, He Himself became His own Son, not another.” In this manner, adds Hippolytus, “He thinks to establish the sovereignty of God, the Father and Son; as if, indeed, are one and the same substance, not one individual produced from a different one, but Himself from Himself; and that He is styled by name Father, because He was the Son of God.”

Hippolytus, as we have seen, says that Noetus set forth his views as a means of upholding the Divine sovereignty, but, as a fact, the term monarchia (monocracy) was ambiguous and could be used as the watchword of both parties. Thus Eusebius tells us that St. Irenæus wrote a work, de Monarchia, against those who held that God was the author of evil. Similarly Justin Martyr has left a treatise, de Monarchia, to prove that God is the sole governor against paganism; see also Athanasius, De Logia viii. But, as was only natural, the apologists previous to the Council of Nicea were faced with the grave difficulty that, while combating polytheism as such, they had to maintain the divinity of Christ without impairing the Divine unity.

it must be acknowledged that, in insisting upon the divinity of Christ, they often, through lack of precision in their choice of terms, laid themselves open to the charge of dithomes. Thus Hippolytus says that Callistus reproached the opponents of Neoplatonism with being dithomes, yet he himself felt compelled to point out that in opposing Sabellianism many ‘divide and cut to pieces and destroy that most sacred doctrine of the Church of God, the Divine monad unity, supposing it as it were three powers and partitive substances and did not the heads three.’ An example of this unintentional vagueness may be found in Justin, Dial. cxxix., and, what is even more remarkable, in those who most strenuously resisted the Neoplatonists, the Sabellians. Thus Novatian, while insisting on the divinity of Christ and urging the precision with which Christ Himself says ‘I and the Father are one’ (one, that is, in the nature, and consequently not in person, but in substance or nature), yet offers no explanation of how this can be. The retort was obvious: Then you hold that there are two Gods! Even Tertullian, in spite of his lawyer-like precision of speech, and his undoubted orthodoxy on this point—even in his Montanist days—has some most misleading expressions which the post-Nicene writers would have avoided at all costs. Yet these things are inevitable, and it is by such discussions, such verbal lapses from exactitude on either side, that the Church can come to a full knowledge of the deposit of truth.

A remarkable exception to this prevailing vagueness is furnished by Athenagoras, who, in his Epistola, says:

“The Son of God is the Logos of the Father, in idea and in operation; for, after the pattern of Adam, the Father and Son made all things, the Father and the Son being one. And, the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, in oneness and power of spirit, the understanding and wisdom of the Father is the Son of God. But if, in your surpassing intelligence, it occurs to you to inquire what is meant by the Son, I will state brevity that He is the first product of the Father, not as having been brought into existence (for from the beginning, God who is the eternal mind, who, had the Logos in Himself, being from eternity instinct with Logos (syn taxis); but insomuch as it refers to the idea and energizing power of all material things.”

Nor is it surprising that these so-called Monarchians should have had a strong following. God is One. For this monarchical form of prophecy had fought and prevailed. But, if God is One, then there may be diversity of actions ad extra.

1. Phil. ix. 2. Much capital has been made out of Hippolytus's violent attack on the orthodoxy, and, indeed, on the personal character, of Papias Zephyrinus. But Hippolytus himself says (Phil. i. 7) that Callistus excommunicated Sabellians, though he maintains that Callistus did so out of fear of himself, Hippolytus. Perhaps the best commentary on Hippolytus's diatribe is furnished by the absolute silence of all other writers of the period.

2. Quoted by Athanasius, Epistle in Defense of the Nicean Definition, 26 (PG xvi. 480); J. H. Newman, Athanasius, Oxford Library of the Fathers, 184–441, 1. 45; also Ant. Nicene Fathers, xvi. (1896); Tertullian, iii. 396–397, a fragment of an epistle or treatise of Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, against the Sabellians; cf. also Dionsius of Alexandria, adv. Sabellianos, given in Eusebius, Prep. Evang. viii. (19 PG xii. 1770); Marsili, Convicta, i. col. 1011.


4. Thus in ad Fraz. iii. (PL xiii. 180) he speaks of the angels as being ‘members of the Father's own substance,' and in iv. (PL xii. 129) of the monarcho as ‘committed' by the Father to the Son.

5. Cf. St. Augustine's remark apropos of the re-baptism controversy: 'Omnes enim potissimum in re baptismali haude involutis ad pluram concili conciliuentes illustratum confirmationemque persequentes, nisi primo divinae catharisee rerum regiones multa sine atque haud disputandis rationalibus episcoporum pertinentia constarent. Hoc autem factum multa aea, ut, cum diversis aliquis obseruaverit, in controversiis interdicto improviso iudicium datur, diversis perfirmatur in fraude disruptionum suentia, donis et juramento, liquide dictatius, vico et titulorum, peremptoria unaniimis, in parte praecipue fames, et insanabilis error' (de Baptemate et Donatistarum, ii. (5) (PL xiii. 182); the whole passage is worth reading.

there can be no such diversity of action ad intra as shall imply distinction of Persons. But Christ is in the Father and Christ suffered upon the Cross. Therefore the Father suffered! The doctrine of a distinction seemed so compelling; but the Noetians and Sabellians shrank from it and endeavoured to explain that this suffering of the Father was in some sense not really His. This explanation was, however, long abhorred. They seemed to be the advocates of orthodoxy against the orthodoxy themselves. It was in vain that the latter rejoined: Then, according to your argument, it is the Father who is dead! For, while the NT as a whole clearly speaks of the Father as the one God and 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 is in me' (Jn 14:9). Tertullian treats this passage at considerable length, but it can hardly be said that his answer precludes the reduct: Then there are two Gods.

It is only when we turn to such an analysis of these passages as is furnished by Athanasius (e.g., on Jn 14:9, in Orat. iii. 28) and Augustine (Tract. xix. 13, xxi. 4, xxiv. 14) that we realize the distinction between ante- and post-Nicene clearness of expression when they bring the questions ventilated by the Noetians and their successors. St. Photinus (c. a.D. 393) puts the dilemma clearly.

If we speak of one God in the singular, excluding the word 'Second Person,' we thereby approve that God whereby which the Father Himself suffered. If, on the other hand, we admitted number combined with division, then we join hands with the Arians who hold that God was made from God, and say 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 (hispasison) in the Divinity.

Both sides, then, claimed to be the sole upholders of a true conception of the Divine monarchy: 1

a. Marcellus and Photinus, says Athanasius, 'negative Christ's existence before ages, and His Godhead and unending Kingdom, upon the profession of supporting the divine monarchy.' 2 Tertullian states the case in his usual pithy manner:

We, says they, maintain the monarchy. Yes. But when the Latins take pains to pronounce monarchical, the Greeks refuse to understand economics ... for, extolling the monarchical power of the One, they confound for the identity of Father, Son, and Spirit. 3

And then he puts his finger on the real difficulty which the Noetians had to face:

Praxeas put to flight the Pancleides, and he crucified the Father! 4

Hence the apposite nickname for the so-called Monarchians—Patrarians, i.e. those who made the Father suffer 1 in the person of the Son. Methodius († c. 312, commenting on Rev 12:3), likens those who have gone astray with regard to one of the Three Persons in the Trinity to the third part of the stars that fell:

As when they say, like Sabellius, that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered. 5

It is of interest to note how these heresies shaded off into one another. Thus Sabellius apparently denied that he was a Patrissian; but, in order to do so, he seems to have held that our Lord came into being only on His human birth. 6 The Arians, on the contrary, 'herbosed' thus agreeing, so it would seem, with the Patrissians. Again we note that, whereas Sabellius claimed to rank as a Monarchian, yet the Arian bishops, writing to Alexander, say:

We do not as did Sabellius who, dividing the One, speaks of a Son-Father. 7

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:

Sabellius supposed the Son to have no real subsistence, and the Holy Spirit to be non-existent; he charged them opposite with dividing the Godhead. 8 And once more: Sabellius, dividing the divinity invented by Arius, fell into the error which destroys the Personal distinctions. 9

It must, however, be remembered that no one can at this date say what precisely were Sabellius's opinions, partly because of 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.

How grievous were the rages 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). 10 We anathematize those also who follow the error of Sabellius in saying that the Father is the same as the Son. 11

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. 12 By the time of the provincial Council of Braga (561) we see how these Monarchian principles have verged into Priscillianism and are tainted with Manicheism. 13 The same comprehensive condemnation was repeated in the Lateran Council of 649 (can. xviii.). 14 Lastly, Eugenius IV. found it necessary to remind the Jacobites, in his decree dated 4th Feb. 1441, that if they still professed that the whole Monarchy was the Son of God and that Sabellius for confusing the Persons and for thus altogether doing away with the real distinction between them: 15

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 Bosra, 16 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. 17 This is clearly a derived form of Monarchianism.

The most prominent, perhaps, among the later 18


Athanasius, Orat. iv. 5 (PG xxvi. 471); cf. Newman, Athanasian, i. 114,

17 Adv. Prax. iii. (PL ii. 158), and in lx. (363).

18 The latinity of the term monarchical is unusual. In the NT it generally means the name of God (see, e.g., i Cor 1. 26), or the divine council as represented in the Incarnation (Phil 2). And this it is used by the Greek Fathers of the mystery of the Incarnation (cf. J. G. Scharf, Th. ed. Amsterdam, 1725, &c.). But here Tertullian uses it of the relationship of the Three Persons, a name which Sabellius takes no notice.

19 (PL ii. 156). Of Praxeas himself very little is known. It is likely that he had something to do with the 20

20 (PL iii. 209, n. 2) Praxeas.

21 ( עיצוב, Phil 2. 43; in John: cf. xxviii. 6, 2, (Phil. xxxvi. 197, 198, 1985, 1999), and Origins Cond. in Ep. ad Titus (PG xiv. 1304).
MONASTICISM

Monarchians were the Priscillians. They are of the view that the strange influence which they had on the Latin text of the Gospels—e.g., indirectly on 1 Jn 5—To them are due the Monarchian Prologues which have attracted so much attention in later years.

For reasons under the heading Monarchianism the so-called Adoptionist heresies. But, while it is true that the Adoptionists may be regarded as the legitimate outcome of the Monarchians, yet they approach the question from quite a different standpoint. For Adoptionism is a Christological heresy, where Monarchianism, at least in its original form as Päpistissiam, concerns the Father rather than the Son. To embrace the two heresies under one heading is to obscure the issue. See art. ADOPTIONISM.


HUGH FORD.

MONASTICISM—1. ETYMOLOGY; DEFINITION. The word *monasticism* is derived from the Gr. word μοναχός, *alone*, *solitary*, from which also the family of words has been formed: μοναχιον, *monastery*; μοναχός, *monk*; μοναχία, *monastic life*; μοναχωτής, *solitary*; μοναχίτης, *solitary man*; μοναχόστης, *a monk*; μοναχεία, *monasticism*; μοναχεσία, *monastic*; μοναχεσικός, *monastic*. All these words, derived as they are from the same root, indicate the idea of solitude, of isolation. This solitude must not, however, be interpreted as implying a life separated from the world, such as that of the hermit in the desert. As we shall see, the term *monk* has come to be applied to men living the same life in common—a life in which they are indeed separated from the world, but not from one another.

In common usage the word *monasticism* is often incorrectly extended to embrace the idea of the religious state in general, comprising even those orders which cannot be regarded as belonging to this category—such, e.g., as the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits and other clerics 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—i.e., in fact, the etymology of the words *monk*, *monastery*, etc., clearly indicates. We shall see below (§ III.) in what precise sense the word *monk* properly so called consist, the special conditions of the monastic life, and its various types. The monks, in fact, form a class apart among whom are known as the *religious orders* or *frères*—e.g., Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites—from the clerics regular, such as the Jesuits, and from other forms of the religious life and religious communities—such as the Redemptorists, Oratorians, Sulpicians, etc. (see art. RELIGIOUS ORDERS).

At the present day monks are represented in the Catholic Church by the monks known as Benedictines, 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 austere 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 as well, e.g., the *Peregrinatio Euthomii* (cf. art. ASCETICISM, vol. ii. p. 631). The regular and military orders should also be distinguished from the monks, although they were in many points of contact between them. We are, however, concerned here only with the monks.

I. Worship of Sarapis. In recent years it has become the fashion to see in the *sérees*, pagan deities which reigned in the temples of Sarapis and their dependences—the authentic ancestors of the Christian monks. Weingarten, to whom this theory owes its origin, has even maintained that St. Pachomius, the founder of Christian monasticism, not only drew a large part of his Rule from the usage of these *sérees*, but had himself been a *séree* of Sarapis, before his conversion to Christianity, at the Sarapeum of Chenoboscan. This theory, however, rests on a series of unverified hypotheses. Pachomius was never a *séree*. 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—not, however, of the pagan divinity, but of the God of the Christians. So Pachomius as the analogies that have been drawn between these two religions and the cuneiforms of Christianity are only apparent.

II. 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 philoso-
MONASTICISM

that certain practices of Buddhist monasticism owe their inspiration to Christian influence.  

5. Monasticism among Jews and Muhammadans.—(a) Essenes.—The Essenes (q.e.) may be regarded as one of the most striking examples of the monastic life outside of Christianity. Whether they looked on as a sect, as a tribe, or as a religious community, the Essenes (150 B.C.) offered all the principal characteristics of the monastic life—community of goods, practices of poverty and mortification, prayer, and work, meals and religious exercises in common, silence, celibacy, etc. Although there is no direct relationship between them, it is nevertheless true that both Essenean and Christian asceticism derived much of their practice from the same sources, viz. the Jewish religion.

(b) Therapeutae.—The Therapeutae (q.e.), 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 cenobites. 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 opinion that it is a Christian compilation undertaken with the view of providing a venerable ancestry for the Christian cenobites. Renunciation of the world, prayer, life in common, monasteries, vigils, chants carried out by alternate choirs, the practice of fasting and other mortification, such are the chief characteristics of the life of the Therapeutae. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have exercised any direct influence on Christian monasticism.

(c) Nazirites.—The Nazirites (q.e.) 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.

(d) Rechabites.—Some (cf. T. K. Cheyne, Ebr. iv. [1909] 4019) regard the Rechabites as forming "a sort of religious order, analogous to the Nazirites," and St. Jerome has himself called them the precursors of the monks (Ep. lixii., "ad Paulinum"). 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 Bedawin, such as still exist in these days, and observe the customs of their ancestors with such zeal.

(e) Muhammadans.—Muhammadanism has given birth to several "religious orders," the chief of which are the Qadiri, the Manalvi, the Baktashi, the Rifa'i, etc. The monks are called Dervishes ("poor"); they live together, 20, 30, or 40 at a time.
in a monastery under a head (shaiikh). The Der-
ich, or abbot, in a large or complex mona-
 This practice of obedience con-
 sisted in following the footsteps of Jesus Christ, recog-
 nizing Him as their Master, and in submis-
 sion to those He commanded. The practice 
 of obedience was defined in the form of consecration 
 to the monastic life itself. The result of 
 the day was the result of the practice of the very life itself. The moment 
 that many monks united to live together, they 
 were called to apostles of their own faith, and 
 to obey the word of their Master. This was a 
 head, This, again, was but to obey Christ, by 
 showing obedience to the Rule or to him who was 
 its guardian. Shenouda I of Atriopon obliged his 
 monks to make a profession of obedience to 
 the head of the monastery. This profession was 
 a written and signed agreement, and was preserved 
 in the archives of the monastery. In 
 the greater number of monasteries, the same custom was 
 observed in the early days, and it 
 was regarded by the monks as one of the most 
 efficacious means of all exercises of mortification. 
 The history of the early monasteries tells of 
 a number of fasters who passed two, three, and even five 
 days without touching food. The custom of taking 
 food on a daily basis continued from Monday to 
 Saturday which was observed by those known as 
 "Hebdomadari." There is, in fact, no 
 monastic Rule in which restraint in matters of 
 food and drink is not arranged for.

2. Mortification (fasting, etc.)—Along with 
 these virtues we find others which in reality flow 
 from them or complete them, and which were 
 always practised by the monks and prescribed 
 by the different Rules. Mortification is essential to 
 the practice of asceticism; it takes the form of 
 the renunciation of the pleasures of sense (chastity, 
 celibacy, fasting, etc.); work, silence, prayer even, 
 may all be considered forms of mortification. As in 
 all schools of ascetical (Neo-Platonic, etc.), fasting is considered 
 one of the essential features of the 
 exercise of the ascetic "athlete." Jesus taught 
 it to His disciples and practised it Himself; and 
 it was regarded by the monks as one of the most 
 efficacious means of all exercises of mortification. 
 The history of the early monasteries tells of intrepid 
 fasters who passed two, three, and even five 
 days without touching food. The custom of taking 
 food only once during the week from Monday to 
 Saturday which was observed by those known as 
 "Hebdomadari" was common. There is, in fact, no 
 monastic Rule in which restraint in matters of 
 food and drink is not arranged for.

It is chiefly in the monasteries of the East 
 (Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor) that one comes 
 across extraordinary forms of mortification; though 
 these must be regarded as exceptional cases, they 
 cannot be passed over in silence. They were 
 first of all, the Styliotes and the Dendrites, who 
 condemned themselves to perpetual immobility, 
 the former on their columns, the latter on the 
 branch of a tree. Then there were the "desires" or 
 "Browsers," mentioned by Sozomen. These were 
 solitary monks, and were so called because 
 they lived on grass like a lion. Others, 
 again, climbed themselves to a rock, or bore on 
 their shoulders a species of canteen, or yoke. 
 Sozomen also speaks of a Syrian monk who ab-
 stained from eating bread during eighty years. All 
 these are exceptional cases, and are even 
 regarded by some as mere eccentricities of

1. H. Dümmler, "Materiaris monasterii," in the 
 mission archéologique française au Caire, t. 1, 1859, 234-236.
3. Work.—Certain fantasies, such as the Messaliens or Enchites (q.v.), maintained that the life of a monk should be entirely given up to prayer. They condemned all work or other forms of activity. This tendency was early proscribed by the Church; all monastic founders or legislators realized the danger of such exaggerations; and one and all signalled the vice of idleness as the one sin most conducive to the destruction of the monastic life. St. Augustine, in his treatise de Laboro Monachorum, condemns this error, and shows the real necessity of work for those who follow the monastic vocation. Already in the East, during 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 interest or gain as necessity. In addition 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 served to maintain the monastery. (Cassien, de Mammis, xii. 9.)

In the case of the monks of the West this manual work was carried out in so orderly and methodical 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 centres of worldly activity, they were obliged to provide for themselves, and, besides cultivating the soil, they 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 miniature painting, architecture, sculpture, and the fine arts were cultivated with great success.

(b) Intellectual.—The intellectual work of the monks consisted chiefly in the lectio divina, i.e., the reading and study of the sacred Scripture and other holy writings. In the West this was part of the monastic curriculum and underwent a great development. More and more time was given to intellectual work. The copying of ancient MSS in the scriptorium 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 soon followed 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 Christendom.2

(c) External work; the sacred ministry.—The monks, in the East, retired from the world into solitude, there to lead lives of prayer and contemplation 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 "oblasts," i.e., children consecrated from an early age by their parents to the monastic state. These it was necessary to instruct; hence schools were established in the monasteries, some of which became famous and were attended by secular students as well.3

In the West the monks were led in time to take up in certain countries,—e.g., England and Germany,—the work of evangelizing the people. They thus became missionaries and thus in a large part in bringing about the conversion of Europe.4

4. Prayer.—But it was always clearly understood that neither work nor any other occupation should absorb the whole of the monk's activity. A considerable part of his time was always devoted to prayer. In substance this prayer consisted in meditation on, or recitation of, the Psalter, which was distributed according to the days of the week or the hours of each day. It was organized more methodically when regular monasteries began to be established in greater numbers; and from it has evolved the divine office as we now have it, with its different 'Hours' for the night and the day—Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.5

5. Silence.—Silence, recommended by philosophers as a necessary condition for meditation or intellectual research, was rigorously enforced in the monastic life. In the case of the hermits, living in complete isolation, silence was practically absolute, and rare were the occasions on which they could indulge in conversation. They did, however, occasionally visit one another, and sometimes returned to their monasteries for a certain length of time. For the cenobites talking was naturally of more frequent occurrence, but severe restraints were establishing on this point in the greater number of monasteries.

6. Solitude.—Solitude, as in the case of silence, was interpreted in a more or less wide sense. For the anchorites, hermits, and stylites, living in their caves, in their tombs, or on their pillars, solitude was absolute and complete. For the cenobites it consisted rather in their separation from the world, in the practice of silence, and in certain restraints. It is this need of solitude that may be said to have given to monastic architecture its principal characteristics and the disposition of its various parts. The monastery was enclosed by walls; one gate was added to it. Communication with the outside world was subject to strict control, and, to render the necessity less frequent, the monastery, like a little city, was to be self-contained. There were exercised all the different trades and crafts demanded by the needs of the community.

7. Stability.—Stability, i.e., the engagement undertaken by a monk to remain all his life in the same monastery, was only an accidental condition of the monastic state, and was not established everywhere. In certain regions a monk could, without any breach of his vows, pass from one monastery to another. The abuse of this custom, as seen in the wandering monks, or 'Gyrovagi,' (see below, iii. 6), and other considerations as well, led to the establishment of stability as a law of the monastic state, which little by little became general. St. Cassian of Carte, among others, imposes it in his Rule, and St. Benedict.6

5 The Divine Office, London, 1892.
The hermits and anchorites lived separate and alone in the desert; hence they were their own masters. It often happened, however, that the hermits received requests from others, or were requested to relinquish their independence, would submit himself to the direction of another, whom he regarded as his spiritual father. Sometimes colonies of hermits were formed under the patronage of a head, to whom the others rendered obedience. Again, we find hermits living near a monastery of cenobites, to which they were obliged to return at certain times, generally on Saturday and Sunday and on feast-days. Yet, according to the monastic hierarchy and the organization of authority among the cenobites, great variation is to be observed in primitive ages. It was generally, however, fairly simple in character. At the head of the monastery was a superior, at once spiritual father and temporal administrator, who was known by the various titles of archimandrite (αρχιμανδρίτης), hegumenos (ἡγομένος), or, more commonly, abbot (αβατής and ἀβατός), or provost, or prōvostos, etc. This superior governed the community, sometimes with the help of an assistant and other officials who fulfilled various charges, such as cellarer, provost, or envoy. Sometimes, also, a council composed of the older members of the community (seniores) was convened. The office of the seniores, who were nominated by the superior himself, expired at the end of the year. The government of these monastic societies was a monastery rather than an oligarchy; often it was an absolute monarchy. The cellarer (κελαριάτης, whence κελαριατικός, ‘cellarer’), the official who had charge of the income of the monastery, had, as a rule, very wide powers over the community. Sometimes the abbot, as already mentioned, was assisted in his office by an official who ranked second after himself in the monastery; sometimes there was a third as well (prior and subprior).

The monasteries thus constituted usually enjoyed complete autonomy. There was nothing resembling the modern order or congregation, in which the different religious houses are united under a superior-in-chief or ‘general,’ and depend upon one house, which is the mother-house of the whole congregation. In the West it was not till the time of St. Bernard that the idea of grouping monasteries together under a central authority was actually realized. For example, St. Basil in his Rule, which was the law everywhere in the East, contents himself with giving a few general principles as to the choice of the superior and the exercise of authority. In certain monastic colonies, too, the organization was very rudimentary in character. St. Anthony and St. Hilary, e.g., were the spiritual and temporal heads of the communities founded by them, and unity and order were maintained by visiting the various houses subject to them (Vita S. Hilarii, ch. iii.).

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BLAKESLEY notes the interest and affairs of the various communities were discussed and settled. Pachomius himself nominated the superiors of the different houses, and a ‘procurator-general’ for the whole congregation. Tabennes, the head-house of this congregation, was also a military organization. The monks were divided into two companies, often under an official called the dean; ten companies formed a further head, at the head of which was another official. At an early period the Rules, or constitutions, of the various monasteries, from this time, were written down. A great number of these exist, some of which can be safely attributed to the ancient masters of the monastic life. We shall speak only of the principal ones.

The Rule of St. Pachomius cannot be regarded as the work of St. Anthony himself, but it is extremely ancient.

3 One collection of maxims on the monastic life was brought together in Egypt, in the course of the 6th century, but there is nothing against the belief that many of them are authentic and of much earlier date than the collection itself. The same may be said of the authenticity and age of the Regula ad Manichaeos Maoritis (PG xxvii. 967-970), and the Regula ad Manichaeos Nazaraeos, Manichaeorum, Sarcanthoni et aliorum Manichaeorum (PG xlvii. 971-975).

The Rule of St. Basil (Opera sanct i,1, Regula fidei i.36) contains: (1) a section on the general nature of the monastic life, which is essentially practical and is probably the only rule existing. Even in the West its influence was considerable, as may be seen—e.g., the references made to it in the Rule of St. Benedict. A long letter written by St. Basil to St. Gregory of Nazianzus before the drawing-up of his Rule, may be regarded as an outline or rough draft of the latter.

The Rule of St. Basil, and to Schonbude, although not authentic in the same sense, is, nevertheless, substantially their work in spite of later additions and changes. The Rule of St. Benedict was originally in Coptic, was translated into Greek and Latin (Lacheco, p. 272). There are three texts of the Rule of Schonbude (cf. Monastikon des deutschen Ordens, p. 18. Monastikon des Ordens an Osten, iv. 4, 235, etc., and Lecerf, in DACO I, 3, 2111).

The Book of the Governors of Thomas of Marga, of the 6th century, describes the life led by the cenobites and other officials of the Nestorian monastery of Beth-Absa in Mesopotamia.

In the West, besides Cassinian, whose two works exercised the widest influence on monasticism in that part of the world, we must mention the Rule of St. Benedict, Regula S. Patris Benedicti, 3


4. P. A. Léandri, Die Quellen der ältesten Gesch. des zum Untersuchung, Literaturgeschichtliche, i. 1886, 1887.

5. E. A. W. Budge, The Book of the Governors of Thomas of Marga, of the 6th century, describes the life led by the cenobites and other officials of the Nestorian monastery of Beth-Absa in Mesopotamia.

6. See below, v. iii. 1 (a) (b).

7. On the Rule of St. Benedict, the authenticity of which is incontestable, and its various ed. see below, p. 799, note 3.
MONASTICISM

[p. 786

1. St. Columban, his Punic, and that of St. Columban, are
the only copying of the authentic character of which is really es-

cablished. At an early date collections were made of all these monastic

rules. The question of monastic costume is one with regard to the

different monastic Rules show a be-

wildering variety. It is also, from the arche-

ological point of view, one of the least clear. It

seems that there was originally no special dress for monks. The only rule on this point 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 his detachments from the things of this 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 placed any importance to the form, colour, or quality of the habit worn by his monks (Regula, ch. lv.). Nevertheless, at an early date certain garments worn by the monks, and borrowed in all probability from the peasant population among whom they lived, began 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 clearly distinguished from the latter category.

We may now enter into greater detail regarding the various garments worn by the ancient monks both in the East and in the West. Many of these garments are still in use among their successors.

The ancients did not know the use of furs. The tunic

wool was their only under-garment (pallium, scapula, colobium). The monks adopted the tunic. It had short sleeves or was sleeveless. The tunic was usually made of goatskin or camel's hair, which rendered it a suitable hair-shirt (Caesar, Inst. 1. 8

[PL. xiv. 74]). To a scapula, which is a tunic with shoulder girdle, it was added. The tunic was also occasionally worn by the monks.

The hood and the wappor are also characteristic of the monastic habit. The first (cumulus, cumulato) 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. It 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 in time to be divided into various forms, as the cowl, the anorak, the burse, and other large sleeves. The cowl is the distinctive choir-habit of the monastic order (seculular) as well as to be peculiar to Benedictine monks, since there is no mention of it before the 13th century. It is evident from the text of his Rule, that it was not his own invention. By some it has been considered as analogous garment worn by Eastern monks; but it is more probably true that it was originally a kind of mantle or cloak with hood attached, such as was worn by peasants in the neighborhood of Monte Cassino. St. Benedict prescribed it as a working-dress (scapular proper). It was worn to protect the rest of the habit, and replaced the cowl. Its etymology indicates that it covered the shoulders.

The Eastern monks now used a rather long and wide hood, which was known as the "famuli" or "famuli". This hood was known as the "famuli" or "famuli".

2. Dendrites. The Dendrites (from δέντρα, "tree"

lived in trees.

3. Celibates (from καλός, "one who lives in common with others"). This was the general term for all monks living together in community. 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 stoutly maintains his preference for the cenobitic life over the eremitical life, and his preference is shared by St. Benedict. It is undeniable that in early days the eremitical life had its 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 state of things. At the 16th century, it almost completely disappeared.

4. Sarabantes and Gyrovagi, or Circumcelsion. Among the other monastic types, ancient authors draw attention to the Sarabantes and the Gyrovagi, who were regarded as an evil kind of monks. The first, mentioned by St. Jerome under their Syriac name of Remoboth (Ep. xxii. 34 [PL. xxii. 416]), lived together in twos and threes in a monastery, in order to live a life without

1 See especially A. Cavallio, Commentario litterario, u. c. morali sopra la Regola di S. Benedetto, Arezzo, 1779, i., ii. 383, and the Commentario sulla Regola di S. Benedetto (C. Debre), the Abbey of Saronno, Milan 1779, ii. See also the Regola Benedictina Regularis nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836. See also the Regola Benedictina, nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836. See also the Regola Benedictina, nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836. See also the Regola Benedictina, nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836.

2 See especially A. Cavallio, Commentario litterario, u. c. morali sopra la Regola di S. Benedetto, Arezzo, 1779, i., ii. 383, and the Commentario sulla Regola di S. Benedetto (C. Debre), the Abbey of Saronno, Milan 1779, ii. See also the Regola Benedictina, nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836. See also the Regola Benedictina, nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836. See also the Regola Benedictina, nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Pontificia Monasterii Monzae, ed. A. G. P. Canzian, Milan 1836.
either rule or law, following no other rule than that of their own will or caprice. The Gyrovagi or Circumcelliones ('vagabonds') went from monastery to monastery, demanding a lodging for a few days, and scandalizing all true Christians by their excesses.1

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 grow, and untrained, went barefooted, and wore a black cloak (Leclercq, in DACL ii. 3218).

8. Apotrites (from απότροπως, to renounce) ; cf. Luke 17:14). These formed a class intermediary between the earlier ascetics and the monks properly so called. They are 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 Encratites.2

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 greatest number of the characteristics of which we have already spoken as belonging to the essence of the monastic life are found among the ascetics—purity of life, the practice of mortification, fasting, silence, prayer. They were, in fact, simply monks living in the world.

1 Asceticism and cenobitism are inseparable. Asceticism is an individual phenomenon, cenobitism is a social institution.3 It was but 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 ascetics were living, retired from the world in the desert.

This is not the place to enter upon a detailed history of these Christian ascetics (see art. Ascetism). But it may be remarked, in passing, that Christian asceticism, while recognizing among some of the apostles 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 texts occurring in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers—in those, e.g., of Tertullian, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, whose "true Christianity" offers many characteristics of asceticism—one 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 Virginis' and the work of pseudo-Cyprian, de Singularitate Clericorum.4

II. MONASTICISM IN THE EAST.—I. 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 There are different kinds of monks cf. Caesarian, Collationes, xvii. ch. i. (PL xxxii. 899 C.), and Institutiones, v. 39, with the notes by A. Gams (PL xxxii. 255); Roberta S. Benediti, l.; Repertorium Christian. bei Grünberg, vol. vi., pp. 485-490; St. Augustin, de Operum Monasticarum, 28 (PL xxxiii. 95).
2 See also: Apotrites, Apotaroménés, in DACL iii. 2041; Cabrol, Etude sur la Peripetrétie Sétite, p. 154.
3 Cf. also: Leclercq, in DACL ii. 3078-3090; Heimbucher, l. 167; M. A. Alonzo, Monasterios de los Padres en España, second part, p. 389; Alba, Ibid., p. 380; Leclercq, in DACL i. 3041; cf. Roeder, Asien und Mönchton.
4 Cf. Leclercq, in DACL ii. 3078-3090; Heimbucher, l. 167; M. A. Alonzo, Monasterios de los Padres en España, second part, p. 389; Alba, Ibid., p. 380; Leclercq, in DACL i. 3041; cf. Roeder, Asien und Mönchton.
Lower Egypt, and was the father of monasticism in Nitræ. 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 liturgical duties. According to the Lousac History, there were 600 hermits in the desert of Nitræ. Idleness was carefully excluded, each monk being obliged to provide for himself by his own labour. In the evenings and Sundays, the monks were exonerated. The discipline of the life was very strict. Ammonius died before 336. His disciples continued his traditions in Nitræ. The theological works of Origen were studied there, and the "tall brothers," Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius, made such a disturbance in the theological world later on, belonged to this monastic family.

About six miles to the south of the mountain of Nitræ was the Desert of Scæta, where another colony of hermits was established. The brethren observed perpetual silence; as at Nitræ, they assembled in church for the offices only on Saturdays and Sundays. Their cells were either mere caverns in the rock or little huts made of branches. Macarius the Great († 383 or 387) was the first of these hermits. He has left behind him among the Apophthegmata a series of remarkable maxims and homilies that sheds much light upon the thought of the founders of Christian mysticism. Macarius the Younger, Evagrius Ponticus, and Mark the Hermits are also figures that stand out among these solitaries. The Desert of Scæta still preserves the ruins of their ancient monasteries, one of which, known as the monastery of St. Macarius, is inhabited by a few Coptic monks.

Besides Nitræ and Scæta, the whole of Egypt was strewn—a name that was to remain famous in the monastic history. Pachomius is the real founder of the cenobitic life. His disciples lived together under the same roof and were subject to the same discipline. Other monasteries were founded which followed the rules of the same monastic community. The profession of obedience which he imposed on his monks is the oldest document of this kind that we possess, and it marks a stage in the history of monastic Rules. Schenouani made the attempt to combine the eremitic with the cenobitic life, and he succeeded to a certain extent.

(b) Sinai.—From Egypt the monastic life soon spread as far as the Sinai peninsula, on which there were later several flourishing monasteries. St. Nilus the Sinaitic († c. 430) and St. John Climacus were regarded as the great doctors of the ascetic life. The Perveneratio Ethieria gives interesting details regarding the monasteries of Sinai (see below, ill., x, 3). (c) Palestine.—The monastic foundations of Palestine were no less illustrious. It will suffice to quote the names of Hilarión of Gaza, a disciple of St. Anthony of Egypt, and especially those of Melania the Elder at the Mount of Olivæ, Paulæ, and St. Jerome. In this region monasticism made considerable headway. The number of monasteries and lauras rose to 100, and the influence of these religious houses in the schools between paganism, Origenism, Eucharianism, Monothelitism, and iconoclasm was very important. It would be impossible to give here even a résumé of this history; we must be content to refer the reader to the authors cited above for the further details of the history of the Egyptian church. The only important church of the ancient Palestinian monasteries in Leicerc, DACL ii. 3115-3175. It was only with the Arab invasion of Palestine that the progress of these monasteries was arrested.

(d) Syria.—Syria became at an early period a hand of monasteries. It has even been questioned whether the monastic life there was not indigenous, i.e., whether it did not, as in Egypt, spring directly from the native Thebaïd, Lyconopolis, Kopres, Oxyrhynchus (where there were to be found, it is said, 10,000 monks and 50,000 nuns), and Arinœ, where there were also 10,000 monks (Hist. Lat. a, 18).

In Upper Egypt the name of Pachomius attracted special attention. He was instructed in the monastic life by a venerable hermit named Palamón, and established himself at Tabenna (Thebæum) in Upper Egypt, where he was famous in the monastic history. Pachomius is the real founder of the cenobitic life. His disciples lived together under the same roof and were subject to the same discipline. Other monasteries were founded which followed the rules of the same monastic community. The profession of obedience which he imposed on his monks is the oldest document of this kind that we possess, and it marks a stage in the history of monastic Rules. Schenouani made the attempt to combine the eremitic with the cenobitic life, and he succeeded to a certain extent.

1 With regard to Schenouani see Amélineau, Mémorials publiés par la mission archevêque au Caire, iv. (1865), l.; J. Lejolliet, Schenouani, Sainte-Croix et le daisse de l'Eglise-Cité égyptienne du Christendom (TU), Leipzig, 1903; Lasdun, Revue d'Histoire eccl. vii. (1917) 76-77; Revellot, "Les Origines du schisme égyptien; le prêtre et le prêtre,etc. in HHR viii. (1908) 491-507, 531-538; Amélineau, Vie de Schenouani, Paris, 1889; A. de Deiler, in DACL i, 269-270.

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 century. The Desert of Chalcis was known as the Thebaid of Syria, and St. Jerome lived as a hermit from 373 to 380.  

In the 5th cent. the first of the Stylists, St. Simeon, makes his appearance in the north of Syria (Theod. Hist. Rel. 26 (P.G. 30:546). This strange form of monastic life survived as late as the 15th century.  

(c) Asia Minor. — In Asia Minor in the 3rd cent. Montanism (q.v.) had appeared—a movement in the direction of excessive ultra-ascesis. In Pamphylia in the 4th and 5th centuries the Euchite or Messalian monks allowed themselves to be carried away by the same excessive views, and appear also to have undergone Manichean influences. They were always resisted by the Church and were finally condemned, but revived during the Middle Ages in the sects of the Paulicians and Bogomils.  

Constantines of Sebastos, who introduced monasticism into Armenia, Papphagonia, and Pontus, was of Egyptian origin and a disciple of Arius. He exercised a wide influence on monasticism in that part of the world and spread his errors abroad. His disciples, the Eustathians, were condemned by the Church.  

The Council of Gangra in 341 gave valuable information concerning the history of the ascetics and monks and the excesses of some of whom it condemns.  

(7) Cyprus. — It was chiefly in Cappadocia and under the inspiration of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Basil, the real legislator of the monks of the East, that monasticism started its true development. Basil had become acquainted with the monastic life in Syria and in Palestine. He declared himself distinctly in favour of the cenobitic type, and it was for cenobites that he wrote his Rule, or rather his Rules (see above, p. 782). The Rule of St. Basil has remained in use in the East to the present day. It does not enter into details, but lays down in general the virtues and duties of the monk. The monk is the perfect Christian; the ascetic life does not consist merely in carrying out certain practices, but in the sanctification of one's whole being and in the love of one's neighbour. One must raise up and perfect nature and not destroy it. Christian perfection, completeness, elevates, and purifies the wisdom of the ancients. In his monasteries the education of children was undertaken, and work was recommended and encouraged. The public prayer of the community was already organized, and we find the various Hours of Matins, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers, and the Night Office (accordianum).  

(g) Cyprus. — According to St. Jerome, monasticism was brought to the island of Cyprus by Hilarius. St. Ephraimians, who had himself been a monk in Palestine, defended the monks with ardour.  

(8) Constantinople. — When Palestine and Egypt had ceased to be the chief centres of monastic life in the East, it was Constantinople, and, later, Mt. Athos, that succeeded to that position. The foundations attributed to Constantine or to the time of his immediate successors can, however, be admitted only with reserve. It was not till towards the end of the 6th cent. and especially during the course of the 9th cent. that monasticism began its development at Constantinople. In the reign of Justinian there were no fewer than 80 monasteries at Constantinople, and the emperor legislated for the monastic life as for all other institutions of the empire. The Acomates and the Studites receive a long study to themselves; they have already formed the subject of monographs, to which we can here only draw attention in passing. The names of St. Macarius and Theodore the Studite recall the long strife maintained by the monks on the question of the iconoclasm.  

(j) Mount Athos. — From the 9th, but especially during the 10th, cent. the peninsula of Mt. Athos, in the Aegean Sea, became a monastic centre of the highest importance, and formed a kind of monastic republic. Safe in their monasteries, built for the most part on steep cliffs, defended by the sea and by the thickness of their walls, the monks of this peninsula, which is connected with the mainland only by a narrow isthmus, were able to defy all attacks, and the cemeteries here, as in Palestine, have survived to the present day. The history of this monastic colony may be given in a few words. The origin of monasticism on Mt. Athos is obscure. The first testimony on which we can depend is found in the 9th cent., but it is probable that long before that there were hermits living among the rocks and in the forests of this peninsula, so well fitted for the solitary life. The year 963 is the date of the foundation of the first great monastery by St. Athanasius, one of the most celebrated of the Athos monks. From this date onwards foundations followed one another in rapid succession. The great monasteries of Ivron, Vatopedi, Xeropotamou, Esphigmenou, Dochiariou, Agios Paulos, etc., rose up in different parts of the holy mountain from the 10th to the 14th century. The latest in date is the monastery of Stavrinitika, founded in 1542. A number of smaller houses and simple hermitages depend upon these greater monasteries. The Rule followed is that of St. Basil. The monasteries form a kind of confederation or little republic, which is represented by 20 members, constituting a sort of tribunal under the direction of 4 presidents, one of whom has the title of psephos. In each monastery the psephos enjoys supreme authority. In the 14th cent. the hierarchic form of life (kathedria) was introduced, in accordance with which, in certain of the monasteries, the monks possess money of their own and enjoy a number of dispensations. Autonomously during a certain period, the governing council of Mt. Athos was finally subjected to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. Under the various governments and dynasties that succeeded one another in the East—the Cenomani, the Paleologi, even the Turks themselves, and the laocopoian spirit—the liberty of the monks of Mt. Athos was always respected. Painting, architecture, and calligraphy were cultivated with success, and their libraries contain MSS of the highest value.  


2 See Marin and Pargowe, loc. cit.  

3 See *Lesuites de l'Egypte aux royaumes de l'Ouest* (Paris, 1907, etc.), p. 398.  

4 For Lycophron, Liber Historiae descriptae, see Revue des questions hist. lv. (1890) 98-118.  


7 See *Lesuites de l'Egypte aux royaumes de l'Ouest,* Paris, 1907, etc., p. 398.  

8 See *Lesuites de l'Egypte aux royaumes de l'Ouest,* Paris, 1907, etc., p. 398.  


banks of Lake Fusino, on the islands off the Mediterranean coast of Italy, Gorgona, Capnaja, Sardina, and the Sardinia coast. While in the 486 inscriptions of the catacombs, careful mention is made of all the various degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy—even down to that of fossor—no allusion has ever been found to ascetic, anchorite, cenobite, or monastic. The Rule of St. Benedict, Rome of monks or of consecrated virgins, and of monasteries at that period cannot, however, be denied. We leave on one side the legends of Boniface and Agilulf, which is not the more than a conjecture. What is certain is that the minister of Theodoric, on his property, Vivarium, gave the example of a monastery where the ascetic prince Constantine's daughter, Agnes, a community of virgins. It was in a Roman monastery also that St. Marcellina, sister of St. Ambrose, consecrated to God by the emperor's command, along with Fabiola, lived the ascetic life, and founded near the mouth of the Tiber a hospice which was served by monks. St. Athanasius arrived in Rome after 339, accompanied by two Egyptian monks. He remained there three years and inspired this community, so deeply Christian in spirit, with admiration of and sympathy with the monastic ideal of the Thebaid. He made the monks of his monastery in the Gbala society of Rome, and Marcella, daughter of the widow Albina, along with Melania the Elder, devoted herself to the life. A community of ascetics and cenobites lived on the Aventine, from which stand out names such as those of Sophronia, Asella, Paula, and Fabiola. The favour shown towards such institutions by Pope Damasus I, 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. 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. 390).

In the rest of Italy the progress of monasticism was scarcely less rapid than in Rome itself. In the middle of the 4th cent. Eusebius of Vercelli, till then exiled in Egypt, returned to his church (365) and obliged the clergy of his cathedral to submit to the monastic rule of life. His example was soon followed in Milan by St. Ambrose, and at Aquileia, while Cremona, under the bishop Vincent (407-422), Novara, under the bishop Gandintius (397-417), Bologna, Ravenna, under St. Apollinaris, Rimini, under the bishop Emmonius, and Turin, under the bishop Victor, all favoured the monastic movement.


4 On the High Monasteries of the six Monuments in Italy, in vieni suoi evam Evan. zu den Autoren der heil. Benedict, Vienna, 1890, p. 29; Lechero, DACL, III 21376.

5 Gregorius, in DACL, II 3176.

6 On Vigilantius cf. below, p. 791.


8 Malnery, op. cit.


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period, to cite the names of Vincent of Lérins and Salvianus.

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. 787); and, it may be said, in the whole of the Western world. He founded the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, which became renowned, and other monasteries also.1

St. Genesius, bishop of Arles, must also be regarded as one of the principal monastic legislators of Gaul.2 We can only mention the monasteries founded by Leonian in the diocese of Vienne, by St. Theudaire in Isère, in the Isle Barbe, at Condat (St. Claude), and at St. Maurice of Agarum, and by SS. Romanus and Lupicinus in the Jura.3

(c) Britain, Ireland, the Celts.—The monastic life was established fairly early among the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, and underwent an evolution which is quite distinct from theirs. An introduction into Great Britain was due to St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who came to the island in 430 to restore ecclesiastical discipline. In Wales Llantud, Llanearvon, Ty-Gwen, and Bangor soon became renowned. Some of the monks from these monasteries—St. Gildas, St. Lunain, St. Paul Anreilan, and St. Sansan—established the monastic life in Brittany (Armorica), where it also made great advance.4 Monasticism in Ireland has much in common with that of Brittany, to which it seems, in fact, to owe its origin. The name of St. Columba and that of his foundation at Iona stand out conspicuously in its history. Although we must not forget to mention among the Celtic monks, although his chief foundation, Luxeuil, 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.5

(d) Spain.—In Spain the beginnings of the monastic life are somewhat obscure. The Council of Elvira (c. 360) makes no allusion whatever to either ascetics or virgins. The Peregrinatio Ethisor belongs to the last quarter of the 4th century. It is the last of her journeying in the East and her pilgrimages to the holy places, sent to her nuns in Spain by a Spanish virgin named Ethisor, or Egeria, who, in all probability, abbev the community to which she writes.6 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 contemporary of St. Fructuosus, probably comes from a Priscillianist source, in the 5th century. It is a Rule for censitae, original in character.7

The Rule of St. Isidore (+ 630) and that of St. Fructuosus of Braga (c. 690) also deserve mention. They enjoyed considerable success until the advent of the Rule of St. Benedict in Spain, which, however, there, as in almost the whole of the Western world, the only Rule for monks.8

Vigilius, who represents the element hostile to the monks and ascetics, was a priest at Barcelona in 396. 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.9

The Council of Tarragona, in 516, turned its attention to the monks.10 St. Martin, abbot of Dumio near Braga, who is known as St. Martin of Braga, and who had been a monk before, played so important a part in the history of the conversion of the Suevi, laboured at the restoration of the monastic life in Spain.11 Two other bishop, SS. Leonardi and Isidore, also worked for the same end. The first wrote a Rule for the use of virgins, and the second drew up a Rule for monks.12 The latter was already known to St. Leander, the friend of St. Gregory the Great, and to Teja, 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.13 Besides these names and monasticism, between the date of the conversion of Visigothic Spain (587) and that of the Arab invasion (711), these of certain monks and hermits—the African Donatus, who, along with 70 monks, also from Africa, took refuge in the monastery of Servitannum, in the province of Valencia; St. Emilian, who enjoyed a wide-spread cultus in Spain; the hermit, Valerius, in the neighbourhood of Astorga, etc.14

(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, in Libya, he lived with some of his friends in a house, where they devoted themselves to the practices of asceticism. Ordained priest, he founded a second monastery at Hippo, where he lived himself till he was made bishop in 386. 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 example.15

2 Maloney, op. cit.
5 C. F. R. de Montalembert has devoted the history of the Controverses and the large portion of his book Les Moines d’Occident, Paris, 1880; see esp. bk. xiii.-xiii. ; see also La Broderie, op. cit., p. 509.
7 See above, p. 787.
8 L. Revue des moines prêts, in Rome Benedictine, xxv. 65-65.
9 On the Regula Consensoria of St. Fructuosus see T. Heremans, ’Le Patient du fait de St. Fructuosus et le Patient de St. Fructosus—a curious form of religious profession—besides Heremans, see F. Heitz, Die Regula Monachorum Iadem de Seria und Ihr Verhältnis zu den früheren abendländischen Monasterien in der Welt, Mainz, 1900.
11 With regard to the Patrim de la Controversie and the Patroclums, see T. Heremans, op. cit., p. 65.
14 ibid., p. 651.

17 C. F. R. de Montalembert, ib. 1561; Leclercq, L’Eglise chrétienne, p. 851.
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example, and Hafrumetum, Uzala, Calame, Cirta, Mileve, and Cartage became real centres of monastic life. The Regula pro Monachis attributed to St. Augustine was the starting point of the development of religious communities, as we have already said, but it is drawn from his letter (c. 373) to religious bodies of both sexes living in poverty and chastity, passing their time in prayer and ascetic practices, 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 his works bear witness. We have already spoken of his Dialogue, de Operis Monachorum, composed in the year 400.

The Vandal persecution was unable to destroy all these monasteries, but it arrested for some time the progress of monasticism in Africa. Byzantine rule (533–791) restored peace and liberty, and a true renascence of religion took place, in which monasticism naturally benefited. Several new monasteries were founded, notably at Ruspe and at Tebessa. The ruins of the latter still exist. But the Muslim 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 find a flourishing work among the Scythian people of Noricum († 482), called the "apostle of Noricum."

2. From St. Benedict to the 13th Century.—St. Benedict, born at Nursia (c. 450), 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 driven out the Sabini, 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, was to become 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 mildness towards the poor. It lays down the order of the psalmody. The monastery forms, as it were, a little city or, better, a complete society provided with all its necessary offices. At the head of the monastery 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 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 oblates receive necessary instruction. General meetings of the monks are held under this form: those who oppose against the Rule must receive punishment according to their deserts. Such is, in summary, the Rule of St. Benedict—a Rule characterized by great simplicity, but in which is clearly reflected the stern and austere justice which was the genius of the Roman character, while at the same time it is penetrated through and through by the purest spirit of Christian asceticism, and rivals in its discretion and its sublimity of view the Rule of St. Basil itself.

St. Gregory († 604), the greatest of all the ages of the early Middle Ages, in giving to this Rule the support of his authority and in recounting, 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, the Cellarum, 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 instilled into them the Rule which was destined to take such firm root there and to spread far and wide over the land.

(e) 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 abbots the bishop of the diocese that was thus gradually formed. The kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons 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 604 to the Norman Conquest in 1066 is one of the finest pages 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 abbeys and monks Aidan, Oswald, Wilfrid, Theodore, Wulfstan, Æthelhelm, Boniface, Bede, Alcuin, Odo, Dunstan; among the latter are Canterbury, Westminster, Malmesbury, York, Lindisfarne, Ripon, Peterborough, Wyton, Wearmouth, Croyland, Whithorn, Coldingham, Tynemouth, 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 and 12th centuries, 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, Fountains, and many other places. St. Stephen Harding, who founded the order of Citeaux and gave it an influence on the order of Citeaux and gave its organization, was an Englishman. The order

1. On the Rule of St. Benedict see the edd. and works of E. Schmidt (Bâle, 1867), E. Wolfart (Leipzig, 1875), L. Urban (Munich, 1890), F. Butel, Mort, etc., revised in and

2. Regulae, in B.A.C. II. 664; Plunkett, op. cit.
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of Savigny, which also had numerous foundations in England, was absorbed by that of Citeaux. But with the 14th and 15th centuries English monasticism began to decline.

(b) France. However, great was the success of the Benedictine life in England, it may be said with truth, if its history be regarded as a whole, that France was the land of its predilection. The story of St. Bernard, brought from the Merovingian Gaul by his disciple, St. Maurus, and of the latter's foundation of the abbey of Glanfeuil on the banks of the Loire as the first Benedictine monastery in that country, has been contested.2

While the truth of this question may be uncertain, it is certain that the Rule was introduced into France at an early date—from the beginning of the 7th cent.—and it spread there with such rapidity that it soon succeeded in supplanting the Rule of Columban and in imposing its authority on all the monasteries. A synod held at Autun, in 670, speaks of it as though it were the only monastic Rule in existence, and that of Chalon, in 813, declares formally that it is followed in almost all the monasteries of the country.3 The movement attained its apogee under Charlemagne, the great protector of the Benedictine monks, and under his son, Louis le Démonnaire. The reform of St. Benedict wasucus at once to the unity and to the vitality of Benedictine life.

It is again in France that we must seek the origin of the important monastic reform of which Cluny was the cradle, and which, little by little, spread beyond the limits of France into Italy, Spain, England, Germany, and Poland. The abbey of Cluny, near Macon, was founded by William, Duke of Aquitaine, in 910; the monks were brought from the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours, where the Constitutions of St. Benedict of Aniane were followed; hence the Cluniac reform sprang from that of the 9th century. Its first abbeys, Bernon, Oño, Mayen, Hugh, Odilo, and Peter the Venerable, raised Cluny to the highest degree of prosperity and extended its influence to every country in Christian Europe. The work of Cluny, in the religious, social, and political order, was considerable; during the 11th and 12th centuries it exercised an unrivalled influence on Christian morals and institutions. From the political and religious points of view, it offered to the popes a valuable and independent assistance in their struggle against the emperors of Germany, and the latter, as well as the kings of France, were obliged, more than once, to reconvene the powerful abbey.

Among the monasteries that accepted the Cluniac reform and flourished under it must be cited especially the great abbeys of Moissac, St. Martial, Uzercelle, St. Jean d'Angely, St. Bertin, St. Germain d'Auxerre, and Vevey in France, and Cava, Paris, and S. Paolo fuori le mura in Italy.4

At the very moment when the influence of Cluny began to decline, a new star arose on the monastic horizon. On 21st March 1098, Robert, abbot of Molesmes, founded in the diocese of Dijon the abbey of Citeaux, which was to become the centre of a new reform of Benedictine life. Although the new foundation was not without opposition, it was undoubtedly the most successful. Its success was not only spiritual, but also material; in 1109, St. Bernard, returned to an austere conception of the monastic life. All sumptuousness and solemnity, even in the liturgical offices, were proscribed, monastic architecture was renounced, 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.5

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 in the 17th cent. in the celebrated reform of La Trappe under the Abbé de Rancé.6

(c) Germany.—Before the introduction of the Benedictine Rule into Germany, monastic life was but feebly represented in that country. The Anglo-Saxon monks, SS. Firmin 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 during the 6th cent. being found in the life of St. Eugenius.7

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. Odile, Honau (Onogis), and Aschaffenburg, not to speak of those at Strasburg, Mains, Cologne, Ratibroh, Wurzburg, Erfurt, and Heggbach.8

In 1136 all the Scottish monasteries of Germany were united to form a congregation, under the jurisdiction of the abbot of St. James of Ratisbon, by Innocent III. Gradually the number of Scotch- Irish monks that were at first continually coming into Germany began to diminish, and by the 15th cent. they were replaced by Germans. This congregation ended by entering that of Bursfeld and becoming one with it. Mention, however, is made in the 17th cent. of a Scotch abbot, Ogilvie by name (1640). Reichenau on Lake Constance began, in 724, a history glorious in monastic annals, and Murbach, Fritzlar, Hildesheim, and Bischofsheim are scarcely less famous. Fulda, in the days of its prosperity, counted 100 monks among its inmates and became a nursery-ground for missionaries, of whom the chief were to play an important part in the history of Christian Germany. Such were Stemmich, Willibald, Wuntibald, and also SS. Walburga, Lioba, and Thekla, who were 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. Worth of special mention are the monasteries of Schussenried, Reichenau, and St. Gall.

3 Hefele-Leclerc, Conciles, ill. 1144; Bone, Les Monastits de l'Occident, Paris, 1899.
6 La Trappe (in the diocese of Sées, Orne). On La Trappe and its history see Ch Avery, Repertoires: Topo-bibliographie, s. a. "Trappe.
3. From the 13th to the 20th century.—In the 13th cent., whilst monasticism, in spite of all these attempts at reform, continued to decline, new forms of the religious life arose which answered better perhaps to the spirit of the age. These, which none of them drew numerous souls athirst for perfection and formed a current which, although not actually inimical to the ancient monastic institutions, was as a matter of course quite 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 orders, but the attempts at reformation were not less numerous than in the preceding centuries. The Council of Constance (1417) consecrated some of its decrees to the reformation of the Benedictine order, and was the factor that inspired a great meeting, comprising 131 abbots of various monasteries, which was held at Petershausen in 1417. In 1418 Pope Martin V. sent the abbot of Subiaco, Nicholas Snyringer, to Melk, the great Austrian abbey, to lay the foundation of that restoration of monastic life. The enterprise was successful, and a great number of monasteries of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia rallied to the movement—inter alia, Mariazell, Seitenstetten, St. Peter of Salzburg, Kremsmünster, St. Emmeran of Ratisbon, Braunau, Tegernsee. The great Italian abbies of Subiaco and Parma also accepted this reformation. In other respects all these monasteries remained independent and did not form a real congregation.

The Council of Trent dealt with the question of monasteries as it did with all other Christian institutions. The 26th Session (3rd Dec. 1563) treats de regularibus et mendicilibus, renewing the decrees of Innocent III. and of the 4th Lateran Council, unites the exempt monasteries into the usual congregations, institutes, general chapters, and cloisters, and legislates concerning visitors, presidents of congregations, novices, and the election of superiors and monks. In a word, it establishes a collection of rules and laws concerning the monastic life. Congregations were immediately reformed on those principles.

Even more important than the Melk reformation, so far at least as Germany is concerned, was that of Bursfeld. Founded in 1006 on the banks of the Weser and colonized by Corby, this abbey was destined to play an important part in the monastic history from the 15th cent. John 3

3 And now it is not, in reality, till the 15th cent. that we find among the Cistercians the usage of general chapters properly so called. From the Cistercians the practice passed to the Benedictines and from them to other orders (cf. Berliner, "Les Chapires generales," in Mélanges d'hist. bénédictine, 4th ser., 2nd series, 1892, p. 92 f., and Heimbucher, i. 274 f.).


5 Petrus ab Audenaro (Wallonscopple), Institutionum monasticarum secundum Clementis V. et Filii Eius Decretalium Decreta, Cologne, 1588.
MONASTICISM

Deleroth († 1439), who had already reformed the abbey of Clus, took Bursfeld in hand in 1433 and also Rheinhessen. The three monasteries remained clerical for a long time. In 1446 the abbey of Bursfeld began the presidency of the congregation. The constitutions show a solid organization, with general chapters, visitors, and every means of safeguarding the observance of piety and regularity. The congregation grew from day to day. The cardinal of Cusa,1 Nicolaus v., and Pius II., became its ardent promoters. At the death of Abbot Johann von Hagen (1469) the congregation numbered 36 monasteries, which later increased to 102.2 In 1488 the abbey of Bursfeld, which up to this time had been the head-house of the congregation, went over to Protestantism under the influence of Julius of Brunswick, and the congregation was itself secularized in 1803.

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 Cooye (1050) 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 the observance of the Cluniac gradually it prevailed, until it finally eliminated the observance instituted by St. Isidore. In the 14th and 15th centuries two important congregations rose up, those of Valladolid (1590) and Manserrat (1429). The latter made foundations in Portugal, Peru, and Mexico.3 The movement of the crusades at Saragossa and at Tarragona was less important.

The Low Countries were a monastic land for centuries. Wilfrid of York, on the occasion of a journey in 678, having been thrown on the shores of Friesland, was there welcomed with great warmth. After his return to his monastery at Ripon, he sent over Willibrord, one of 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 missionaries soon came from Iona, and, like England, the country became Christian and monastic at the same time. The most celebrated of these foundations was the monastery of Echternach.4

The Reform in Germany in the 16th cent. led to the establishment of new abbacies from the already existing 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 Peaceful War more than 1000 monasteries and castles were destroyed. A few monasteries were, however, saved from the general ruin (cf. Heimbucher, l. c. 250).

In England the effects of the Protestant Reform were still more terrible for the monasteries. In 1524 the Holy See had caused Cardinal Wolsey to make a visitation of the monasteries, and one of the consequences of this general visit was their complete liquidation. In 1534, under Henry VIII. and his minister Thomas Cromwell, Elizabeth finished the work of destruction in 1560. Scotland's turn came later on (1569).

1 For this great man's influence in the reformation of the monasteries of Germany, Switzerland, and Spain, cf. Heimbucher, l. c.
3 Helyot, vi. 236 f.; Curiel, Congregatio Hispano-benedictina; cf. Studien und Mittheilungen, xxv., xxvi., xxvii.
4 Benson, Reise Benediktiner, vii. (1860); P. H. F. Wünderlich, Die St. Wibald-Stiftung in Echternach, Echternach, 1890; Heimbucher, l. c. 233; Chevallier, Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie, l. c. 233.

In all it has been estimated that 578 monasteries, of which 63 were Benedictine, were confiscated. Besides the falls and lamentable deceptions there were not a few actual martyrs, and who paid with their lives their fidelity to their vows.5 Benedictine life was maintained throughout all these centuries of persecution, and the Anglo-Benedictine congregation has preserved the inheritance of its ancestors to the present day.

The Reformation which destroyed the monasteries in England and Germany did not succeed in establishing itself in France. There the monasteries held out. In the 19th century a great number of important monastic restorations were undertaken by Benedictine foundations of Buxeuil and Latour, and by the Benedictine congregation 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 Montfaucq, a Demys de Sainte-Marie, a Bouquet, a Constant, a Rainart, etc.—a school that has never been equalled.6 A certain number of new orders which practised the monastic life and accepted the Rule of St. Benedict as their fundamental guide may be regarded as branches of the Benedictine order. We can give only a very brief outline of their history here.

(a) Sylvarestes.—The first of these orders sprang from the Benedictine trunk is the Sylvarestes, so called from the name of its founder, Sylvester Gonzelin, of the family of Gozzolini († 1267). In 1227 he retired to Osimo and followed the Rule of St. Benedict, adding new austerities, until in a short time a few ancient monasteries took their place under the new discipline. At the time of its greatest prosperity it comprised 56 monasteries, the greater part of which were in Italy and a few in Portugal and Brazil. At the present day its number is greatly diminished. The church of St. Stephen del Caccio in Rome now belongs to them.

(b) Celestines.—The Celestines are a more important branch than the Sylvarestes. They gave 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 Monte Majela. He endeavoured to combine under one monastic system the two monastic orders, the observance of life the cenobitic principle of the Benedictines and the practices of the anchoritic 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 90 were in Italy and 21 in France.7

(c) Olivetans.—The Olivetans were founded by Bernard Tolomei († 1348), a professor of Law at Siena, who, in company with a few companions, retired to Mount Oliveto, some leagues from Siena, A. Schwein, English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution, Oxford, 1909; Gauguet, Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries, London, 1888; Oxoni. spec. edit.
9 See Tabulae di Marmorebi, Histoire d'eglises, etc., illustri per ascendit dei ordine dei Celestini, Bologna, 1648; on Celestine v. D. Ait, May, 1815, 608, and Heimbucher, l. c. 299.
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. Monasteries were not allowed to be founded in their name. Fourteen years after its foundation more than 100 monasteries, including Monte Cassino, had rallied to this mode of life. The monasteries were those of San Miniato in Florence, and Settignano and S. Francesco Romana at Rome. Among their members there are counted 4 cardinals, 5 archbishops, 30 bishops, and a few savants, such as Lancelotti, Bianchiere, etc.

(d) Humilitati, Pulsoano, and Monte Vergine.

Three other orders or congregations—the Humilitati, Pulsoano, and Monte Vergine—are also offshoots in Italy of the Benedictine tree. The first was founded in the 12th cent., with the aid of St. Bernardo, by St. John Oldrado (+ 1159) near Cosmo, but later they joined the partisan demagogues of Arnold of Brescia and then the Waldensians. St. Charles Borromeo made a futile attempt to reform them; the rebel monks tried to get rid of the saint by endeavouring to bring about his death, and were consequently suppressed by St. Pius V. in 1571. The order of Pulsoano, which never made any great progress, was founded by St. John de Mata (+ 1100), that of the Guilmelmites or hermit Benedictines of Monte Vergine, was founded by a friend of St. John de Mata—St. William (Lat. Guillemel) of Varcelli (+ 1140), who had at first lived as a hermit on Monte Vergine, in the neighbourhood of Naples. He had a certain number of followers, and built several other monasteries in Italy and even as far off as Sicily. The monastery of Monte Vergine lavishly, and has retained the centre of a very flourishing pilgrimage.

(e) Fontellanese. Among the reforms in the Benedictine order we must not omit mention that of Fontellanese under the inspiration of St. Peter Damian (+ 1072) at Faenza in Umbria. St. Peter Damian (+ 1072) was its most powerful and most fervent promoter, and St. Dominic de Cimiez (+ ‘the armoured’) is also one of its glories. Its Rule added new austerities to those of St. Benedict's. In 1570 it was united to the Camaldolese.

(f) Camaldolese. This was one of the most numerous and most powerful of the congregations of the Benedictine order. They essayed to combine the cenobitic with the anchoritic mode of life. At one time they numbered 3000 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 at first abbot of San Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and withdrew thence to Campo Malcolli (whence the name 'Camaldoli' or 'Camaldolese') in the Apenines with a colony of hermits.

(g) Vallombrosa. The order of Vallombrosa was founded by St. John Gualbert (+ 1079) at Vallombrosa in Tuscany. The founder, who was no ignoramus 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 in the history of the Church in the 12th century. It enjoyed the credit, although of much less importance—the order of Grammont and that of Fontevrault. The first resembles the Camaldolese order. Its founder, St. Stephen of Muret, near Limoges (+ 1143), where he lived a very mortified life, withdrew to Marmoutier or Grammont, a place which was at that time a desert in the same country. His order was more or less a success in France, and at one time numbered about 60 monasteries. Fontevrault (Pons Eboracii), in the Department of Maine-et-Loire, gave its name to the order founded by St. Robert of Arbrissel, who renewed an ancient institution, namely, that of double monasteries. 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 Fontevrault remained the principal house. The most rigorous discipline was prescribed by St. Robert in the monasteries thus brought together.

There were also a few partial reformations that arose in certain great abbeys which we might call monastic capitals. Charles, Duke of L'Abbé de Cime, Sasso-Bigno, Sacre Major, Le Bec, Thiron, Savigny, St.-Sulpice, and Cadouin.

(i) Mechtiristai. The Mechtiriists represented one of the most curious attempts at reform in the Benedictine order. Mechtir (Mechtor, + 1749) was an Armenian who, with the object of enlightening his fellow-countrymen concerning the Roman Catholic Church, resolved to found an order consecrated to the work of the mission and the education of the 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 1810, is also celebrated for its printing-press and its seminary.

(j) Carthusians. The Carthusians, like the Camaldolese, represent a mixture of the anchoritic and the cenobitic mode of life in Western monasticism. St. Bruno, their founder, withdrew to the desert of the Chartreuse (whence the name 'Carcasion') 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 weekly walk. They have always been noted for their fervour, for their zeal for the missionary work, and for the extent of their possessions.
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 for the art treasures which they contain.1

The 19th cent. was one of restoration for monas-
ticism in England, Germany, Austria, and Italy the ancient monastic congregations and the
great abbeys were maintained in spite of all diffi-
culties, some attempts at monastic restoration were made in France, Italy, Spain, and the United
States of America. It will suffice to refer the reader to the
article 'Benedictine Order,' in CE ii. 443–465, 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
summarize the history of the monastics as
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, historians, poets, artists, teachers, and, at times, as politicians. It would then be seen that, although
vowed by their monastic profession to a life of
retreat and renunciation, which is the kernel of the
monastic ideal, the monks have accomplished a
work that has been equalled by no other society
down to the present day.

If this résumé of monastic history had any pre-
tensions to completeness, some mention should here be
made of the nuns, in whose ranks we find characters as remarkable as those of Lieba, Mech-
tild, Gertrude, Hildegard, Roswitha, and others. From
the historical point of view, however, this is
unnecessary. The nuns brought no new element in
the movement, but they contributed to follow in
the footsteps of the monks under the influence of
the great reformers of the monastic order.

LITERATURE.—U. Berlière, L'Ordre monastique des origines de XIXe siècle, Marseilles, 1912; E. C. Butler, 'Monasticism,' in Cambridge 

For a complete bibliography see Heimbucher, i. 641; art. 'Monasticism,' in CE x. 465, 467, 477; art. 'Mönchheit,' in PEB xii. 214 ff.; Berlière, op. cit. (bibliography at the end of each chapter), and Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine, 1906–12. Suppl. to The Church History of the Middle Ages, Marseilles, 1912; Butler, op. cit. pp. 688–687; Leclercq, loc. cit., and Chevallier, Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie, loc. cit.

F. CâBEL.

MONASTICISM (Buddhist).—1. The monastic
order. The monastic order in Buddhism, as
instituted by Gautama Buddha himself, was not
equipped from the beginning with the structure
from ancient Hindu usage and practice. Separation
from the world, in the solitaria existence of a hermit or ascetic in or regulated communities, had
been almost from time immemorial a characteristic feature of life. The 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 precessors, and to which, in large part, at least, it owed its extension, was the removal of all restrictions of caste.

Membership of the order was open to all from the
highest to the lowest, without distinction of race or
birth. All alike who renounced the ties of family,
poverty, relinquished all personal or individual possession of worldly goods, and sought in meditation and spiritual endeavour that deliverance from the bonds of existence and misery, which the
Buddha taught, could never be achieved in the
murmur and distraction of life in the world. To
direct, therefore, the life of renunciation and strenuous
pursuit of the highest aim to which they
pledged themselves the monks were known as bhiksuk, beggars, brahmans or iri Maneras,
devourers, the latter term being given to the
novices or junior monks, and sthaviras, elders, to
those who were the senior or ruling members in
the monasteries. The community of monks as a 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 as a sacred character, and ultimately became the object of a definite worship.1 On the sculptures the Sangha 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 established homes of the monks. To the
latter no permanent abodes were assigned, but
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 huts constructed of
leaves and branches (paravastu, pannasattavä). Only
during Vasas (Vara), the season of the rains, when
travelling became impracticable or could be
prosecuted 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 dwellings
of the early Buddhist monks. Ganttana is represented as giving permission for five different
kinds of abodes (pancha laññat): 'I allow you, O
Shikshas, dwellers in the caves, and those who
build up (vadha-rupa), storied dwellings, huts, caves.2' These 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 sasghavatana, the abode or
delight of the Saṅgha; and the term vihāra was employed also to denote the temple where the images were enthroned, in a building which, in the great
monasteries at least, was usually distinct from
the main hall.

It became necessary, moreover, at an early date
to place restrictions upon the wandering life, but was derived
from ancient Hindu usage and practice.
MONASTICISM (Buddhist)

monasteries regular instruction was given to the brāmaneras, or junior monks, and an elementary education was thus available for the entire male population. There were no public services, however, within the monasteries, nor any worship in the usual sense as we have it. Only in Vassa did the monks ordinarily engage in preaching, or place themselves at the service of the laity for the reading of the Scriptures or prayer. Twice a month at the new and full moons, and every day except the days of abstinence and fasting, the pratimoksa, or confession of sin, was to be formally recited at a full chapter of the monks. Later a weekly recitation was instituted, which included the intermediate days, on the seventh and twenty-first of the lunar month.

In intention and practice, therefore, the Sāṅgha formed a brotherhood, within which no distinction was made of rank or birth; age, learning, and seniority formed the only title to authority and respect. The control of the monasteries was in the hands of the athawiras, the elders or senior monks. The upādhyayas or āchāryas were ordained members of the fraternity of some years’ standing, qualified by character and learning to give instruction and to conduct the recitations and prayers. The novices or junior monks were required to devote themselves to study, to perform the various ritual duties of the monastery buildings, to wait upon the senior monks, and sometimes to attend them when they moved abroad. All alike pledged themselves to obey the rules and discipline of the order. There were, however, no imperious rules, and the monk was free at any time without blame to discard his robes and return to the world. In this way in some Buddhist countries the entire male population passed through the monasteries, and upon them a less strict discipline and obligation were imposed. Nothing further probably was required of them than to recite the ‘three-refuge formula.’ They took no part in the regular life of the monastery, did not join in the daily hierarchy for alms, and waited at the direction of the monks. The outside laity also were accustomed to visit the monasteries to make offerings at the shrines.

The rules of extreme poverty incumbent upon the monks individually did not extend to the monasteries in their corporate capacity. These might be and often were powerful and wealthy corporations, possessed of great resources, and wielding a corresponding influence in the neighbouring districts. Their property consisted for the most part of land and the revenues of estates or villages which had been granted to them in perpetuity by wealthy patrons, whose piety and liberality earned its recompense in the merit which thereby accreted to the donor. Gifts in money as well as in kind were frequently bestowed. Sometimes also these donations took the form of the building and furnishing of monasteries for the use of the brethren. Such benefactions are recorded within the life of Gautama himself. He gave his permission for the dedication of the estate and buildings, expressed his pleasure at the meritorious service of his followers, and prophesied of the future exaltation of the brethren. In the usual sense of the term the word pittānāthā, ‘release,’ ‘liberation,’ that the term ordinarily conveyed this meaning there can be no doubt. Its original significance is in dispute (see Kern, pp. 74 and note, 857).

1 Th. 11, 39. 2 Th. 52, 35. See art. Initiation (Buddhist).

The regulations with regard to clothing appear to have been laid down at an early period and directed against the Jain ascetics, who were about unclothed.

3 Pittānāthā, ‘release,’ ‘liberation.’ That the term ordinarily conveyed this meaning there can be no doubt. Its original significance is in dispute (see Kern, pp. 74 and note, 857).

4 Mathe. viii. 12.
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. In Ceylon, with the exception of a few that are more influential and renowned, the buildings are small, and shelter few inmates. In Mongolia and Tibet they are large and elaborately furnished and decorated, and frequently occupy imposing positions of great natural beauty. Burma 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 Buddhist 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 (bhikkhunī, Pāli bhikkhunī). The traditional account relates that at the three-repeated request of Mahāpajāpati, Gautama’s aunt and nurse, strongly supported by Ānanda, the Buddha gave his permission for women to ‘go out from the household life and enter the homeless life under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata.’ The permission, however, would prove disastrous, so Gautama prophesied, to the prosperity and duration of the faith which he taught; the pure religion and the good law would endure only for five hundred years instead of a thousand. On the same occasion he prescribed the obligations and duties of the bhikkhunī contained in ‘Eight Chief Rules,’ to which they were bound in strict obedience. The regulations involved subervience to the guidance and discipline assumed by such a nun is 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 bhikkhunīs has not been repeated since the establishment of nunnery in reality due to an error of the founding 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 others, in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, found monasticism flourishing in N. India, and the great monasteries with their thousand learners and studious monks exercised a powerful and attractive influence. They belonged in almost equal proportion to the two great schools of Buddhist doctrine, the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna (p. 84). 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 Brahmins. The most famous Buddhist monastery was that at Nālandā, the modern Bara-ṇā-gāon near Gayā (q.v.), a description of which is given by the latter pilgrim. See, further, art. NALANDA.

4. Ceylon.—In Ceylon the power and influence of the community 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 in political affairs. The rulers themselves received abhijñā (q.v.) at the hands of the monks, who not only offered advice and exercised authority in matters of State, but also judged decreed 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 flourishing period of monastic life, when the communities of the monks were most numerous and wealthy, appears to have been from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 10th cent. after Christ, when the Tamil invaders from S. India began to overrun the island, and the Mahāvihāra, which was then the chief home of religious faith and prosperity, destroying the monasteries and introducing the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. Towards the close of the 12th cent., a brief revival of national religion took place with the re-establishment of national independence under Parākrama the Great († c. A.D. 1197). 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 Mahāvīra-saṅga, or ‘Great Chronicle,’ a native record of religious and political events in the island from the introduction of Buddhism by Mahinda (Mahendra), the son, or, according to the Pali, Huen-Tsiang, the younger brother of Asoka, at the close of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., to the reign of King Mahāsena in the earlier part of the 4th cent. A.D. There is also a collection of devotional ‘songs’ or ‘psalms’ of monks (Theragāthā) contained in the Sutta-Piṭaka of the Pali Scriptures, which throws much light on the thoughts and aspirations of the inmates of the monasteries, and gives us the whole a high conception of their piety and self-denying spirit. A similar collection of Therigāthā, ‘Songs of the Nuns,’ forms part of the same Piṭaka. The defect of the Mahāvīra-saṅga regarded as an authority, over and above its obvious exaggeration of details and naive acceptance of miraculous traditions intended to glorify the course of Buddhist history, is its partisan character. Written in the interest and from the point of view of the monasteries of the Mahāvihāra at Anuradhapura, the capital city of N. Ceylon and for many centuries the centre of Buddhist monastic life and enterprise, it takes no account of the development of doctrine or teaching in the two great rival communities of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana monasteries, each with an independent life of its own. For a period of more than ten or twelve centuries, to the close of the 12th cent. A.D., when the leading sects were reunited, no record is available of the activities or influence of these two important monastic institutions. Apparently they were protestant in their beliefs and practices and regarded the leading and established church of the Mahāvihāra at Anuradhapura. To that extent, however, their teaching diverged from the orthodox standard, or their manner of life was nonconformist, we have no means of ascertaining.

1 See Mahāvīra-saṅga, tr. by H. Oldenberg, 2 vol., London, 1884-1893. See further, art. NALANDA.

2 See Beal, Sūtra-s, London, 1866, ii. 167 f., 170 ff.

3 See Cave, Belvedere Caves of Ceylon; Copienton, Buddhism in Magadhā and Ceylon, ch. xiv.

4 See Ceylon, Belvedere Caves of Ceylon; Copienton, Buddhism in Magadhā and Ceylon, ch. xiv.

5 See Cave, Belvedere Caves of Ceylon; Copienton, Buddhism in Magadhā and Ceylon, ch. xiv.
More recently there has been a recurrence of sectarian differences in the island. These, however, concern monastic usage and habit rather than belief; and in the latter respect there is little or no variation throughout Ceylon. There are three chief sects, the origin of which appears to have been due in all instances to external influence and influence; and one of these at least seems to have arisen against laxity of discipline and rule. The earliest and most numerous sect is known as the Siamese, established about the middle of the 19th cent. by a number of monks from Siam, who came to Ceylon to escape the persecution which had been long ago. About fifty years later a separation took place, apparently on disciplinary, not doctrinal, grounds, and the Amarakura sect was founded, its leaders being monks who owed their rank and ordination to the Burmese city. The third and present sect, the most recent and numerically the least important, is the Ramana or Rangoon. The Siamese is the most wealthy and numerous, including amongst its followers about half of the monks of the island. Most of the important and popular temples and shrines are in their hands. From ten to fifteen per cent belong to the Ramana. These priests consider themselves as the guardians of the sacred see of poverty, and neither individually nor collectively do they own, as do the others, landed property. They follow a simpler mode of life, and avoid with the greatest scrupulosity all contact with the worship of customs of Hinduism. Outwardly the sects differ in the manner in which the yellow robe is worn; the Siamese leave the right shoulder uncovered, but the Ramana and the Amarakura dye the robe over both shoulders. The Ramana is most influential in the southern part of the island, the Siamese in the central provinces; but the latter is said to be losing ground to the younger rival.

The monasteries of Ceylon are for the most part small, rarely containing more than from ten to twenty monks. The few larger and more important institutions alone, as at Kandy, will accommodate up to forty inmates. In the country districts frequently only two or three monks live together. Recitation, confession, and preaching by the monks take place especially at now and full moons. The monks spend these four times in the lunar month. More formal services last for ten days or a fortnight without intermission, and are carried out at the expense of wealthy laymen, who by charging the monks a small sum for their services, secure merit for themselves. During the three months of Vassa (Wass) the monks leave the monasteries and live in the villages, either in specially constructed sheds or huts or on 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.1

3. Siam.—Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Siamese monastic rule is the control exercised by still another group of 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 monk, is always connected with any of the scots, or monasteries. These hermits, who make their home in the jungle, are now few in number, but are said to have been very numerous in former times. The inhabitants of the monasteries 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 pha lung, and as they file in procession along the roads, they are accompanied by the picturesque element in the country side. Each monk is accompanied by a siraya, 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 throw over it. There are also a few monks, known as chi sang, who live for the most part in huts in the neighbour- of the monasteries. They are usually women, and are advanced in years, who are without relatives to provide for their well-being or maintenance. There are no regular numeraries.

The four chief abbots, together with four coadjutors or assistants, form the Court of Final Appeal in all matters of religious or ecclesiastical administration or discipline. The general control is 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 the civil; and the ruler of the State is supreme over all. In Siam, as in Buddhist rule, it is universal 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 boys also passed through the monastery schools, receiving an elementary 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 the rains, brought offerings for the use of the monks during the coming year. At this more important monasteries in Bangkok the king himself, as head of the Church, goes in procession with much ceremony, bearing rich presents, and presents 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 individual 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 devotion. The monasteries also frequently derive considerable revenue 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 Burmese. The day begins and ends at an early hour. Morning prayers in the ordination hall, the principal hall or temple of the monastery, before the great gilded image of the Buddha, are followed by the usual early begging. The alms-bowl is presented in the bowl is received in silence, and eaten

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1 See Copleston, ch. xxi. 'Modern Monastic Life,' where other and minor differences between the sects will be found.
2 Malabar, 11. i. f.; Copleston, pp. 192 f., 381 f.
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immediately on the return to the monastery. No solid food is taken after mid-day. The intervals in the morning and afternoon are occupied with study and meditation and in giving instruction, in all the duties incumbent on the bhikkhu, or in precept- ing. The usual title of the monk is pātha, 'saint,' or telepoin. The latter name is said to be of Mön origin, signifying 'our Master.' The Japanese term is monzen: 'a monk.'

6. Burma.—The monastic life of Burma is in its essential features similar to that of Ceylon. The monastic buildings themselves, however, are on a far more elaborate and costly scale, and the lives of the monks are more ascetic 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 had passed through the monasteries school, 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 monastic or scholarly life of the monastery. Thus, although 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 his requirements and aspirations. The system contributed effectively to national unity and strength, and for many centuries made of the Burmese a literate people, education from the sacred books being the only education to which they were exposed. The boys learnt also respect for their elders and habits of regularity and obedience which served them well in their after careers.  

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 Chinese Nestorian missionaries, who, while leaving little trace of their doctrinal teaching, succeeded in impressing upon the religious life of the country the frame of the Western liturgy and observance 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, showing no meanness to their ten thousand inmates, and are imposing rather from their unrivalled position on the sides or summits of lofty rugged hills 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 Sakayint and practices of N. India. See art. LĀMAISM.

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 naturally centred in the monastic communities established in the several cities on the important roads of pilgrimage and traffic that skirted the central desert of sand on the north and south. In the countries, however, which look to Muhammadan invasion and conquest little trace of the faith remains. The Chinese pilgrims repeatedly make mention of monasteries with large numbers of inmates whose zeal and piety excited their admiration; these for the most part were adherents of the Mahāyāna school. Their narrative, nevertheless, conveys the impression that the real influence of the faith upon the character or habits of the people beyond the monastery walls was but slight. Recent exploration and excavations have entirely confirmed the record of the Chinese, and suggest a fairly strong and prolonged Buddhist hold upon the country. Ruined stūpas are numerous, and bear witness to Buddhist traditions and the presence of Buddhist monks. The monastic buildings themselves would be of less solid construction, and either have perished or are unrecognizable.

9. China.—Of the monastic life of other Buddhist lands which follow the Mahāyāna with more or less concession to native modes of thought and superstitions there is little further that requires notice in a general survey of Buddhist institutions. It will be proper to refer to the articles on the several countries. The main character and type have been everywhere preserved, but the details of mode of life and profession have varied greatly with environment and the genius of the people. In China the monks have occupied generally a degraded position, with a few honourable exceptions, holding a creed and practising a ritual in which there was more of secrecy and magic than of religion. The exceptions were the highland monasteries, and those remote from the centres of population, where the monks, though ignorant, were simple, kindly, and pious, seeking salvation through self-denial and right living. The nunns were no less degraded and for the most part despised. Recent events in China, however, with the diversion of numerous temples and monasteries to educational purposes, the desertion or destruction of others, the spread of Western influence and science, have entirely changed the situation as far as the religious life and thought of the people are concerned. It is not easy to forecast what the ultimate effect upon Buddhism will be, or how far it will be even destroy so essential and characteristic a feature of the Buddhist faith as monasticism has ever been. That the effect will be profound and far-reaching there can be no doubt.

10. Korea.—The monastic institutions of Korea resemble those of China, whence both doctrine and practice have been derived. Religiously as in other respects the country has always been dependent on its greater neighbour to the south, and neither in belief nor in rule of life does Korean Buddhism present much that is novel or of interest. Overshadowed by Confucianism and ancestor-worship, it has developed few distinctive features, and has for some centuries exercised a decreasing influence on the thought and habits of the people.

1 E.g., Kashgar, Beil. ii. 305 f.; Khoto, b. 300 f.; Pa-Hian, ch. iii. (Legge, p. 91 f.); Yarkand, Beil. ii. 307 f.; Sarikol, b. 302 f.

2 Ch. M. A. Schlagintweit, The Indian and Chinese Buddhism and Buddhism of the Chinese, 2 vols., London, 1912; artt. by C. G. J. L. F. Ebert, and others, in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and other journals. The latter is still retained at the 'Halls of the Thousand Buddhist,' in the west of the province of Kan, and elsewhere in Central Asia to the present day. The tradition of his learning and holiness, and of the miraculous powers which was credited, proved to be a real power in the minds of the priesthood.

3 H. F. H. Beckmann, Buddhism as a Religion, b. iii. ch. 61; Ebd.: Chinese Buddhism; Wiegman, Buddhism in China, 2, Menuhins, p. 139 f.  

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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 most important institutions are those of the capital, but none are allowed within its walls. Their numbers also are decreasing. The monks themselves command little respect, and are noted for their mendicancy, which takes them from the lower classes. The example and influence of Japan also may perhaps be traced in the character of some of the buildings, which are fortified and built on high ground to dominate the country at their base. In the southern part of Seoul a few monasteries 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 thus 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 their dress the monks have preserved the national costumes in the form of a long cloak with sleeves, worn over all, and generally white. The head is shaved. In conformity with Buddhist practice, 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, such as the arms. The order is recruited mainly 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 faithful, or, where opportunity serves, upon the personal labour of the monks in the cultivation of the temple lands.

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 distinctive life in the monastic communities, and the sects themselves are distinguished 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, opposing 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," which holds a theistic creed, and expounds and practises a moral code which has much in common with that of the NT. Accompanying a revived religious life also, at different periods of the nation's history, music, art, and court ceremonies have been practised 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.

Monasticism.—It is natural to compare and contrast the monastic principles and life of Buddhism with those of the Christian orders of the Early and Middle Ages in Europe. In the

the Indian view of life as a whole. By the Indian
life has ever been regarded as essentially evil, and
relief from the burden and sorrow of existence as
the chief and final goal. In many forms of Indian
discipline, especially the Buddhist, but also in that of
Hinduism, it was the ideal of the ascetic to reach
Gautama, this
end was to be achieved only in and through a monastic
dedication and life. It was impossible for the
layman, distracted by the cares and enumberaced by
the possessions of the world, to secure salvation.
Hence the great gurustitre to develop himself to the highest aim, and to win his way to deliverance (mokṣa [q.v.]).

A second respect in which historically Indian
monasticism in general has been distinguished
from Buddhist or Christian is the deficiency of
co-ordination or of a central control. The various
orders have been for the most part loosely organized,
and that from want not of organizing power but of
inclusion 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
ascetic communities of life and at time independently in all respects as seemed best to himself. Apparently the habits and methods of the
monastic life have undergone little change or development since the earliest ages. The mendicant
monastic life is not dependent on any one community of monks, has been the characteristic
feature 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 delineations of Indian social and religious 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 these houses, and after a longer or shorter stay move on entirely as their own inclination
prompts.

The habitual practice of a life thus ordered
and determined is of extreme antiquity in India. It
would seem to be based essentially upon the Hindu
regulation of the four ashramas (q.v.), according to
which every Brahman towards the close of his
life must renounce the world and adopt the home-
less life and the ascetic garb. In reference to the
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
cure for sin of gainfulness without the 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 daughter communities go far
beyond anything that was developed in Hinduisim.
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 of variable size, providing accommodation
for only a few inmates. Except at the
important pilgrim centres, as Hardwar or Benares
(q.v.), where durable buildings of brick are found,
they are often little more than a collection of huts
and temporary court-yards. Permanent quarters are provided for the mathad, or presiding Abbot of the monastery and his resident
students. The remaining buildings are 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
dharmasthala, or rest-house, for the accommodation
of travellers. The term matha appears to have
been originally applied to the solitary practitioner religious recluse, and then to similar dwellings of
the communities of hermits living together in the
forest in the practices of austerities. Of such a
woodland hermitage an attractive description is
given in Kautilya's Arthasastra. These elements were
ultimately extended to include all more or less permanent homes or residences for the monks.

The maths exist in considerable numbers all over
India, but the monastics 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
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 periods of growth and
development were erected, sometimes of more than one storey;

but they never compete in size or architectural pretensions with the great Buddhist vihāras.

When the latter faith died out in Bengal, some of its
monasteries passed over to Hinduism, 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 matha is the gift of a generous Hindu 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
erection or by subsequent benefactions, and these
increase 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, however,
by the temptation, threatened by the lure of
revenues has sometimes been so definite that the
British Government has been compelled to inter-
ference, and take over temporarily the control of
the monastic estate.

The Hindu monk is known as gātīn, one who
curs his passions and has renounced the world, or
erōtin, 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 nāṭikā
is the religious student, who engages himself
to remain with the guru as a pupil and disciple after
the close of the regular period of service as a brok-
āchārin. The titles yogā and mānnirikā are
more appropriate and more usually applied to the
wandering ascetic, without home or stated means
of livelihood. The former denotes the Hindu
ascetic and saint, who endeavours to attain union with God by the way of self-control and asceticism.
The mānnirikā has 'cast off' all worldly lettings and attachments, and is separated from all earthly wants or ties. Bhikṣu, beggar,' describes rather the ordinary lower
class. In the Pāli form of bhikkhu, it has become
the usual term for the Buddhist monk; Hindu
usage ordinarily gives the preference to other
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
in rough or hasty conduct. There is considerable difference between the sects in respect of the degree of ascetic self-denial or actual discomfort and pain which they voluntarily endure. Salvation marks, as a rule, more extreme in their manner of life and mortifications. Worship in those sects is of greater liberty and seldom, if ever, inflict upon themselves the prolonged bodily tortures by which the others seek to gain notoriety or accumulate merit. In all the monasteries of the chief Hindu festivals are observed with religious rites and free entertainment for visitors, and the introduction or appointment of a new abbot is attended with much ceremony. Of the routine details of the ordinary monastic life, however, little is known.

The Sikhs also have monasteries of their own and religious orders. The three principal are those of the Akalins, Nirmalins, and Udalsins (qq.v.). They vary in both their dress and manner of wearing the hair, some being shaved and others displaying the loose dishevelled locks of the typical sadhu. In one instance at least in a monastery visited by J. C. Oman the munhant wore robes differing from those of others. The same purpose is in view in the rule that a monk must not change his residence during Vassana, the season of the rains. Elsewhere it is provided that students, ascetics, and others shall be free from tolls and taxes; probably because, being separated from the world, their testimony with regard to its doings would necessarily be unreliable, nor do they inherit property. Penances 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 mendicants devolves, in general, upon the presiding elder or abbot (mathadhipati). 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 or at their own will, and neither their movements nor their actions are in any way controls. They must wear the monastic garb, observe the vow of poverty, and depend entirely upon the bounty of others for their daily sustenance. Beyond these simple rules, the monks do as they please. The actual possessions which the monk or sannyasin 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 vow (vrita) which the ascetic or monk undertakes to observe is five in number: avoiding hurt to any living creature, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, self-restraint, and liberality (Skr. bhiktat, asteya, asteya, brahmacharya, tyaga). These have been the exception with the Jain, in the Jain and Buddhist systems. There are also five lesser vows: equanimity of mind, obedience to the guru, gentleness, cleanliness, and purity in eating. The third is explained as having reference to the agnivesa, and means being free from the agnic there. This itself is divided into three, corresponding to the five, and each established four orders of society within his system, each with its respective functions and rights: monks (bhikshus or sannyasis) and nuns (bhikshunis), laitymen (brahmans) and laywomen (brahmacharis). The four last-named distinctions are observed with the Jain and Buddhist, but not with the Brahman.

The five vows of the Jain monk are the same as those of the Brahman ascetic with the exception that the last-named is held a definite place in the Church by the side of the ecclesiastical order. The Diganthar, however, refuse to women the right to enter the order, and assert that they cannot attain salvation (moksa).

1 Mann, vi. 554; cf. Bandh. n. x. 18 4ff. Vasa. xvi. 74; Khad. Grahaptas. ii. 10.
2 Mann, viii. 470; cf. viii. 138; Vasa. xxii. 2: Aapast. ii. 132; Vasa. xvi. 93.
3 Mann, viii. 60; cf. Bandh. i. 13; Narada, i. 152, 182.
4 Mann, viii. 57.
5 Vasa. xvi. 52; cf. Sank. Grahaptas. ii. xii. 6ff.

1 Mann, vi. 554; cf. Bandh. n. x. 18 4ff. Vasa. xvi. 74; Khad. Grahaptas. ii. 10.
2 Mann, viii. 470; cf. viii. 138; Vasa. xxii. 2: Aapast. ii. 132; Vasa. xvi. 93.
3 Mann, viii. 60; cf. Bandh. i. 13; Narada, i. 152, 182.
4 Mann, viii. 57.
5 Vasa. xvi. 52; cf. Sank. Grahaptas. ii. xii. 6ff.

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5 Vasa. xvi. 52; cf. Sank. Grahaptas. ii. xii. 6ff.
exception of the last, for which is substituted aparigraha, the renunciation of all desire, i.e. entire indifference. This word may also be used in the sense of non-attachment; and it is probable that this was the original meaning of the word in Hinduism, although it is now differently explained. A sixth vow is said to be undertaken by some of the monks, though there is no record of it in Buddhist text. The Jain layman is hardly less rigorous and careful than the monk. All Jain ascetics carry a piece of cloth to cover over their mouths lest they should cause injury when inhaling. The strictest sect of the Sthānakavāṣās (Dharmājīnā) 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 bear 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 means of the god of the padminaras are said to have thus ended 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 Svetāmbara and Sthānakavāṣās use a broom, of greater or lesser size. The head is shaved, and the two last-named sects wear the monastic robes of pieces of white or yellow colour. The Digambaras’ play-club) go unaltered.

These last are for the most part 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 coins 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 after confession of the day, make known or unknown sins of the past night, and proceed to the temple for morning worship. This consists in meditation, bowing down before the idol with recitation of a sacred mantra, and in padminara, 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, as it is 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.

Initiation (dikṣā) into the monastic order takes place at the hands of a priest after a year’s probation. The novice lays aside his lay garments and ornaments, and adopts the robes of a monk. Within the monastery itself three grades or orders are recognized, based upon seniority or the choice of the community. The ordination of sadhus, monks, or ascetics, of not less than thirty years’ standing, may be elected upādhyāyas, and it then becomes part of his duty to give instruction to the younger monks. Further powers of administration and discipline, including the right of excommunication, are the hands of the acharya, who is appointed on the ground of seniority, or for recognized knowledge and ability. Confession is usually made to the acharya. For the greater part of the year most of the monks itinerate from place to place. It is only during the rainy season and at the principal festival seasons that the monasteries are fully occupied.

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of universal acceptability; it commands confidence that it will be promptly received by others without return. 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-changing, of banking and finance, is large in the manipulation of the money in its various forms and of obligations—debts, credits, loans, etc.—expressed in terms of money. These claims are discharged either by the written order or by documents (notes, cheques, bills, etc.), i.e., by paper money, representing positive sums of metallic money and ultimately redeemable in standard coin.

The 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 kind 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, substituting promissory money for money that circulate quickly; they become a pecuniary currency of promises or claims that do temporary duty, and they are easily transmitted by post; thus they vastly facilitate the business of exchange. Term of credit implies that these instruments are promises, and they rest in the long run upon the recognized metallic basis—gold; therefore an adequate 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 (Gu 23:16). This was a necessary precaution in earlier periods, but in modern times the process of coinage, 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, while 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 gold, like that of other commodities, depends ultimately upon the law of supply and demand; the value varies with the amount available for market purposes, for large quantities of the precious metals are absorbed in the arts and 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. This is one of 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 inconvertible paper—i.e., of notes which cannot be met by gold on demand—has led many countries into great difficulties, and has frequently caused much loss and suffering. Paper money delased by over-issue drives out gold, raises 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. There is no remedy but the re-issuance of the currency on 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.

Money is a powerful factor in the spread of civilization, in advancing progress, in distributing the varied products of nature throughout the world. Money, in fact, ranks 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 avarice in gain; its profound truth and seriousness renders it in no sense condemnatory of the use of money, which is of as great service to society in the distribution of products as a ship, a railway, or any other instrument subordinate to the service of man.

In many of the remarks of Jesus in the parables 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 service is unquestioned.


G. ARMITAGE SMITH

MONGOLS. I. Ethnology and habitat.—Like the Ainu and the Dravidians (q.v.), the Mongols are a race distinctively Asiatic. They fall into three great divisions—Buruts (q.v.), Western Mongols (Kalmucks), and Eastern Mongols. The habitat of the Kalmucks extends from the Hoang-ho to the Manch (a tributary of the Don), their special centres being Astrakhan and the Causcasus, Zungaria, N. W. Mongolia, Alashan, N. Tibet, and the Chinese province of Kokonor. The Eastern Mongols inhabit chiefly Mongolia, the southern portion being divided into a number of tribes, such as the Tuots and Chakhars, while the northern section consists of the more homogeneous Khalkas.

The Mongolian type is best represented by the Kalmucks and the Khalkas:

1. Nearly average stature (lin. 65-66); head, sub-brachycephalic (chin, on their. sub. 35); black straight hair, small, puffy system a little developed; the skin of a pale-yellow or brownish hue, prominent cheek bones, thin straight flattened nose, Mongoloid eyes, etc. (J. Deniker, Races of Man, London, 1891, p. 51).

Another peculiar characteristic of this race is the "Mongolian spot," small dark patches of pigmentation, especially in the sacro-lumbar region, frequently observable in infants, but disappearing in early childhood. The "Mongolian spot" is not, however, restricted to the Mongols; it occurs sporadically elsewhere, instances having been noted, e.g., among the modern Indians of Mexico (cf. also Deniker, p. 51).

As a result of migrations, the Mongolian race has spread far beyond its original habitat. It has profoundly affected the Chinese (particularly in the north) and Japanese; in Bengal, in fact, the crossing of Mongoloid with Dravidian has been rise to the Mongolo-Dravidian type, and other "Mongoloid" types appear in the Himalaya region and in the Far East.

The chief Asiatic area occupied by non-Buriut
Mongols (Kalmucks, 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 2,500 feet in altitude, hemmed in by an immense double or triple range of foot-hills and mountains, known, together as the Hingan and Yinshan, on the one side, and by the Altai range on the other. Although the greater portion is Gobi (a Turki word), or 'Great (Desert) Expanse,' and is desert, there are still traces of forested mountains, known as the Hingan and Yinshan, on the one side, and by the Altai range on the other. The Altai range is a continuation of the Gobi Desert, and the Gobi Desert is a continuation of the Altai range. It is a vast, barren, treeless region, with a climate so severe that only hardy plants can survive. The soil is sandy and sterile, with little or no vegetation. The people of the Gobi Desert are nomadic herdsmen, living in tents made of animal hides and grass, and subsisting on the products of the steppe. They are skilled horsemen and have a strong culture, with a rich oral tradition. The Gobi Desert is one of the most remote and least populated regions of the world.
This is not the place to introduce a discussion on language and the term 'monism,' which is not one of the immediate descendants of the Jenghizid line. For the Mongoils, who joined the Manchus after nearly 200 years of warfare with China, they were never conquered, as the Khalkas and Kalmucks were some generations later. They have always been kindly treated by China, married to the Manchus, some of whose emperors have married pure Mongol women, recognizing them as legitimate empresses of China. When the Republic was founded, there was still more intimate class of Inner Mongols known as the 'herdmens,' who are not ruled by their own princes at all, but by the military governors at Tendue, Kalgan, and Jihol. 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 Chakharan. There are also the Mongols of Kokenor, descendants of a collateral branch of Jenghiz's family, with whom have been associated a number of Kalmuk 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 Ulanghais, the Minggad, the Jakchin, and other od. known generally as Kalmuk type, which for convenience are grouped among the herdmens, and are under the administration of one or the other of the Manchus (now Chinese) tutungs, or military governors, from Uliassutai in the west to Jihol in the east. The Outer Mongols mainly consist of two races—the Khalkas and Kalmucks—between whom there were prolonged and bloody wars until the Manchus (also called the Khalkas) subdued the Inner Mongols and China itself reduced both to complete submission. Even after the ejection of the Jenghizid 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 union, making raids upon the Ming empire. The Khalka area is easily recognizable on any map because of the four (occasionally three) tribes or khanates into which they are divided. One of these, the Tushu, is known as the Tushu, Tsetsen, Jassaktu, and Saimong khanates; the last-named was carved out of the first, during the Ming dynasty, by the Dalai Lama of Tibet. This is again divided in two, the Western and the Eastern, ruled by the Dalai Lama. The Khalkas, on the other hand, are divided into over fifty tribes, scattered from the Yellow-haze at the expense of the Red. These four Khalka tribes, or khanates, were again subdivided into over eighty flags, or banners, but this arrangement was complicated by two of their banners having been incorporated with the Inner Mongols, whilst, on the other hand, three Kalmuk banners were incorporated with the Khalkas. The other two of the four Khalka khanates used to fall under the high political influence of the Mongol huluktu, or saint, at Urga, who had a Manchur resident to keep things right. A certain proportion of the Kalmuk race was moved to the neighbourhood of Lake Kokon after the Manchus conquest of 1658-54, and it then falls under the control of the Chinese military governor at Si- ning. These Mongol tribes are divided among themselves; the Kalmuks have their own local saints both in the west and at Kokonor, but the Khalkas, though stricken by almost hereditary enemies. Nor can the Khalkas easily coalesce with the 49 flags or 24 tribes of Inner Mongols. The latter represent the true historical Tata, as1

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1 See Parker, 'Manchu Relations with Mongols,' 'Campaigns against the Khalkas and Ogrets,' and other papers on this subject in Chen Se, vols. xxvi., xxxi., xxxiv., 1867-73; also a paper on 'Kalmuk Organization,' xxvi. xxiii. (1868-72).
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 outward expression or a means to its ends. Thus monism, inevitably breaks up into two forms—an idealistic and a naturalistic—and there never has been, nor can ever be, a perfect synthesis of them. As a whole mode of thought apparently permits each aspect to develop its own distinctive character, without severing it or keeping it apart from the other, it has proved remarkably attractive to the human mind.

4. Idealistic monism.-The classical period of German literature was dominated by an idealistic monism, and, in particular, Goethe gave his full adherence to the view. In the philosophy of the period, this type of idealism found powerful support in Schelling's philosophy of identity. Yet, while in art and philosophy, men thought the real to flow into the irreconcilable opposites of body and soul, of nature and spirit; and every system of thought must ultimately arrive at some kind of unity. In this sense Christianity itself is a monism—a spiritual monism—since it traces all reality back to the divine Spirit. In the philosophical realm, however, monism usually stands for the Spinozistic view, which recognizes an exact correspondence between inner Being and thought, and the invisible and the visible, and finds the same laws and forces to work in each, and interprets the order and connexion of thought as identical with the order and connexion of things (Spinoza, Eth. ii. prop. 7: 'ordo et connexio idearum ideam 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 problem, 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 independently, and yet remain ever in mutual harmony, there is no interaction at all, the specific data of each are simply being placed in a different relation to each other. Modern psychology, in following up this theory, has propounded the doctrine of 'psychophysical parallelism,' and strives to apply the doctrine to mental and emotional processes in a similar manner. As this whole mode of thought apparently permits each aspect to develop its own distinctive character, without severing it or keeping it apart from the other, it has proved remarkably attractive to the human mind.
MONOLATRY AND HENO THEISM

Nature now exercises a much more profound influence upon our thoughts and convictions than she formerly did. This does not, of course, lead necessarily to a naturalistic philosophy, nor was there any great danger of such an issue as long as high spiritual ends held sway among human beings and stimulated their devotion efforts. But such spiritual ends have been, if 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 disorientation, and common effort has given place to widely divergent 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 favor 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 bristles with problems, and that the minds of men are in the treatment of them, are facts that cannot be denied even by those for whom religion is a supreme interest. In Germany, however, the situation is greatly aggravated by a lack of interest in the Church and State, since 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 in doubt 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 condition is fulfilled when it insists upon a higher recognition of the natural factor in human life, and demands that the assured results of modern science shall not be looked down on 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 parrots, 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 yet it continues to be the task of belief. 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 confounding natural science with the philosophy of nature, and of too mechanically 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 nature of universal life. But, whatever judgment we may pass upon naturalistic monism, it is certainly a notable feature of the present day.

MONKEY.—See ANIMALS.

MONOLATRY AND HENOTHEISM.—A whole group of words, some of them classical, are compounded with monos as a prefix. Ecclesiastical usage added not a few others—e.g. 'monogamy,' 'marriage only' once, re-marriage after the death of one's wife being forbidden. 'Monophysite,' 'Monothelites.' To these was added, in modern times, 'monothelmism' (q.v.); this term was touched with ambiguity, since it was sometimes a synonym for unitarianism. Last of all, apparently by Julius Wellhausen, 'monolatry' was coined to express not belief in the sole existence of one god, but restriction of worship to one object of trust and loyalty, although other races might admittedly have other superstitions.

If the first half of the word shows it to be akin to monothelism, its affinities on the other side are with idolatry (see IMAGES AND IDOLS). Christian usage, from the 5th onwards, conveyed the idea of identifying a god with an image, or of regarding an image as the only proper object of worship. This notion had a long career, and many monotheists, both Scholastic and modern, have found it unscientific, and descriptive of a kind of idolatry.

Unhappily, there is another term which habitually presents itself as a synonym for monolatry and as a rival—henothism. This word was coined by P. Max Müller while under the influence of Schelling. In a review of Renan, entitled 'Septic Monothelism,' and contributed to the Times in 1860 (reprinted in Chives from a German Workshop, i. [1887], and again in Selected Essays, ii. [1881]), Müller, while repudiating Renan's theory of a monothelistic instinct peculiar to the Semites, and wishing to engage the search for the true religion a crude or vague faith in the divine, not yet articulated either into polytheism or into monothelism, calls this 'henothism.' As thus defined on its first emergence, henothism is a hypothetical conception, belonging to a period earlier than recorded history. E. von Hartmann is fairly in line with this when he speaks of henothism as 'the original nature-religion'; as the 'indifference of mono-polys-' or 'polytheism'; as the 'identity of essence of all the gods.'

Much greater importance, however, attaches to Müller's later usage, introduced in a 'Lecture on the Vedas' of 1855 (also reprinted in Chives, i. and Essays, ii. [1860]), and consisting of a pair of synonymous terms—'henothism' and 'maximalistic monolatry—which refer to a well-marked historical phenomenon. Study of the Vedas has impressed Müller with the vast differences in the world by which each deity, out of a large recognized pantheon, is lifted in turn as if the supreme or even the sole god. While the Indian religion offers the classical illustration of

1 T. H. Huxley (Nineteenth Century, xix. 1885 p. 495) is quoted by Dr. J. A. F. Sedley, On the Study of Nature, [1885], in the Quarterly Journal of Education, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 372; 'naturalism,' 'Semitic monotheism,'
of our attitude. Faith is choice of God and a pouring out of our humble all in His service.

MONOPHYSITISM.—I. Before the Monophysites.—The name 'Monophysites,' as denoting a party in the Christian Church, ought in strict usage to be applied only to those who adhered to an erroneous dogma. The doctrine, formally formulated by the Synod of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), i.e. the doctrine of the two natures (Δύο φύσεων), divine and human, in the person (όντως τούτους) of Jesus Christ, who was in the eyes of the Church the one nature of the incarnate Word of God ('μιας φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος σωκρέατευμένος). The doctrine of the single nature of Christ, however, did not then establish itself for a long time, and we begin by narrating the history of Monophysitism prior to the rise of the Monophysites proper.

The term μιας φύσεως is first found among the Arians (see art. ARIANISM, vol. i. p. 775 ff.), Lucian of Antioch and his followers held both a dual, divine or, more properly, semi-divine nature (φύσις or θεοφύσις, the two terms not being as yet distinguished) of the Logos, in which it had in him the ability to suffer (τάραξ) and limited knowledge (γνώσις) of the Logos. Eudoxius of Constantinople († A.D. 397) acknowledged the Word made flesh but not become man (ταύτου κατηγορημένος, ἐπὶ ἐκκαθαρισθητευμένος), who had not assumed a human soul, but became flesh in order to manifest Himself to us as a man. The formula μιας φύσεως, since the Word was not man in the full sense (τάραξ ἡμών), but God in the flesh (εστὼ κατατεθέν), i.e. viewed as a whole, a composite nature (μιας τοῦ Διαν κατ ὄντως φύσεως). Apollinaris of Laodicea (see art. APOLLINARISM, vol. i. p. 606 ff.) expressed himself in similar terms, though in a line of thought directly contrary to that of Arianism. It was his firm conviction that the perfect God (θεὸς Θεός) had descended upon the earth, and in this belief he felt that he was at one with the Nicenes as opposed to the Arians; but no less decisively he maintained also that Christ had become a unity (δύο τύπως καὶ γενετός ὁ δύον), and thus that the union of perfect deity with complete manhood is impossible (εἰ δήσιτον τοιαύτην συμβεβληθήσεται τέλεως Γούστου, ἐπί τός καταρακτέος). Hence Apollinaris, writing to the emperor Jovian, expressed himself as follows:

We acknowledge, not two natures in the one Son, one worshiped and the other not worshiped (μιας ἔκκαθαρισμον καὶ μιας ἐκκαθαρισμον), but one nature of the Divine Word (μιας φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος), incarnate, and worshipped together with His flesh in one worship (ἐν ἕνῳ ἐκκαθαρισμῷ καὶ ἐκκαθαρισμῷ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ μιας ἔκκαθαρισμον). (Πατριακὸς άποστολής τοῦ Βασιλείου Σελείρου, τὸν Καθημερινήν, τοῦ Απολλιναρίου Λαόδεικα, τοῦ τοῦ 397), vol. 3, p. 841; H. Lietemann, 'Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule,' TU i. (1904) 1, p. 390).

This, however, involves a deification of the flesh and it is but a short step to the inference that all the conditions which rendered the Logos liable to suffering during His earthly course are in the flesh brought into connexion with the divine nature (ναυπηγείς ἐν τῶ θεῷ δόξῃ).

For a time Christianity itself was in danger of surrendering to this illusory logic, as far as the case, e.g. when it undertook the task of coming to terms with the Antiochene school (see art. ANTIOCHENIAN THEOLOGY). But the Christological interest of the Antiochenes, in contradiction to that of the Apollinarists, culminated in the view that a perfect humanity was retained along with perfect deity in Christ. These theologians, accordingly, spoke of two natures (Δύο...
phœra or the brotarchia) in the one Christ — since for their conceptions, too, phœra and entphasis were equivalent terms. But the Christian Church, in reality, theologized the unity of His person. Their leading opponent, Cyril of Alexandria, was supremely concerned to maintain this unity, but he did it only by leaving out of account every element of human personalitv. Secondly, the Church, to which it was assumed that two natures, the divine and the human, existed in Christ before He became man, and that at His becoming man these two natures were yet in an indissoluble unity (συνοότης), and could thus be distinguished only in theory (τονον in). To denote this divine-human nature Cyril likewise availed himself of the formula μα ϕœra τοι τοιο τὸν Λόγον και πληθυντα, he borrowed it from a confessional work of Apollinaris — the Πηγὴ τῆς σωρότητος τοι τοιο λόγον (cf. ELLE I. 608), of which, it is true, he believed that Athanasius was the author. We can see how closely he approaches Apollinaris at this point. The Alexandrian, nevertheless, did not proceed to the conclusions drawn by the Laodicene, who rejected the view that the Saviour had been a cored union of the divine and the human. 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. Henceforth, the phœra is no longer simply as a cored; 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 (κλιον τῆς μα ϕœra or δυνατα). 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, Eutyches, the aged archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople, had come to a knowledge of the idea expressed in the phrase μετὰ τῆς σωρότητος μα ϕœra, but precisely on that ground he would not grant that Christ's bodily form was identical in character with the human (ἀνασχηματος ψυχῆς); at the local Synod of Constantinople in 448, addressing the (tribes) of bishops, he denied μα ϕœra τοι τοιο λόγον και πληθυντα; and, although, in the course of the proceedings he further modified his statements, he was condemned on the grounds of his previous Doctrinal pronouncements which he could not conceal (see art. Docrism, vol. iv. p. 832 ff.). Thenceforward, in the memory of the Church the name of Eutyches was one of reproach, and Eutychianism was stigmatized as heresy. Another group who would not renounce the idea of μα ϕœra μετὰ τῆς σωρότητος were those who in their deepest hearts assented to the formula μα ϕœra τοι τοιο λόγον και πληθυντα defended by Cyril. For though it served to ease the situation that a distinction was now being made between the terms ϕœra and δυνατα. This distinction, in fact, soon came to be quite as important as that between ϕœra and εγκαθίδρυτον in the doctrine of the Trinity. In the development of that doctrine the latter distinction had served to make intelligible how three divine persons (brotarchia) could participate equally in the divine being (ϕœra) and, in like manner it was thought possible to explain how two natures (ϕœra), the divine and the human, could equally inhere in one person (δυνατα), viz. Jesus Christ.

The theologians of the West, from the days of Tertullian onwards, have been accustomed to speak of the 'duplex status, non confusus, sed coniunctus in una persona, deus et homo Jesus.' What they called natura (substantia) found an equivalent expression in ϕœra, and personae could be rendered by δυνατα. In reality, the solution of the problem seemed to be that formulated by Pope Leo in his letter to Flavian of Constantiopolis (dated 449); the so-called Τύποι Αιτών, Ep. xxviii., 'ad Flavianum') as follows:

'Salva propriostat utrasque natura et substantiae et in unam cunctas personam suscepit est secundum humanitas, a virtute inferiormi a virtute inferioribus propterea concordantiae, quod proprium est... proprie humani unitatem personae in utrasque natura intelligendum et Filium hominis dicere desiderat et quin et versus Filium Dei certitudine dictur et supellet' (PL liv. 735 ff).

What was subsequently termed the communicatio idiomatum (ερατος ου χριστου) thus already finds clear expression in Leo's words. Nevertheless Gibbon is quite right in saying:

'Non vulnerum sive lacerationis line drawn betwixt the heresy of Apollinarianism and the theist of St. Cyril; and the need to paradigm, a bridge as secure as a razor, was suspended over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist' (Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, v. 130).

In point of fact, while Western theology thus avoided the extreme of Apollinarism, it was menaced by the spectre of the Antiochene peril. Here too it could be said: 'nec aliquid in Skylitzew qui vulgat vitare possidemus, quod aliud potius nisi solummodo ct oporteat doctrinre two the natures in one person (Dyophystism, or, grammatically more correct, Diphyysis), not only failed to compose perturbed minds, but actually fanned the latent elements of controversy into flame. In this controversy the disputants, moving on the lines of Cyril (and Apollinaris), went back to the watch-word μα ϕœra; now, however, they spoke, not of the one incarnate nature of the divine Word, but of the one nature of the incarnate word (σωροτητος, not σωροτητος), the intention being to indicate decisively that the point involved was not μα ϕœra merely μετὰ τῆς σωρότητος. 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 Dioscorus, a man of distinguished 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, this did not check his claims, he seemed to be on the fair way to attain his end. At his instigation Theodosius II. summoned a general Synod to meet in Ephesus in 449 (shortly afterwards occasioned by the death of the Bishop of Chalcedon, Justinus, after whom the Synod was named 'the Robber Synod'). Here, with the assistance of the civil power, and the physical violence of fanatical Egyptian monks, he succeeded in giving full effect to his claims; and, while Eutyches, so jealously protected by Dioscorus, was restored to the communion of the Church, Flavian of Constantinople, Dominus of Antioch, and Theodoret of Cyrus were deposed. The triumph of Dioscorus, 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 Florinianam read. At this, Leo II. sent an appeal, and the Synod of 451 was a swift revulsion. The emperor died on 28th July 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 power from Constantinople to Alexandria, and the consequent liberation of the Church from political control, might be attended with the gravest consequences. As empress, with the acquiescence of her husband, the military commander Marcian, who was little interested in ecclesiastical or doctrinal affairs, she actively pro-
noted a plan of co-operating with Leo to put an end to the theological dispute at a great assembly of the Church and 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 Dioscurus, 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 accorded the authority of a symbol, however, was resisted with the utmost tenacity by a majority of the members. After protracted discussions the Council at length agreed—not, indeed, without misgivings from the throne—upon a formula 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 formula, which was carried on 22nd Oct. 451, starts from a recognition of the Councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431), and reproduces the Nicene and the so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed; it then affirms that Cyril's epistles 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 as perfect God and perfect man, consubstantial with the Father according to His deity, consubstantial with us according to His humanity, in two natures (ἐν δύο φύσεωι, οὐδὲ ἐν δύο φύσεωι as in portions of the literary tradition), without confusion or change, without division or separation (ἁμαρτίαν, αὐτοτροπίαν, αὐτόπτωσις). The confession ends with a statement already quoted from Leo's letter, now rendered as follows:

εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἐν δύο φύσεωι ἐνδοχρισθηκόντα δι' ἀναστάσιν, συμπαρακλητὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τεκνών τιμίων φύσεων καὶ τῶν προκόπων καὶ πάντων ἅπαντων καὶ υποτασίως κατακλημένος.

A decree, promulgated (7th Feb. 452) by the two emperors Marcian and Valentinian III., imposed severe penalties on all who should henceforth dispute in public regarding the faith; offending clergy and army officers should be deprived respectively of their priestly and military status, and others proceeded against by law. Dioscurus was exiled to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.

The results of the Council were not long in manifesting themselves. In Palestine an active revolt broke out among the monks. Juvenal, a monk of Beth-Semes, who had become prominent at Ephesus (449) as an energetic partisan of Dioscurus, had at Chalcedon, in fear of a diminution of his ecclesiastical power, deserted the Alexandrian and his protege Eutyches, and had also accepted the formula, 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 Ierarcho, monk and bishop of Mayora, the port of Gaza. The rebellious monks found a patroness in high rank in the empress Euphemia, 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:

"Thou be not the unworthy Leo, robber of souls, as his name signifies; cursed be his profane Tomeus; cursed be also Marcellus and the unpious Ephesians; Simon and all who yield acceptance to it; cursed be he who acknowledges two natures in Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit." (Jubilæum patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitam, Paris, 1718, p. 129.)

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 still more troublesome. A certainProterius was forcibly thrust by the government upon the Alexandrians as bishop in place of Dioscurus. On the accession of the emperor Leo I. (457-474), the presbyter Theodotus Aelurus (i.e., the Weasel), who had been in 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 at the baptism 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 464 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, however recently (1908) came to light in an Armenian translation.

The patriarchate of Dioscorus was likewise kept in a state of unrest by long protracted dissensions. Here the presbyter Petrus Fullo (Psuedis, 'the Fuller'), who in no long time supplanted Bishop Martyrus, zealously opposed the teaching of the Council, and contended for the doctrine that God had been crucified (ἔγερσις τοῦ ἐγγέρσιον). To the liturgy he added the singing of the Trisagion (v. 6) supplemented by the phrase ἄρα διακόπηκεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα; and he also introduced the 'Credo' (the Nicene) into the Mass, probably with a view to emphasizing his opposition to the Chalcedonian formulary, but, however, to Eutychianism. But 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 (493) to gain a new formulary, 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 Nicaea, 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 otherwise.' The formula expressed the doctrine of the natures of Christ were pressing the doctrine of the natures of Christ was adroitly kept in the background, so that every cause of offence might be removed. In spite of all, however, the project of the emperor failed of complete success. It is true that Cæcilius, the court-patriarch of Constantinople, and Petrus Magnus (i.e. 'the Stammerer'), who now occupied the episcopal chair of Alexandria instead of Timotheus Aelurus, worked straightforwardly for the measure, but the policy of reconciliation was repudiated by the uncompromising Monophysites, especially in Egypt, where the extremists (ἀναπτύχτων) actually severed themselves from the rest of their party. On the other hand, the convinced Diphysites, including the Acacius
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The view of the Monophysites regarding the historical problem were by no means homogeneous. The one point in which the sect were unanimous was their opposition to Leo's Tome and the symbol of Chalcedon—that is, the fusion of the two natures, as Zacharias Rhetor called it. Only a few of them drew from the doctrine of the one nature the Docetic inference 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 Timotheus Aelurus, and, above all, with Severus of Antioch, eclesiastically the most influential, and theologically the most outstanding, champion of the Monophysite, while Julian of Haldar and Philoxenus of Hierapolis were more extreme in their views.

Severus, born c. 650 at Scousolus in Paphlagonia, was the grandson of a bishop and the son of a town-councillor. He studied grammar and rhetoric at Alexandria and law in Beirut. While at Alexandria he had been in touch with Nestorian circles (Churchianizes), but was converted through the influence of John of Ephesus, a Monophysite Scholastic, subsequently his biographer, in Beirut. He was baptized, and gave himself devotedly to Monophysitism. In a short while he joined the monks of Peter the Hermit in the monastery at Maryan; for a time he lived as a hermit in the Desert of Eleutheropolis, and afterwards bars his hermitage, which he had begun to make a monastery, to the monks who were being persecuted for their Monophysite principles. In the court of Anastasius he laboured for the propagation of the principles of the Monophysites. At the expiration of his three years he was raised, despite the opposition of the suffragan bishops, to the patriarchal chair of Antioch. He died in 672, and his body was translated to the monastery of Tyre (515; cf. 15) marks the summit of his work as an eclesiastic. He was very active in the organisation of his diocese, and was most willing to preach either within or outside the limits of his episcopal city. At the accession of Justin (Sept. 619), however, he was driven from his see, and fled to Alexandria. Considerably later, the administration of Justinian seems to have opened a period of further ecclesiastical activity for Severus, who expected that the conference in Constantinople 649 would set the seal of success upon his efforts. But the fall of Anthimus (649) brought disaster. Severus was excommunicated in 656, and withdrew to the desert country south of Alexandria. He died in 672, on the Sebennitic arm of the Nile, probably on 8th February 656 (see 543).

Of his numerous writings all that has come down to us in Greek is fragments in Catenae and anthologies. There are, however, Syriac translations of his works of Anthimus, bishop of Edessa, and others. Of his exegetical and doctrinal writings many may be mentioned: the Exposition of the Gospel of John; other writings worthy of note are his Synopsis of the Epistles of Peter and John (3 vols., Paris, 1664); his Letters to the Christians of the Orient, ed. F. Duval and others in the Patrologiae Orientalis, Paris, 1897; his Exposition on the letters of St. John, ed. W. Brooks, London, 1902-04), and his hymns (the so-called Hymnologia, ed. W. Brooks, Patrologiae Orientalis, 1910; cf. also art. Hymnia [Greek Christian], vol. vii. p. 336). Philoxenus, whose native name was Eusebios, was a student of Athanasius while he was bishop of Alexandria. From Eusebios he was inducted into the church, where his ascetic and intellectual virtues attracted much attention. It does not appear that he ever incurred any suspicion of heresy. From Eusebios he went to Antioch, where his advanced writings were read with admiration, and he was filially deacon over the same period of time when Flavian of Antioch, who was an adherent of Chalcedonian views, held office. Filoeus was summoned as the spokesman of the Monophysite party in the patriarchate; in short, however, he was thrown into the background by Severus. Like the latter, he was eventually exiled (631 or 635), being sent first to Thrace, and then to GANGA in Paphlagonia, where, perhaps, he died in 655. He ranks as one of the most eminent of Syrian writers, though most of his works still dormit in the British Museum and other libraries of those that have been published the most important is the Homilies on Christian Doctrine (tr. E. A. W. Brooke, London, 1834-40).

Our knowledge of Julian rests upon very meagre data. The date of his birth is unknown. While he was bishop of Caria, he was concerned in the intrigues which led to the downfall of Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople, in 601. He was himself expelled from his bishopric in 616, and took up residence in the monastery of Ebalon, outside the gates of Alexandria. Here he was enrobed in the monastery of Ebalon, outside the gates of Alexandria. Here he was enrobed in the mysteries of grace. He was commissioned by Severus (see below), who was then resident in that city, and this resulted in a tempest of war within the city. At the death of the Monophysite patriarch Timotheus in 630, Julian were able to secure the chair for their candidate, Gaius, in place of the regular的选择 Theodore, and Theodosian and Gaius were soon involved in a bitter strife. Of Julian's later fortunes we have no knowledge, nor, indeed, can we say definitely whether he died in 652, as the second time, the ban was pronounced upon him at Constance in 656. Of his writings we still possess a number of letters from his correspondence with Severus, and a Commentary on Job, transmitted in a Latin translation, and wrongly ascribed to Origines.

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 was upon the singleness of Christ's nature after the Incarnation rested upon their conviction that the hypostatic union of the two natures necessarily implied two subjects or individuals. What they found specially objectionable was the inference drawn from Leo's letter from the perniciously distinct character of each nature—the inference, namely, that in the unity of Christ's person each nature, while no doubt in communication with the other, maintains its own distinctive function. According to the Monophysites, the theory that ascribed to each of the two natures a distinct mode of action (συμφύσια)
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divided the one Christ into two πνεύματα, since no nature could possibly assert itself (ἐπηγείρετο) that did not remain self-subsistent (ὑπερσώματον); the hypostatic distinction being that of two εὐγενεῖα, and so to the abhorred heresy of Nestorius. In conformity with the position of Cyril, and with a mode of expression first met with in the full text of the Apanagirite, viz. ἀφετέρων θεῷ and Ηs κύριo διακονεῖται ἐν θεῷ (cf. art. MONOHELETISM, § 1, p. 829), Severus took as the basis of his speculations the inherently complete divine nature and person of the Logos. This, with the absence of any hint that this divine flesh was 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 transmutes and transfigures the flesh with His own glory and power. The united elements thus form a composite nature and a divine-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 Theodasians. To Julian and his followers it was simply inconceivable that Christ's body had been subject to corruption (φθάναν), which has been a characteristic of human nature since the Fall. In order to understand the precise usage of this term in the present connection, we must note that the term ἁρμόνιον, 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 φθάναν in that sense, i.e. as decomposition. The question at issue here had to do with the natural infirmities of the human body (ἀνάθεσις ἁρμονίου) — its liability to hunger, thirst, weariness, sweating, weeping, bleeding, and the like. The view of Julian, Philoxenus, and the Gaianites was that, while Christ certainly languered and thirsted, it was because He desired, not because He required (οὐ διδάσκει πλήρως), to do so — because, in short, He had the divine nature (ὡς... ἡμεῖς... ἄνθρωποι). He had voluntarily taken upon Himself human pains and needs. He 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 the fall of Adam's fall.

We are thus able to understand the heretical designations applied by the warring Monophysite parties to one another. The Julianists or Gaianites charged their opponents with phthisiacal or pithicidal, the worship of the incorruptible. These 'apharistocritics' or 'phantasistae,' 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 Gaianites who asserted that the body of Christ, from the moment of its union with the Logos, should be regarded not only as uncorrupt (ἀπράξεως) but also as uncreated (ἀπαράγεος). These were stigmatized as those who had no concept of the Logos, and in this, they called 'naturalizers,' i.e. 'worshippers of that which was created.' Divisions arose even among the Severians themselves. There was, a decree, taken at the Synod of Sardica, opposing Sev. 14 to Jn 11, maintained that, as the body of Christ was subject to natural conditions, so its animating spirit could not be regarded as omniscient. To the adherence of this doctrine by the opponents applied the name 'agnostes.'

4. Justinian and Theodora.—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. The decisive factor in his attitude 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 emperors a virtual autocratic power. The defection of the Eastern Church gave the imperial ecclesiastical many an anxious hour. He soon came to recognize that his persecution of the Monophysites (see § 2 at end) had been a great 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 important of these took place in 518—519, however, including Severus — were summoned to Constantinople, where, it was hoped, they would be won over at a religious conference. In this conference of the orthodox side, only such theologians were to take part as unequivocally accepted the thesis that one of the Trinity had suffered in the flesh (ἐν τῷ τριάδος των υιονωνείς σῴζετ). This Thesparchic formula was manifestly a friendly overture to the Monophysites. But the 'Collatio cum Severians' (553 (or 531)), after two days of verbal controversy, came to nothing. On 15th May 533 Justinian issued an enactment 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 535 Anthius, a protege of the empress Theodora and a theological partisan of Severus himself, had been raised to the episcopate of Tyre. But the interlude was not of long duration. In the following year (558) Pope Agapetus was able so to 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 largely 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 the Greek found effective support in that most eminent of his theologians, Leontius of Byzantium († 543 as a monk in Palestine), who, in his Εὐθυμίος τοῦ Σεβ. προφητεύουν τον ποιητὴν ἐνοτέρων, καθα τε παντών καὶ Ἑυλογίαν ἐν θεῷ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and other writings, was renowned as a prolific author and an able assailant of the Severian Christology. The theory of Leontius is based wholly upon the Aristotelian logic. A novel feature of it, however, was his ingenious application of the idea that the ἐσωτερική of Christ's human nature was ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, so that that nature was not δικαιοσύνη, but ἐνθυσία, 'enhypostasis' operated like a spell. It seemed to obviate in the happiest way all the difficulties that beset the doctrine of the God-man. By its means the Chalcedonian Symbol was brought into complete violation of its actual words, but interpreted in the sense of
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Cyril's doctrine. It was nevertheless the use of this expression that led to the introduction of schismatical views into the Byzantine theology.

Justinian died in 565. Under his successors the Monophysite sect lost ground, the city and diocese of Constantinople had much to bear, and their harsh experiences had been graphically described by John of Ephesus, himself a Monophysite, in his Church History. Negotiations for a union of the warring factions by true and false Monophysites, were never resumed, but were foredoomed to failure by the circumstances that the ecclesiastics of 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 patriarchates were destroyed one after another. The Churches of Egypt and Anaphotian provinces, on the other hand, remained quite invulnerable to the ecclesiastical influence of the capital, and the severance of the purely Monophysite communion from the Catholic Church became ever the more complete.

5. The independence of the 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 see by the emperor. The organizer of their 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 Edessa by Theodosius of Alexandria (cf. § 3), then also resident 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.

In addition to Jacobus, Phrygicus, and Julian (cf. § 4), the following writers of the earlier period deserve mention: Jacob of Sarac (c. 521), the author of widely read metrical discourses, which served for the liturgy of the Holy Saturday in Syria and Mesopotamia (530), physician and priest, who translated into Syriac several works of Aristotle and Galen, as also of the pseudo-Democritus Areopagita; Jacob of Edessa († 679), equally renowned as theologian, liturgical writer, philosopher, historian, especially on the history of the Church; George, bishop of the newborn city of Nisibis in great part of the 7th cent.,BXIII, XX., XXI,] 320, who composed the first code of a Christian church, and was one of the most important sources of information regarding Monophysite ecclesiastical law.

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 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 metropolis of Deir Saifan, 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 20,000, and they are all subjects of the Empire, and live in Mardin.

5. In Egypt the conflicts between the Severians and the Julianists or Galanites (cf. § 3) at length ruptured the unity of Monophysitism, which, nowhere else, was so keenly felt. The early history of Alexandria and some of the larger towns. The Monophysite propaganda was carried also to the Nubians and the Abodians. From 616 marrand 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 patriarchy ventured to leave its place of refuge in the Upper Egyptian desert. During the Middle Ages the condition of the Coptic Church was a fairly prosperous one, but at the Crusades it was sorely harassed and ravaged by 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 wrestling for their faith with the Nestorians and the Monophysites, were quite unaffected by the dogmatic controversies of the Imperial Church. The expanding propaganda of the Persian Nestorians, however, induced them to adhere to the 9th Henotikon of Zeno (cf. § 4). Thereafter they maintained close relations with the Syrian Monophysites, and at the Council of Drin, in 554, they overtly accepted the more radical position represented by Julian of Halicarnassus. From that time onwards they adhered faithfully to Monophysitism, though they subsequently gave their adherence to the more moderate Severian school.

LITERATURE.—1. SORENSEN. (6) Decrees of the Councils, Declarations of Synods, papal briefs.

6. Historical works and Chronicles.—Zacharias Rhetor (Scholasticus), shortly after the accession of Anastasius, wrote, in the Henotic standpoints, a record of ecclesiastical events from the Council of Chalcedon to the death of Zeno (extant only in a Syriac version; see below, under Historia Miscellanea); Theodorus Lector, Anagoge in the Churches of St. Sophia in Constantinople at the beginning of the 6th cent., wrote, from the orthodox standpoint, his History of the Church from Nestorius to Justin I., which now exists only in fragments; Johannes Malalas, his History of the World from Justinian's reign; Evagrius, Historia Ecclesiastica, written after 600 (ed. J. Ritter and J. Farmer, London, 1899); Theophanes Confessor, Chronografia, 610 and 815 (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1888-85). Of the Latin chroniclers Liberators, Severians thus Nestoriam et Phrygianismum, is worthy of note. The most important of the Syrian authorities are: Chronicon Edessense (ed. I. Guidi, in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 'Chronica Minoria,' 1, Paris, 1890), dating from the middle of the 6th cent.; Historia Miscellanea, a compilation of the same period by an unknown Monophysite writer, and a history of Zacharias Rhetor mentioned above (ed. K. Ahrens and G. Krüger, Leipzig, 1888); R. D. Wilson, Justin II. of Neo-Chryseis (ed. W. A. Derrett, London, 1899); John of Ephesus (I. 555), Historiaca Ecclesiastica (2nd part ed. W. Cureton, Oxford, 1865).

7. Varieties. The Pseudo-Paphnutius of Mayumah (c. 600), a collection (c. 115) of the sayings, prophecies, visions, and revelations of various distinguished Monophysites, especially of Peter the Iberian (ed. F. Nauc, in Patrologia Orientalis, Paris, 1914); the biographies of Peter the Iberian, probably by the Iberian Rufus or first Peter, ed. R. D. Wilson, in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 3, Leipzig, 1888; Pilae siveverum apud Monophysites colere impositorum (ed. E. W. Brooks, in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 3, Syriac III. xxv., Paris, 1893), the biographies of the Syrian monks Bathymus and Sabas, by Cyril of Scythopolis (? after 557), etc.

MONOTHEISM.—In the history of religion monotheism, the doctrine that there is one God, or that 'God is One', is somewhat sharply opposed to a very wide range of beliefs and teachings. 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 monotheism repudiates, had dealt with them, were themselves for the older faiths 'gods,' then the monotheism which is each time in question opposes, and replaces, some form of 'polytheism.' This is what happened when Judeo-Christian monotheism replaced older local faiths. If one were satisfied to view the contrast in the light of cases closely resembling these, and these only, then the natural opponent of monotheism as a belief in 'One God' would appear to be, in the history of religion, polytheism as a belief in 'many gods.'

Since, however, there are various religions and many superstitions which recognize the existence of powers such as, despite their more or less divine characteristics, are not the powers 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 monotheism. So, in the history of religion, monotheism has two opponents: (1) polytheism proper, and (2) beliefs that there are other more or less features which are freely used for a philosophical scepticism which especially relates either to God or to other matters of central interest in religious.

In the history of philosophy, however, monothesticism has a much narrower range of opponents than polytheism proper. 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 being. 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 religious.

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 summed up as the doctrine that 'All is God,' or 'Everything is God,' or, finally, 'God is everything.' 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, to give any clear insight easily obtainable regarding what ought to constitute the essence of a philosophical pantheism as opposed to a philosophical monotheism. 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. How far, in reference to a given creed, to the theory, to theology, or religion, the one 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 'divine immanence' 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 of the deity must be ready to recognize that the term 'pantheism,' when used without special explanation, is a poor instrument for making clear precisely where the problem lies. In the history of thought the term 'pantheism' has been freely employed by philosophers, as well as by those who are 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,' or 'God is everything,' in 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 'monotheism' by contrasting the historical forms of monotheism with philosophical doctrines of the divine being, besides those that are properly to be called gods.
ing the most important part in the history of philosophical monotheism (see art. IMMORTALITY).

Another attempt to point out the difference between monotheism and the contrasting or opposed philosophical doctrines clearly before the mind may take the well-known form of declaring that monotheism, properly so called, lays stress upon the 'persons' all of God or contrasting doctrines, which so often are regarded as constituting or as tending towards pantheism, have as their essential feature the tendency to 'view God as 'impersonal.' From this point of view, it would be the essence of monotheism to declare that the One God is a person, while it would be the essence of those doctrines which are opposed to monotheism to declare, in a fashion which might remain simply negative, that the divine being is not personal. It would then remain for further definition to consider whether the divine being is 'superpersonal' or is 'merely material,' or, again, is 'unconscious,' or is otherwise not of a personal character.

But the difficulty in this way of defining the contrasts which have actually appeared in the history of thought lies in the fact that the very conceptions of 'persons' and 'non-persoons' in history of philosophy, a comparatively late as well as a decidedly unstable conception. It is fair to ask how far the most widely current modern ideas of personality were present to the minds of such Greek philosophers as Plato and Aristotle. All the ideas of personality which philosophers may now possess have recently been vastly influenced by the whole course of modern European civilization. The problem of the relations of the Oriental and Western religions to the monotheistic, and Oriental minds, agree regarding what a 'person' is one about which those who will be least likely to dogmatize who have most carefully considered the accessible facts. In fact, the whole experience of the civilized consciousness of any nation or philosopher is likely to be epitomized in the idea of personality which a given philosophy expresses. It seems, therefore, inconvenient to make one's classification of the philosophical doctrine about the nature of God depend upon presupposing that one knows what a philosopher means by the term 'person.' It is true that whoever makes clear what he means by 'person' will thereby define his attitude towards nearly all further questions about the character of the divine being. But the idea of personality is, if possible, more difficult to define than any other fundamental philosophical idea. Therefore, to define monotheism in terms of personal God' will give little aid to the understanding of what sort of belief is in question, so long as the idea of what constitutes a person remains as obscure as it usually does.

A still further effort has been made to define monoplotism by making explicit reference to philosophical doctrines concerning the question whether the world was created or is self-existent. As a matter of fact, that set of Christian theological doctrines and of scholastic interpretations of Aristotle which goes by the name of 'creationism' has played an important part in the history of the more technical forms of monotheism. Yet the issues regarding creation are, after all, special issues. Hence, the way of misunderstanding the problem of monotheism can hardly be understood by one who has not already a defined monotheism in other terms. Creationism is the familiar doctrine that 'the world was created by God. This doctrine can be made to appear only if one first knows what one means by God.

The effort to make some further advance towards unravelling the great variety of interwoven motives which appear in the history of monotheism, and which have been suggested by the foregoing considerations, will be aided by attempting at this point, once more to review the issues with regard to the nature of God, but now from a somewhat different point of view. Both 'God' and about 'the gods,' have everywhere been inherited by the philosophers from religions whose origins and determinants their philosophy. In a few cases, notably in the case of Greece, the one hand and in the other, the origin of the philosophical traditions regarding the divine being can be traced back to ancient religious tendencies, while the transition from religion to philosophy is in fact that, and the successive stages of this process are definite stages. In one other instance, the transition from a tribal religion to a form of monotheism which was not due to philosophers but which has deeply influenced the subsequent life of philosophy is also definitely well known, and can be traced in its essential details. This is the case of the religion of Israel. Now in the three cases in question—that of India, that of Greece, that of Israel—the rise of a doctrine which is certainly in each case a monotheism can be fairly well understood. The three forms of monotheism which resulted led in the sequel to contrasts of doctrine which, in the case of the history of philosophical thought, have been somewhat adjusted. There are three great traditions of early religious history, ignoring also the effort further to define and to classify those doctrines which have been summarized in the various definitions of monotheism and its opponents which we have just reviewed. It seems well to reconsider the three great traditions of philosophical belief regarding the divine being in the light of the great historical contrast of the three forms of monotheism which India, Greece, and Israel present to each other. We shall discern the name 'pantheism,' and make no attempt to define the contrast between divine immenseness and divine transcendency, or to speak of the problems in what sense God is personal and in what sense impersonal. Nor can we here exhaust the varieties of philosophical opinion. But the threefold contrast just given will help us to make clearer the philosophical issues of monotheism by naming certain varieties of philosophical thought which have both a definite historical origin and a great influence upon the character of opinion about the divine being. Simplifying the whole matter in this somewhat artificial but still well-founded way, we may speak of the problem in the following view, three different ways of viewing the divine being have been of great importance both for religious life and for philosophical doctrine. No one of these three ways has been exclusively confirmed to the nation of which the form of opinion in question is most characteristic, and in the history of philosophical thought the three motives are interwoven. But a comparatively clear distinction can be made if we emphasize the three contrasting doctrines, and then point out that these doctrines, while not exclusively due to each one of the three nations or to philosophies which have grown out of the religious traditions of the nation in question, are still, on the whole, fairly to be associated, one with the tradition of Israel, the second with the influence of Greece, and the third with the influence of India or of nations and civilizations which they have influenced. In this interpretative how the problem of monotheism is clearly analogous in spirit to the civilization of India.

(1) The monotheism due to the historical influence of the religion of Israel defines God as the righteous Ruler of the world, as the Doer of justice, or as the one whose laws secure the triumph of the right. The best phrase to characterize this form of doctrine, to leave room for the wide variety of special forms which it has assumed, to indicate its historical origin, and also to imply that it is a form of history a long process of development, is this: 'the
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ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel.' We include under this phrase that form, or type, or aspect of monotheism, which characterizes philosophies that have been most strongly influenced, directly or indirectly, by the religion of Israel.

The monotheism of certain of its historical origin very largely in the Greek philosophers defines God as the source, or the explanation, or the correlate, or the order, or the reasonableness of the world. It seems fair to call this form 'the philosophical or metaphysical.' . . . It is the idea of God 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 'God' who is the only Absolute, the creator of the universe, and the original source and final end of all that is in the world.

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 repository of many and various beliefs, like night and day, from land to sea 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 shaping of the world at large. Usually fond of esoteric statements of doctrine, and often condemned by common sense as fantastic and intolerable, it has had many times of great popular influence. The official Church 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 the current system of thought. 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 fair to say that it is in many respects most purely "philosophical"--the doctrine which has grown up on Indian soil. On the other hand, it has a less exclusive relative to Indian philosophy than the Hellenic form of monotheism, in its later history, has to Greek philosophy, so that the connexion here insinuated 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 system. Yet in this case an Oriental origin or direct influence is extremely improbable. Examples of the tendency of later forms of monotheism to take on new forms, and to be influenced by other motives than those derived from the religion or philosophy of India, are to be found 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 'sole reality of God,' but upon the ' unreality of the world,' as such. It is therefore more suggestive for it than the same 'pantheism.' It might be summed up in the proposition '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 are, according to pantheism, but one,' the natural question arises, 'If they are but one, then which one?" God or the world, or nature? If we may make a call, in a general way and upon the general historical basis just indicated, 'Indic monotheism,' whether it appears in Hindu philosophy, in Spinoza, or in Meister Eckhart, tendency to define the essence of God and God only, but precisely because the world is but appearance,' this definition of the third form of monotheism relieves us of some of the ambiguities of the term ' pantheism.' The threefold distinction now made enables us similarly to review some of the great features of the history of philosophical monotheism 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 religious experience it entered kept it alive in the world. The beginnings of Christianity soon required philosophical interpretation, and in any such interpretation the doctrine of the righteous Judge of the world, who must inevitably play a large part in the course of the development of the Church, led to 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 is that the problem, 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, the doctrine that 'God is righteous,' very sharply contrasts 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, neutral as to the kind of unity which binds God and the world together. One of the reasons is that 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 world which constitutes the world. Hellenic monotheism, moreover, is influenced by strong intellectual tendencies. On the other hand, the monotheism of Israel was, even in its auto-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, was 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 (i.e.) assumed its most characteristic intellectual interests were, on the whole, in favor 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 the essential or rational unity of the Logos and the world gradually came into sharper and sharper conflict with that ethical interest which naturally dwelt upon the contrast between the righteous
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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 has lain the conflict between, before all, voluntarism and voluntarism, between an interpretation of the world in terms of order and an interpretation of the world in terms of the conflict between good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness.

Meanwhile, in terms of this antithesis of our first and second types of philosophic 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 in very general terms, the two religions, the one which we have called, for very general reasons, the India 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 of each of these school is, while the world of illusion depends upon motives which are not confined 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 Christian experience and in philosophical interpretation. The Neo-Platonic school furnished some of the principal technical formulations of such a view of the divine nature. The religious 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 depends. The Church 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 contrast between them for philosophy have grown out of the efforts to synthesize Hellenic monotheism and the religion of the Prophets of Israel. It has repeatedly stimulated the Christian mystics to insist that the idea of 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 rather by those who study the order of the universe or by those who think 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, who insist that no idea of the divine is possible, to follow the law of righteousness whether with 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. For, as truly, if we recognize, in the form of some sort of ‘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 a new insight which no practical activity, however righteous, attains. To teach mystic doctrines as mystic 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.

It is obvious that, on the face of the matter, the immediate inferences 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 opposition to the thought or expression of an individual thinker or philosopher. Thus, in an individual case, an exposition of mysticism may deviate a large part of its philosophical work to a return to the Hellenic type of theism. That this was possible the Neo-Platonic school saw (see art. NEO-PLATONISM), where whatever 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, Christian monotheism is Hellenized in its fondness for order, for categories, and for an intellectual system of the universe, and at the same time devoted to immediate intuitions, to a recognition of the finite world is an infinite experience, to a definition 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 clearer, and is more fully conscious. Despite all these oppositions, however, it remains the case that one of the principal problems of Christian theology has been the discovery of some way to bring the two ideas of the divine into accord, to 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.

The technical discussions of the idea of God which have made up the introductory portions of many systems of so-called ‘natural 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 the platoists, to follow the law of righteousness, whether with 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. For, as truly, if we recognize, in the form of some sort of ‘negative theology’, the barrenness of intellectualism, and if,
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orderly system. In its briefest statement the ontological argument is epitomized by Augustine when he defines God as 'Veritas' and declares that Veritas must be, 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 from our own ideas of the nature of the Logos. Theologically, it is a formally 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 our intellect, to 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 philosophical schools and the conflict between intellectual theology and the religious life have often led to philosophical efforts to bring the very life of the church into some more immediate intuition of the divine, or else to assert that there is no philosophical solution to the religious problem of theism. Thus intellectually 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 and 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 teaching. To say this is merely to report historical facts.

Some negative results of the more purely Hellenistic type of monotheism became especially manifest through the results of the Kantian criticism of reason and of its work. It is 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 temperament Kant was not endowed with an interest in the 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 a famous early essay defined the idea, 'God is the moral order of the world.' This Kantian-Theistic 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 moral perfection, after which they must endlessly strive, but of whose real presence they can never again become aware through a mystical vision or by a sure logical demonstration. The righteous man, according to Kant, says, 'I will that God exist,' and Kant defines God in terms of this will. Monotheism, according to this view, cannot be proved, but rationally must be acknowledged as true.

Veritas must be recognized that the requirement to bring into synthesis the intellect and the will, 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 intuitive, 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 mystical motives familiar to our present interest. The permanent significance of the ethical motives also renders them certainly prominent in the attention of serious-minded men, even though the Kantian formulation of the ethical ideals seems for the moment, in our noble contemporary philosophy and religious thought, too abstract and rigid. And so we are not likely, in future, to accept any merely one-sided Hellenism.

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 dogmatic formulations are at the present time often treated with the same indifference which is also characteristically shown towards the faith of the fathers, viewed simply as a heritage. Nevertheless, the problems of philosophical monotheism remain as necessarily impressively as they have been ever since their early stages in Christian theology. They are as certain to survive as is 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 more preparatory 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 theories; nor can the problem be solved by calling it the problem of the immanence of God against His transcendence. The question 'What is God?' 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 interest in monotheistic matters and other aspects besides the problem of personality.

The essentials of the great issue remain for us, as for our fathers, capable of formulation in the terms which have here been emphasized. To repeat, the philosophical problem is this: (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 act. God [Biblical and Christian]).

JOSIAH ROYCE.

MONOHELETISM, 1. The problem. The Monenergetic or Monothelete controversy seems
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at first glance to be a mere sequel to the Mono-
physite conflict, a knowledge of which is assumed in the present article. On a closer examination, we see that the later controversy has a character of its own, since it shows how the adoption of the orthodox Diphite point of view was not regarded as leading necessarily and directly to Dithetheitic conclusions. In the art, MONOPHYSITISM (p. 811 ff.), it was indicated how the new orthodoxy came to terms with the problems of the two natures in Jesus Christ—the problem raised by the Symbol of Chalcedon. The person of the God-man was conceived as arising from the person (ιερότατος) of the Logos, which assimilated the human attributes, and upon which, as the core of personality, human nature was, so to speak, engrafted by the process of ενστασιά. On this hypothesis it might seem entirely justifiable to ascribe everything to Christ that God said or did to the one volitional activity (ενστασιά) of the God-man, and actually, to regard all as emanating from His undivided will (δυναμικά). Such a view, moreover, could be supported by the evidence of earlier Fathers. Cyril, with reference to Lk 8:6, had already laid the foundation: "οὐ εἴρην, ἀλλὰ εἴρην, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔσται"; and it was possible, above all, to adduce the witness of a passage in the fourth Epistle of the pseudo-Dionysius—a passage which the phrase μιᾶς ενστασίας, which was destined to play so important a part in the coming days. The Monophysites were acquainted with the idea that the redemptive activity of the God-man emanated wholly and solely from the divine, that nature possessed 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 in Christ corresponds to 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. § 2) it seemed perfectly obvious that the rational endowment and the spiritual grace of Christ effected its natural movements only in accordance with the measure assigned by His divine will, that, just as our bodies are governed by our rational souls, so the whole development of the human nature was constantly directed by His deity.

The objections urged by the opposite party against this theory of the oneness of Christ's ενστασιά 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 immanent or, at least, as non-rational. Such a view, however, was in reality a reversion to Apollinarism (q.v.); and, even if the Monophysists did not go so far, yet their idea of the one composite energy really presupposed that of the one composite nature as held by the Severians. In point of fact, these views of the Monophysites approximate very closely to those of the Severians—the more moderate party of the Mono-
physites. As the Monophysites themselves came to recognize this, they surmised that the phrase was not used around the time of the Chalcedonian Council. They rightly recognized that, if there 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 doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ's human nature, in which all parties were united, and would therefore have been applauded by Gregory of Nyssa, writing long before, had said: τὸ εἴρην, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔσται, θεός εἰς ἄνθρωπον. The adverse party was wont to appeal to passages like Mt 3:17, where the human will and the divine will seem to stand in opposition; but the Monophysites sought to show from the Fathers that, on a strict interpretation of this text, Christ had a human will 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 ενστασιά, they maintained, human ενστασιά becomes a τέλος, 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 Monophysites and Monotheletes sought to support their contention also on the ground that the phrase δύο ενστασίες had never yet been heard in the doctrinal controversy; and, while it was not absolutely valid, yet Sergius could say with some show of reason that none of the δύο ενστασίες of the previous periods, from the time of the recognized Fathers of the Church, had made use of the phrase. As regards the claim of the δύο ενστασίες, again, the Monothelete case was a still stronger one. In earlier writers the phrase δύο ενστασίες is used only as expressing a final consequence of 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 Monothelete controversy, viz. the treatise τίς τῆς δύο ἀνθρωπίναις καὶ τῆς τελος πνευματικῆς of Hierony- mius of Alexandria († 607). But, while the Dithetheites were thus unable to call tradition to their aid, they were able to do so with all the more zealously with the inherent logic of their case. In point of fact, no logical objection could be urged from the standpoint of the new orthodoxy, as, e.g., from that of Leontius of Byzantium, against the procedure of ascribing δύο ενστασίες to the δύο φύσεις. Indeed, it was, more than all else, this logical inference, i.e., the consistent 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 those who had come to terms with the former doctrine 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 secession of the Monophysites did serious damage to Byzantium and its Church. It smoothed the way for the advance of the Arabs and of Islam. Far-sighted and energetic the founders of the Monophysitic doctrine arrested the mischief by working for the ecclesiastical reconciliation of the eastern and southern provinces of the empire. The most outstanding figures in this movement were the patriarchs John Hy-

nepius (610-641) and the patriarch Sergius (610-638). 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 was not content to deplore the schism and to wish for peace of faith. He sought the watchword "eucharistia τε καὶ δυναμικά", which had apparently been introduced into the controversy by the Alexandrian Monophysites, and he succeeded at the outset on the
basis of the doctrine implied by these expressions, in winning the approval of his design. 
Soon afterwards (622) Heraclius issued an edict proscribing the doctrine of the ἴδρυμα. But, although Sergius brought all the weapons of patriotic learning to bear upon the Armenian and Syriac clergy, and his opposition was allowed to rest some little headway. It was not until 633 that indications of real progress began to show themselves. Cyriacus, patriarch of Alexandria, whom Heraclius had translated to that city from Phasis in Lazica, suspected strongly the influence of the Theodians, i.e., the Monophysites (see art. MONO-
PHYSITIS, § 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 Cyprianian terminology of the one incarnate nature, and it adopted the Arectopagite 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 bishops. This greatest triumph, however, was the winning of 
Athenagoras, 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 patriarch 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 Eudoxius and John the Merciful. He now made his way from Palestine to Egypt in order to lodge a protest with Cyrus against the articles of union, in which he thought he discerned Apollinarism. 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 μία ἱδρυμα 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 ἱδρυμα or two, but forbidding him to sanction the two-nature doctrine. An ambivalent, but not blasphemous (σωτερίνης). With this 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—the 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 Monothelete controversy, was, as will be explained below (§ 5), put under suspicion; but the agreement of the two natures, and of two, because two energies seemed logically to involve two mutually antagonistic wills.

position to his colleague in Constantinople is extant only in a Greek translation of 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 with the bishops of the Armenians. The introduction of the new phrases into the doctrinal terminology might bring those who used them under suspicion either of Eutychianism or of Nestorianism. He nevertheless adhered unswervingly to the position that the wills 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 (διὰ τοῦ ἴδρυμα ἐνεχθεῖον ἱεροσύνη). For, as the Son of God had assumed a pure and supernaturally begotten human nature, the idea of a second will, disparate or antagonistic (διὰ ἴδρυμα ἔσω τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς), was simply out of the question. Passages like Mt. 26: 38 or Jn. 21: 18 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 (ὁ θεός ἡμών ἐστιν ἡ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἐστιν). Truly, the doctrine of two energies placed Christ as regards His humanity (ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐστιν καὶ ἡ προσωπολογία). Christ, as our example, adopted this manner of speaking for our sake, i.e., 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 doctrine of the two wills is, therefore, altogether an injustice. At no stage did Honorius commit himself in that doctrine had not yet become ecclesiastically suspect. Even Sophronius himself, in fact, as has already been said, had not put the doctrine of the two wills upon his programme, and the question as to the Monotheletism 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 vigorous and decisive prosecution of the second development 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 magnitude. The situation here then become a thing of evil repute, they were simply bound to condemn it, and, in doing so, they could not avoid reprotesting the missive of Honorius as well. Above all, however, we must not forget that Agatho not only refrain from protest 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 communication to the emperor, in which he spoke of Honorius as one (qui hanc apostolicam sedem non apostolicae traditionis doctrina illustravit, sed profana prudonicimus sanctam subvertiere 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. 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 papal infallibility, we shall see that this proceeding has had such important consequences in the war of the confessions that the historian cannot afford to ignore it. Here we must first of all distinguish the period in which he explained his theological
death of the emperor Heraclius, and the brief reign of his two sons, his grandson, Constans II (641-668, son of Constantine III), was raised to the throne in consequence of a court revolt. Constans, too, adhered to the Ecclesiast, which, however, had meanwhile found a footing among the clergy of the West. In Rome the letter of Pope John IV, officially condemned Monotheletism; the Western bishops raised a vigorous agitation against it; and soon the whole western provinces were involved in the debate. Constans, on the other hand, remained loyal to the Euchesis. The patriarch Pyrrhus, who had succeeded Sergius, was deposed by Constans on political grounds, being suspected of Paul, a man of like doctrinal views with himself. Pyrrhus went to Africa, and there intervened vigorously in the conflict. With Maximus, an abbot of Constantine, who had likewise removed to Africa, he conducted a discussion the results 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 the Euchesis, and (as we shall see later) in the reign of Heraclius. From 630 he lived in the monastery of Chrysopolis (now Scutari), where he spent the remainder of his life in the study of sacred literature. He wrote extensively on behalf of the Euchesis both in Africa and at Rome, and it was at his instigation that the Lateran Council of 649 (see below) was summoned. As the part which he thus played ran counter to the policy of the emperor, he was at length put into prison at Carthage, was arrested and taken to Constantinople, and two years later he was banished. In 662 the unfortunate man was once more subjected to a legal process, as a result of which his tongue was cut out and his right hand struck off, and he died within the year in Lazica on the east coast of the Black Sea. Throughout his career his extant works are in the pseudo-Dionysian writings, and it was in fact the commendations of Maximus that secured the Church's recognition of them.

The vehement opposition of the Didhiletes, however, did not wholly fail to influence the 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 Euchesis, avoids all argumentation on matters of detail; disobedience to the provisions was to be visited with severe ecclesiastical and civil penalties. But the Didhiletes would not be silenced. They had now their centre in Rome, and a Council conducted in 649 by Pope Martin I, the Constantine of the Lateran, and attended also by the Greek monks who had fled to Rome, affirmed, in explicit conformity with the declaration of Chalcedon, its adherence to the doctrine of the 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 of Byzantium, then lying under suspicion of high treason, had him sent to Constantinople (653), and, after a criminal trial, banished to the Chersonese, where in 655 death released him from his sufferings.

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 relations with Constans, and the ecclesiastical communion between East and West was tacitly restored; and when Constans visited Rome in 668, he was received with due imperial honours. At the murder of the emperor, however, the antagonism broke out more fiercely. Pope Vitalian's concession led to a fresh 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 (668-685) resorted to the plan of holding an imperial Synod. In November 680, accordingly, the Eastern prelates, together with the legates of Pope Agatho, assembled in the Hall (prodo@) of the imperial palace at Constantinople. This Council, which sat, with considerable interruptions, until September 681, is recognized officially by both Churches as the 6th Ecumenical Council. The members, with excerpts from the Fathers in their hands, carried the debate 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 alike, including, 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 Synod of Leo I. (cf. art. Monophysitism, § 1). In the symbol of the Council the terms in which the Chalcedonian formula defines the relation of the two natures are applied to the two human persons of the Son (θεος υμανθς και μυ ανθιτης). Thus the two wills corresponding respectively to the two natures are not opposed to each other (οι υμανθιαί); on the contrary, the human will is one coeternal and coeternal with the divine will, to which it is subject (και το διυμανθινον αξιον [i.e. του λογου θεου και μυ ανθιτης και του θεου αξιον και πανανθινον θεου]). For it was necessary to the will of the flesh, if anything at all should be subordinate to the divine will. Just as the flesh of the God-Logos (του θεου λογος) is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called, and rightly called, the will of the God-Logos. And He, the holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (και τον ανθινον υμανθινον) but remained within its own limitations and relations (τον του θεου ανθινον υμανθινον και του θεου ανθινον). The two natures preserved their integrity, and, in the event of any difficulty, the divinity of the Logos was to be asserted. The conciliar act of 680-681 would have been of but little avail had it not been for the endurance of the Pope: if the Council was a failure it was a victory for the Pope; if the Pope had not taken it up it would have been a failure. The victory of the Pope was a victory for the Church, and the cause of Monotheletism was at last put down. But the conflict was by no means over: on the contrary, it was only now that the struggle was really beginning, and theasons of the controversy were as yet far from being exhausted.
MONSTERS (Biological).—'Monstra vocantur quis monstrant.' This ancient platitudinous may seem ridiculous to-day, but it has not yet lost its meaning. In a modern civilized society the birth of a two-headed lamb, of a 'bull-dog call,' or of a cyclopian child no longer excites attention 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 disruption of the balance. They reveal the nature of individual influences, as manifested, when one has been exercised in excess, to the exclusion or suppression of the counterbalancing factors.

In biology monsters are regarded as extreme instances of developmental varieties. Variations of the same kind constitute the class of 'anomalies,' as explained in arts. ABNORMALITIES (Biological), no hard and fast line separates the two groups. Many monstrous formations are determined by the same forces 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 precocity, have been included fairly with others showing the extreme tenuity of the neutral 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.

(b) 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 infinitesimally 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 contrasted. In some cases the uterus may void its contents normally in accordance with this, in human pathology, the antiquated term 'mole' is still applied. Or, again, the disturbance may lead to partial 'gemination,' i.e. to some distended 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 Virens, an almost normal child may be born with an imperfect 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 appearance, from that of a mere wart-like exoencephaly to that of a headless trunk with arms and legs. In rare instances the parasite has been found to be entirely enclosed within the body of its host, so that it is not visible externally at all.

Lastly, in yet another class of monsters, the process of geminination may have been complete but unequal, and one twin is born in a normal state, while the other is represented by a spherical mass, consisting of various tissues in the most complete confusion. 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. 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-batcheries the occurrence is accidental and unwelcome, 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 vivifying the eggs, or by subjecting them to incessant rotation. In these and various other ways 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 changes, 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. Acro- egaly and Achondroplasia, and the 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 at all. In such cases the anatomic study of monsters shows the investigator what parts have suffered, while the physiologist is able to point to the disturbing element. Thus we are led with the impression that, where the balance of reacting forces
is so delicate, no absolute standard of what is a normal form is possible. A normal individual is connected with others which we call abnormal, and the abnormal examples in turn lead on to monsters.

That which is born in the course of a host of interactions. Its capacity to maintain existence is based on the reproduction of its kind, depending first upon its formation, and then upon the environment in which it finds itself. Two remarks may be made in conclusion. Though the attribute of vast size is the one which most constantly suggests to our minds the words "monster" or "giants", the interpretation of the former is by no means necessarily an indication of the latter. A monster is usually an extraordinary individual, yet from the biological point of view this is not necessary, and huge monsters are but representative of one out 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 mention may be made of C. Dufresne, L'Influence de la production artificielle des monstruosités, Paris, 1877; other contributions to the literature are so numerous that an exhaustive enumeration here is impossible. Reference is made specially to the exhaustive bibliography provided by E. Schwäb, Morphologie der Missbildungen, Jena, 1898.

MONSTERS (Ethnic).—1. Various kinds of monsters. The existence of monstrous beings, human, animal, or demonic, is believed in at all levels of culture. They are referred to or described in stories, traditions, or myths, or they are depicted or represented in some artistic form. Among savages and primitives, animals are often supposed to exist, like the Bun-yip of Australian tribes—a mythical water-monster who carries off women—or the monsters or dragons said to swallow youths at initiation in New Guineas. Frequently more or less distant tribes are believed to have some monstrous or abnormal feature—one eye, more than two eyes, eyes under the arms, vast ears, two or more heads—to 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 folk lore. Here whole classes or tribes of monstrous beings exist, like the rakshasas of Hindu mythology—hideous fiends with shape-shifting powers—or the evil jinn or the ghous of Arabic belief, or the satyrs, centaurs, and cyclops of Greek mythology. Here also human tribes of monstrous form are a subject of popular belief. The people of Jâbâh (Java?) were supposed by the Arabs to have their heads in their breasts. Horstius describes some of these tribes supposed to live beyond the region of the Scythians—men with goat's feet, men with one eye (the Arimavars)—and other tribes believed in by the Libyans—monsters with dogs' heads or headless with eyes in their breasts. Pliny also writes copiously about such tribes. Irish mythology speaks of tribes of men with dog, cat, or goat heads. Tribes or individuals covered with an abnormally high growth of hair are often mentioned by ancient or modern travellers from the Carthaginian Hannibal 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 the figures is found elsewhere (see Doon, vol. iv. p. 484 f.), at both lower and higher levels. Among the folk beliefs of the world there are beings that have a real existence to the imagination, and are doubtless survivals 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 other races. The water-horse and water-hulk of Celtic lore are typical examples of monsters which have still a real existence to the folk in remote districts. Demonic 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 mythology of most races tend to give a demonic, gigantic, or monstrous form to the supernatural enemy of culture-heroes or the gods—Tiamat and her brood in Babylon, the opposing hosts of beings whom Skílákólon conquered in Egyptian belief, the demons and monsters who strive with gods in Hindu, Greek, Teutonic, or Celtic myth. They depict chaotic powers as opposed to the powers of order, and hence they constantly tend to be regarded as evil, while their opponents embody righteousness and goodness.

As early as the days of primitive man monstrous forms have been depicted in various ways. Thus in caves at Marsoulas and Altamira grotesque 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 Stone Age. Savage art tends to give all its human or supernatural beings 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 monstrousity of feature is also seen in masks worn on ceremonial occasions by savages, and often meant to represent the faces of particular spirits. Indian art delighted to represent its divinities as many-headed or many-armed—a method which has spread into adjacent countries. Tibetan representations of demons or gods are often repulsive in their monstrousity. Reference has already been made to the monstrous Babylonian figures. In medieval and later Christian art demons and the devil were depicted in the most sinister and horrible form possible—half-human, half-animal, or with exaggerated features, tusks, horns, tails, or with faces on chest, stomach, or knees.

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 monstrous that is attributed to man, mythical animals, or demons in mythology or primitive art. As man's imagination peopleed the world around him with spirits, so these appeared to his imagination as 'gongs, hydres, etc.'

5 Of hands, head, for instance.
6 This is particularly noticeable in illuminated MSS or in pictures of the Temptation of St. Anthony type. Cf. Le Doux and Housney, p. 251.
and chimeras dire. There was a constant tendency to visualize the creatures of belief as human and yet as more than human, as animal 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, so he easily ran human and animal together. This in part accounts for animal-like figures on blogs or animal-gods with human heads. Or, where gigantic superhuman strength, wisdom, or productiveness was concerned, man represented these to himself by forming images of the beings who possessed them with numerous or enormous heads or arms or phallos. There is little doubt also that the lack of skill in depicting the human form tended to fill with suggestions of monstrous the minds of those who gazed on such images.

(d) This last fact may have in turn influenced the dreams of men, and, as dream figures were realistic, such forms were believed to have a real existence. But, apart from that, and especially when we consider the way in which dreams are deliberately cultivated by the medicine-man (see Aussterriss), they have, no doubt, had strong influence in the creation of monsters, of which the mind in waking hours could no more rid itself than could Frankenstein escape his creation. The combination of existing but diverse forms would easily occur in sleep, and such 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.

Long rows of horrible characters may pass in endless procession before the strained and weary eyes; pictures of a vividness scarcely ever realized in normal life are presented, in which the most horrible acts are being committed by persons of frightful mien.

Such hallucinatory appearances, described to the same, would by them be accepted as real, and it is probable that the mode of 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 Europe there were figured on the tombs the monstrous forms with 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 believed survivals of now extinct animals may have suggested the dragons and other 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 savages have traditions of monstrous forms 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 crocodiles of the land whence the first men came. 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 the standard histories are full of such prodigies. It is certainly 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 emphasis of 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-glossing histories and chronicles of bygone days and in the pseudo-scientific works of the period from the time of Pliny onwards. Medieval and folklore also believed that the union of demons and human beings resulted in the birth of monsters. The brutality or merely the hostility of other tribes, near or more distant, would cause them to be regarded in a still more sinister or monstrous aspect. Horrible deformities were attributed to them, or this or that feature was exaggerated, or habits of a peculiar vileness were ascribed to them—e.g., forms of leathern amalgam. 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, beholding with brutality, are sure to be regarded as monsters. In the same way the monstrous cannibalistic aries of folk-tale are exaggerated forms of actual cannibals (see Cannibalism). Again, where certain deformities are assumed by warriors to strike terror in the enemy, 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 rather than as warriors.

(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 tracks as the claws of monstrous birds—the griffin or the rukh. Hence the rise of many myths about these beings—e.g., of, they were said to be men 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.

LITERATURE.—U. Albrunand, Monstrosas Historia, Bonn, 1847; R. P. Evans, Heroes and Monsters in the Emblematic Art and Architectural Art, London, 1886; C. Gould, Mythical Monsters, etc.

4. Cf. L. Lantier, Das Reiz der Sphinx, Berlin, 1888, for the creation of myths and mythical beings from dreams.
6. Kg. Freud and his school have argued that the mythopoeic faculty is one able to dream in fancy. Myth is a kind of waking dream. See his 'Der Dichter und das Phantasiieren,' in his Sdiopaten, and his *Ich tond, nach Schmaderwald, Leipzig, 1896, p. 273.
8. A. Wisselmann, Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Eng. tr., London, 1887, p. 172. The sphinx, griffins, etc., were thought to be real creatures of the desert.
MONTANISM

J. A. MACULLOCH

MONTANISM.—1. The movement now more generally known, from the name of its founder, as Montanism had its birth at a village called Ardabat in the part of Mysia adjoining Phrygia, probably not far from Philippi (Ramsay, "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," ch. i.). There, as it seems, about A.D. 168, Montanus, a recent convert, who had been a pagan priest, began to prophesy. His prophecies were accompanied by strange phenomena, resembling those associated with demonic possession. In what way his exercise of the prophetic charisma 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 message in ecstasy, but did not deliver it till their faculties returned to a normal condition. Moreover, the "ecstasy" of Montanus was a kind of madness, deliberately induced, whereas prophets, acknowledged as such by the Church, even when in a state of ecstasy, were of sound mind; the so-called "ecstasy" of Montanus was, in fact, not true ecstasy. An early and contemporary writer (Justin, "I. Apology," ch. xiii. 8) speaks of "the inebriation of the Montanists." In agreement with these statements an oracle of Montanus declares that the prophet is as a lyre played upon by the divine plectrum; and the form in which the revelation of his ecstatic utterances are cast implies that he was a mere passive instrument, and that the phrases which fell from his lips were actually the "epitaphia verba" of the Deity. His opponents reminded him of the prophetic virtues 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 women, Maximilla and Priscilla, or Prisca, with whom he sanctioned deserted their husbands, and who also claimed to possess the prophetic charisma. Their utterances were similar in matter and manner 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 "foresight of the coming of the Paraclete" (Jn. 14:16-17) the apostles had not the perfection of the Holy Spirit (1 Co 13:8); this was reserved for the new prophets, of whom Christ spoke in Mt. 28:19. 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 Eusebius suggests the contrary when he reports that, while Montanus was held to be the Paraclete, the women "were as it were prophets of Montanus" (ibid., Alex. de Thessalonica, v. 220). It is possible that first they were put in a lower position, Mt 28:45, but not Jn 16:13, because it is here that only it was at a later date, perhaps after the death of Montanus, that they were regarded as on a par with him. 5. It is evident that the acceptance of the "new prophesying" 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 phrase "new prophesying" constantly used by its adherents; by the title most usually accorded to themselves, as distinguishing them from other Christians (ψαλτής; Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 15 (PG xii. 1500 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 charisma was not regarded as confined to Montanus and the women. Theolomus, 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, must have caused consternation. Many of those who heard Montanus and his companions would have silenced them. Two Phrygian bishops made an ineffectual attempt to "prove and refute" the spirit that was in Montanus, and with him who had come from Anchiale in Thrace, attempted to exorcise Priscilla. At first, we are told, the movement advanced slowly; 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 its followers were commonly spoken of as 'the Phrygians,' and their teaching as 'the heresy of the Phrygians' (cf. Φρυγοί, καὶ Φρυγοί ἀποστράφησαν, whence the Latin capaphsygeris, capaphsygiri). In due course formal protests were issued by the bishops. While the movement was still in its infancy, Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, was sent against it, to which were appended the signatures of many bishops, at least one of whom came from Thrace. Other confutations of the new teaching followed it (HE v. xvii. 1). Many synods met in Asia and Syria, and "as a general rule" the bishops opposed it. On the other hand, the Montanists used scathing words about the ecclesiastical rulers, and slurred them as slayers of the prophets. They put forth treatises in the name of the ancient prophets, and their opponents were answered. 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 (HE v. iii. 4; cf. xvii. 22, which clearly refers to the persecution under Marcus Aurelius). 7. It is difficult to fix the date of the beginning of the prophecies of Montanus. The choice is usually held to lie between A.D. 172, under which year Eusebius records the origin of the movement in his "Chronicon," and A.D. 168, under which year he records that the first prophecy was made by Epiphanius (Herr. xlvii. 1). It is not clear, indeed, that these two dates are inconsistent, for Eusebius may be giving the year, not of the earliest prophecy, but of some prominent event which he regarded as the starting-point of the "heresy"—e.g., the affirmation of the Lopcian promise of the coming of the Paraclete (Jn. 14:16-17), which is supposed to have been the cause of the promulgation of one of Montanus's more startling innovations. In any case it is probable that Eusebius's date is more than sufficient to place the fact that Claudius the bishop of Hierapolis wrote an anti-Montanist treatise—which Eusebius appears to have dated on insufficient grounds after 174 (Lambeth, Eusebius, p. 150)—"when Montanus with his false prophets was in the act of introducing his error" (HE iv. xiv. 21). It must therefore be regarded with caution. It is to be observed that Apollinaris wrote some time after Montanus had been joined by 'his false prophets' (HE v. xii. 3)—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 sisters, died in 179-180. The movement must have enjoyed the advantage of their superior vision for a sufficiently long time. Herr. xlvii. 1. It is possible that first they were put in a lower position, Mt 28:45, but not Jn 16:13, because in the latter it is only at a later date, perhaps after the death of Montanus, that they were regarded as on a par with him.

8. That the Paraclete was manifested in Montanus, and in him and his companions revealed the fullness of Christian teaching, as we have seen, the original and essential doctrine of Montanism. But, since it was the duty of the Church to supplement the teaching of Christ, it was to be expected that this doctrine would be made the basis of 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 orthodoxy with regard to the resurrection of the dead and the doctrine of the Trinity. But in another sphere his 'innovations' were considerable.

9. Not long after the beginning of the prophesying Montanus crossed the Phrygian border and ended his life with his followers at a city called Pepusa, which Ramsay (pp. 213, 573) places west of Eumenia, and not far from the Phrygian Pentapolis. Pepusa, with the neighbouring village of Tymion, he named an 'Israelite'. To this settlement, which was then the frontier of the great and 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. Har. xviii. 2), apart from a more explicit oracle attributed to another prophetess (Epiph. Har. xix. 2), would lead us to the conclusion that the 'new prophet' taught men to expect in the near future, at Pepusa, the final Parousia of the Lord (ib. xviii. 14). The primitive Montanists, in fact, held the doctrine of chiliasm, but chiliasm was a new kind. It was this hope of the Parousia at their Jerusalem that gained for them the name of Pepuzians.

10. Connected in some measure with their chilastic teaching was their view of the prophetic office in the Church. The prophetic charisma was not a gift, bestowed as the need for its exercise arose; according to the dictum of 'the Apostle' (1 Cor 12:9), it was perpetual, one of the notes of the Church. Consequently Montanas, Maximilla, and Priscilla received their prophetic office in line of succession. Quadratus and Ammia of Philadelphia were the links which connected them with Agabus, Judas, Silas, and the daughters of Philip (Eus. HE v. xvii. 3, 4; Epiph. Har. xviii. 2). But, since Montanus and his companions were the channels of the ultimate revelation, they were the last of the prophetic succession. After them would come the end.

11. Agabus the exalted position given to the 'new prophets' led naturally to the assignment to them of prerogatives generally reserved to belonging to the prophets, and thus to a conflict between the prophets and the regular hierarchy. The prophets line of succession was a legal one (Cass. ap. Tert. de Pud. 21). This power they shared with the 'martyrs' or confessors (Eus. HE v. xvii. 7).

12. Once more, the association with Montanus of two prophetesses involved the recognition that women might hold high offices in the Church. Maximilla and Priscilla seem to have made independent contributions to Montanian teaching (Hipp. Phil. viii. 19; cf. Did. Alex. de Trin. i. xi. 3; ZKG xxvi. 466); and they were probably in the habit of prophesying in the congregation (Eus. HE v. xvii. 9: deipiron). There is evidence that, at any rate in later times, other women followed their example (Orig. ap. Cæmer, Cat. v. 279), or even outdid it; for we read of a prophetess in Cappadocia in the 3rd cent., perhaps a Montanist, who baptized and celebrated the Eucharist (Firmilan, ap. Cypr. Ep. lxxx. 10), of female bishops and priests, and of virgins who regularly officiated in the congregation at Pepusa (Epiph. Har. xlix. 24; Did. Alex. de Trin. iii. xii. 3).

13. Montanists made laws regarding fasts (Eus. HE v. xvii. 2; όρεις ρευσμένοι; cf. Hipp. Phil. x. 28; Tert. adv. Jud. 1); apparently, that he increased the number or the rigour of fasts, but rather that he reduced them to rule, eliminating thereby the element of free will in matters of style, 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 the new doctrines was a later development, due to 'the women' (Hipp. Phil. viii. 19) were some who enjoined abstinence from particular kinds of food (ἐρωτικῆς ἐσθήσεως). There is some evidence that in Phrygia the Montanist rule as regards the Montanist law of fasting fell below Catholic custom (Soz. HE vii. 19, where the two weeks of Lent seem to correspond to the two hebdomades xerophagorum' of Tert. de Ies. 15), while in the West it did not gain (see de Labriolle, La Crise, p. 399 f.). The regulations about fasting are therefore to be regarded as instances of the Galatizing or legal tendency which was described in Montanism by its adversaries (Tert. de Ies. 14). This was the natural outcome of a system which invested the exhortations of the prophets with a divine sanction, giving them the character of unalterable laws, to be observed as ends rather than as means for the attainment of holiness.

14. Under the same category may be brought the Montanist repudiation of second marriages. For on this point their divergence from the Church must not be exaggerated. The Church disapproved second marriage, and 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. 30, xvii. 5) that the Montanists held martyrs (including confessors) in high honour, and even held special stoles by their opinion as questioners of the present practice. But this was no peculiarity 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 the orthodox of the West (Tert. de Pud. 52). If not also with those of Phrygia. It must be admitted, however, that there is no proof of a statement, often made, that Phrygian Montanists inculcated a severe asceticism, or that its adherents were more antagonistic to heresy than other Christians in the same district, or displayed special eagerness for martyrdom. Such evidence exists points in the opposite direction (Lanuert, Bonneuse, pp. 35, 39).

16. Montanism, after its secession 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 (εικονιστής; Eus. HE v. xvi. 14). We have no direct information as to the organization (see Jeremias, Didachi, 11 ff.), the prohibition of second marriage (Athanag. Log. 33; Theoph. ad Autol. i. 15; Iren. ii. xvii. 2), chiliasm (Just. Dial. c. Tryph. 30; Eus. HE iii. xxiii. 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 its influence on environment. Among these are the 'enthusiasm' of the prophets (BenWetsch, Gesch. des Montanismus, ii. 219), the 'devotion' of the ministry of women, and the expectation of an immediate Parousia (Hipp. in Dan. 18 f.; Orig. c. Cels. vii. 8-10). The substitution of Pepusa for the literal Jerusalem may be due to the same influence. It has also the practical advantage of providing a holy city in the district from which Montanus drew the greater number of his adherents.

17. 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 179–180, there were no prophets, and the sect inclined toward the peace and naturalness which, as anti-Montanists writers pointed out, disproved the claims of the first prophets. But the spread of the sect was not permanently checked thereby. A revival of prophecy seems to have resulted from the decline in the power of Passalampychus A.D. 230 (Eus. HE v. 88. 3–12), and ultimately adherents of the movement were found in every part of Asia Minor, in Egypt (Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 13 [PG viii. 198. 12] Alex. de Trin. etc.), and even in Constantinople, where a prophecy was recorded in 267. There were, moreover, numerous in Phrygia. The sect survived the stringent edicts of various emperors, and was perhaps not wholly extinguished till the period of the Turkish invasion (Ramsay, p. 574).

21. Before we turn to its history in the West, some important facts may be mentioned. The early Montanists were prolific writers. Their controversial tracts have been referred to above (§ 5). Here it is to be noted that Calvis (c. A.D. 230) assails them of composing new Scriptures (Eus. HE vi. xx. 3), while other authorities attribute numerous writings to Montanus, Maximilla, and Polycarp, and certain letters addressed to Urbanus compiled a collection of oracles of the prophets (ib. v. 17) by and Themisio “wrote a Catholic Epistle in imitation of the Apostle” (ib. viii. 5). An anonymous author quoted by Eusebius alludes to literature of this class when it states that he hesitated to write against the Montanists for fear of being charged with adding to the Canon (ib. viii. 3). It is clear that the “new prophecy” was propagated by writing as well as by oral teaching.

20. A tendency was thus noticeable in both sides to division. The Montanists must have regarded the writings of their own prophets as of at least equal value with the Scriptures; they constituted in fact, not in intention, an enlargement of the Canon. It was inevitable that they should be used, like the canonical Scriptures, as authoritative expositions of dogmatic Christianity, and that, like them, they should be variously interpreted. By the end of the 3rd. 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 the Scriptures (Tert. Adv. Marc. viii. 19; pseudo-Tert. ibid. 7; Did. Alex. de Trin. 23, 38, 41; ZKG xxvi. 425 ff.; Tert. adv. Prox. 2, 8, 13). Thus the authority ascribed to the writings of the prophets produced a tendency to the formation of parties differing from one another in matters of faith, and probably also in matters of discipline. This tendency would be greater if it, as seems likely, such writings were not collected into a Corpus. Each community would follow the teaching of such books as they happened to possess, without the obligation of harmonizing it with that of the books possessed by other communities.

22. A similar tendency is revealed in the fact that in the earliest times, apart from the title of Phrygians, which merely indicated the place of origin (Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 17), there was no generally accepted name for the sect. The various communities seem to have been commonly designated as "Montanists" or "Montanistos," and jealous rivalry was afterwards published, and some fragments of which remain (Eus. HE ii. xxv. 6 f., vi. xx. 8). The sect was afterwards known by the title of Praxas, letters were withdrawn (Tert. adv. Prox. 1). There were doubtless later attempts of the same kind; one is referred to by St. Jerome (Ep. xxiv. 50), and a similar attempt was made in Rome, but it is not heard of there after the beginning of the 6th century.

23. It seems probable that 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. 1. 1 ff.).

24. In Africa the propaganda had more success. By the mid-3rd cent. knowledge of the "new prophecy" had reached Carthage—perhaps from Rome, less probably direct from Phrygia—and it gained there its most illustrious convert in the person of St. Cyprian. The document seems to have gone beyond his evidence when he stated that Tertullian at first opposed the movement; he was certainly in later life a sincere and ardent champion of the teaching of Montanus, as he understood it.

25. The qualifying title "Montanist," as it appears in the pages of Tertullian, differs so much, and withal is so little conscious of differences, 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, 9; the words "et alibi") of the oracles of Montanus and Priscilla (he never quotes Maximilla by name), which was apparently incomplete.

Tertullian accepted, without reserve, the claim of the Montanist prophet to have ceased by the Paraclete. But, though he speaks of prophetic speech in a state of ecstasy (de Isi. 3), we find no hint in his writings of the strange phenomena which were the normal objects of strong expression of joy 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. xviii. 3-8) would have had any force against ecstasy so well controlled as this. Tertullian, indeed, identifies ecstasy with amentia (adv. Mar. iv. 22, v. 8), but with such qualification of the meaning of amentia (de An. 45) as to bring him very near to the standpoint of Eastern orthodox writers. Moreover, with habitual inconsistency, he affirmed, in direct opposition to the Phrygians, that the apostles had the fullness of the Spirit.

Further, Tertullian seems to betray no consciousness of the doctrine that there was a succession of prophets from the days of the apostles to Montanus. In the visions of the Baptism (de An. 9, de Isi. 12), till it was restored in the prophets of the Paraclete.

Again, Tertullian never mentions Pepusa. He was a chiliasm, and he expected the Parousia in the near future; but he believed that it would take place in Jerusalem (adv. Mar. iii. 24). He cannot have read the oracle (Epiph. Hær. xlix. 1) which declared that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepusa.

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 Pont. 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 (ib. 19). Nor does he believe that a man should baptize, 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 was anti-Montanist polemic.

26. Thus Tertullian rejected much that in Asia Minor was counted Montanist. And he added much, especially in the direction of rigorism, of acute opposition to paganism, and of avidity for martyrdom. For it is not to be assumed that, when his later views differ from his earlier, and when he proclaims them as taught by the Paraclete, they were really derived from primitive Montanism. Thus in his de Fuga he denounces flight in persecution as sinful, though, in his de Uxorem (l. 3) he counts it lawful; and in his de Pudicitia, forsaking the milder teaching of the de Pudicitia, he denies the power of the Church to forgive grosser sins. But in the former case he quotes oracles which make no reference to flight, and in the latter one which flatly contradicts his thesis (de Fuga, 9, de Pud. 21). In both, the oracles are more in harmony with his earlier attitude than with his later opinions.

Visions also enabled him to add, now a new doctrine (de An. 9), now a fresh rule of discipline (de Virg. Vel. 17), to the official teaching of the "new prophecy."

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; but in his arguments used are identical with those of his de Esportatione castitatis and de Monogamia, including that founded on the nearness of the end, which is more strongly stated in the earlier work. His description of marriage as a sacrament 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 form of discipline. It is not, as in the 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 Asia Minor 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 Montanist movement which lay closest to Eastern opponents caused most scandal. There remained the proclamation of the inspiration of the living Church, burdened with a few corollaries, most of which had been anticipated by his own thinking. Promising 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 Paraclete was made easier for him by the support which they seemed to give to opinions which he maintained in opposition to other Christians.

30. The Tertullianists 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 veneration for Tertullian. The testimonies of 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. 36).

Literature.—Principal sources.—The oracles of the prophets (ed. with commentary in de Labriolle, La Crise, pp. 34-99); the anonymous writer of A.D. 192 (quoted Eus. H. E. v. 3.11); Apollinaris (c. A.D. 250, quoted H. J. 1.1); Hippolytus, Synagoga, represented by pseudo-
MORAL ARGUMENT—MORAL EDUCATION LEAGUE

England, a number of persons interested in the training of the young began to study methods of imparting moral instruction on an ethical basis that were and simple, and in such a way as to meet the needs of children drawn from all denominations. The Union of Ethical Societies seized the opportunity of an approaching election of the London School Board to invite in 1897 a number of societies to send delegates to a conference. In July 1897 the delegates met under the presidency of Frederic Harrison, and adopted a policy of which the two leading statements were as follows:

(1) 'That there is urgent need of introducing systematic moral instruction within the Board schools in place of the present religious teaching.'

(2) 'That this moral instruction should be made the central, culminating and converging point of the whole system of elementary 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 establishment 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 all schools,' 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 replaced by these words: '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 League was altered to the Moral Education League. The League, however, definitely affirms that it 'works on a non-theological basis,' and both its considerable output of literature and its 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 advantage of the Conscience Clause 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 more absorbed in its scheme for building up a method of civic teaching, and for concentrating that method by lessons publicly given under the direction of a Moral Instruction Circle. The Circle 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. Active dissemination of 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 Code 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 contained a section on the formation of character; and in 1908 the Code, issued by Augustinine Berrell, directed local authorities to devote greater and more systematic effort to the subject, though the choice of 'direct' or 'incidental' methods was left open. In 1909 a debate on moral instruction, led by G. P. Goetz and William Collins, took place in the House of Commons, and a number of League representatives, waited upon the Minister of Education (W. Runciman) in May of the same year. Since that date the League has been quiescent in the political field, and has mainly
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devoted its energies to influencing the opinion of educationists and the general public. A return issued by the League in 1908 showed that, of the 257 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, and by including moral elements in the religious course; and twenty authorities had adopted the syllabus drawn up by the League. Besides this syllabus, which supplies a detailed series of notes for the seven standards, the League has published a number of text-books by A. M. Chesterton, Baldwin, Waldegrave, Robson, Reid, Wicksteed, and F. J. Gould, numerous pamphlets, a Quarterly (beginning April 1906), 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 committee appointed by the Moral Instruction and 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 1908 in the shape of the first Moral Education Congress, held in London under the secretaryship of G. Spiller. A similar congress was held at The Hague in 1912.

F. J. GOLDS

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 attained or of a law to be obeyed, we have a teleological or a moral theory of ethics. The former of these was the characteristic type of Greek theories; the latter became predominant in Christian times. Under the teleological conception morality is looked upon as fundamentally a teleological, self-realization, and its laws are regarded as rules for the attainment of a good which every man naturally seeks. It is in this sense that Socrates 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 native goodness in human nature which needs only enlightenment to realize its natural good. Moral conduct is the rational pursuit of happiness.

In a juridical 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 the conscious development of natural powers guided by the idea of happiness, but a life of discipline and subordination to 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 teleological and juridical theories, that the term "moral law," in its strict meaning, denotes an imperative, 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 their moralizing, speculative, and hypothetical character, they have the more of the nature of uniformities in the scientific 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 reflection awakes, however, with its scepticism and questioning of authority, the natural view of morality is the teleological one, and the conception of moral law gives way to that of good. Experience and a deepening of the moral and religious consciousness, such as occurred in the Hellenic age and in early Christian times, revived the dualistic idea of morality and we have the dualistic theories with their central doctrine of moral law 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. Theological. — In the theological systems moral law is regarded as a rule of conduct which has its ground in the nature 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 to enjoy him for ever.' 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 theocentric in nature. To this type belong the various forms of scholasticism, which attempt to delimit the scope of the moral law, and to construct a code of duties which they succeed in really breaking away from their classical originals, as well as the chief systems of Protestant moral philosophy.

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 law as a basis for morals may therefore be described as an order of human nature, known to be such by the unaided reason of the 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 it. The moral law is not imposed from without, but are the expression 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
was prevalent in the earliest period of modern ethics, and represented the attempt to place morals upon a rational basis. The general idea took various forms as it is expressed in the Stoic formula of Grotius and the Neo-Platonic doctrines of the Cambridge Platonists and their like. While the religious and metaphysical implications and foundations, these systems agree in their desire to free morals from theological authority and to found them upon an immanent rather than a transcendent basis. Yet in so doing they tend to lose their jural character and to 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 authority really 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 Platonizing systems to the early forms of English utilitarianism. Indeed, in spite of their rational terminology, it is hardly accurate to include them at all under the jural 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 true that Butler formulated the traditional English theory of conscience half a century earlier, but even in his conception the supremacy of conscience does not involve independence of consequences; its function is to decide between the rival interests of self-love and benevolence, 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 leave it free from any admixture of motives drawn from a consideration 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. A moral law is thus a categorical imperative addressed by the reason to a being not naturally inclined to obedience. The motive to obedience is respect for the law itself whose authority 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 autonomously to be obeyed as such.

There is such a categorical imperative is 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 those free beings are to be formed and what kind of law can be drawn from 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 its illustration of this rational concept of moral law, Kant's theory also illustrates most audibly the jural concept of morality in general, the essence of which, as in Kant's system, is the primacy 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 goes to the opposite extreme and loses its jural character. Kant's system alone is at once a law and absolute.
in every ethical situation, and is more particularly interested in the critical analysis of every given 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 resist the temptation to add 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 unimportant idea of the redemptive quality of the laws of morals. But both Hume and Hutcheson leave unanalyzed a ‘moral sense’ as something ultimate. This moral sense Adam Smith, in his brilliant ethical intuition, sought to resolve into sympathy, or at least to trace its origins 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 empirical rationalism dealt with the codes of morals found in human history, it was fruitful and stimulating in a high degree, and almost inevitably 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. And, when John Stuart Mill conceived his comprehensive case for the ethical evaluation of values, as higher and lower, and thus also a capacity for the intuitive recognition of moral values as higher over other types of value, clear-eyed critics 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 species, and the survival of groups obeying the instincts that made for group-preservation, would in a long 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. T. Hobhouse, and others. The exceedingly useful light that this line of research has thrown upon the gradual development of empirical ethics, and in particular of the foundations of the two issues involved, may be readily 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 of moral obligation is a problem of unexplained evolutionary analysis has not as yet succeeded in building a bridge between the socially useful and the sense of moral obligation to the group. Moreover, even in detail the sense of individual moral obligation presents many difficulties for the socially useful, historically it is easy to show that the sense of moral obligation has time and again protected courses of conduct patently socially detrimental.

5. Critical intuitionism is therefore in many dictating itself, and, especially on the ethical field, there are many attempts to re-state more satisfactorily the position of Kant and Lotze. There is some return to Jacob and Fries, and the philosophies of Wundt, Eucken, Eissler, James, and Bergson are suggesting new formulations for the sense of moral obligation as a category of the practical reason incapable of being analyzed as an 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, from the psychological point of view Wundt and James, as well as Eissler 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 the moral appreciation 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. Bergson 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 Jacob are in the sense of moral obligation the sense of a capacity for reaching beyond the phenomenal, and link this with a re-statement of the Kantian argument for God’s existence. According to this school, the fundamental significance in the sense of moral obligation is the spiritual power of the purposeful character of life. The unity of our mental and spiritual life demands that moral judgments be not irrational, even though complete rationalization may be beyond our powers. However, divergent the empirical codes of social behaviour may be, the existence of a moral obligation is an element everywhere; hence the very rational process itself is involved in a defence of the inherent validity of moral obligation.

6. Conclusion. Moral obligation may then be said to so far defy any further ultimate analysis, and its origin is as mysterious as are all other origins and variations. It is a category of the practical reason, and 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, eudemonistic, and heconic elements. But the tension of the two issues involved may be readily 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 cate- gory of moral obligation is a problem of unexplained evolutionary analysis has not as yet succeeded in building a bridge between the socially useful and the sense of moral obligation to the group. Moreover, even in detail the sense of individual moral obligation presents many difficulties for the socially useful, historically it is easy to show that the sense of moral obligation has time and again protected courses of conduct patently socially detrimental.

LITERATURE. — Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, tr. F. H. Peter, London, 1897; Cicero, De Officiis; James Macfarlane, The Intuitions of the Mind, London, 1890, esp. pi. i. ch. vi.), but the biological analogy has been distinctly overworked, and it is becoming increasingly evident that evolutionary philosophy must assume variations and do not explain them. Thus on the ethical field origins are no more explained than on the biological, and the sense or the socially useful cannot so far be successfully analyzed into unmoral elements. Moreover, even in detail the sense of individual moral obligation presents many difficult-
MORAL SENSE.—The term ‘moral sense’ is practically equivalent to ‘conscience,’ and shares the authority with the terms ‘sense of duty,’ ‘morals,’ and ‘conscience’ as synonyms. The term is often used in the sense of ‘intuition’ (ch. i. sects. i., ii.). Kant, who derived moral distinctions autonomously from reason, and formalism, adds to the categorical imperative, treating the moral sense with contempt when he says:

‘As to moral feeling, this supposed special sense, the appeal to which is indeed superficial when those who hope that feeling will help them out, even in what concerns general laws’ (Metaphysics of Morals, tr. T. K. Abbott, London, 1859, p. 90).

In its treatment of the moral sense, then, the Enlightenment (q.e.) insisted upon something even more rationalistic than conscience.

If 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 18th cent. Adam Smith inculcated 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 self-preservation, and the ideas of justice and beneficence (Moral Sentiments, London, 1759). A century later Darwin connected the moral with the biological, and thus made the moral sense dependent upon the premonitory of the social tendency in man. To ‘sociability’ Darwin adds the principle of ‘reflection,’ without which the social could not have become ethical, so that the ideals of Butler, to whom Darwin pays due tributo, have not been wholly lost to view (Descent of Man, London, 1871, ch. iii.). Equally significant with the departure from the rational is the change from the individualistic to the social; for, where Butler identified conscience and reasonable self-love, Darwin united conscience with the egoistic in human nature.

When biological ethics transferred the seat of the moral sense from the self to society, much of the phenomenology of conscience, shame, approval, obligation, etc., secularized intelligent, at any rate, ‘scientific’ ethics has assumed that the social is conclusive, as appears from such a work as I. Stephen’s Science of Ethics (London, 1882), where biological, social, and ethical are firmly linked (ch. iii.). In opposition to the general style of Butler, J. Martineau has insisted upon the rational and individualistic conception of the moral sense (Types of Ethical Theory, Oxford, 1885, vol. ii. bk. ii. ch. ii.).

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 conventions of the moral social sense as so much ‘bad conscience’ from whose terrible he would emancipate mankind (A Genealogy of Morals, tr. W. A. Haussmann and J. Gray, London, 1886, vol. i. ch. iii.). Ibsen speaks of the modern man as one who, suffering from ‘sickly conscience,’ ‘stands in need of a robust conscience’ (The Master Builder, tr. E. Gove and W. Archer, London, 1888, act ii.), while H. Sudermann, who has since directed attention to ethical theories, perhaps more than any other, to social ethics as such, speaks derisively of the ‘conscience of the race’ (The Joy of Living, tr. E. Wharton, London, 1903, act iv.). Similar expressions of anti-social immoralists may be found in Anatole France, August Strindberg, and Bernard
Shaw. Thus, the status of the moral sense in contemporary thought seems to consist of a dogmatic assertion of the social on the part of science and a rigid, absolute determination by culture.


CHARLES GRAY SHAW.

MORAL THEOLOGY.—See CASUISTRY.

MORALITIES.—See MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.

MORALITY.—See ETHICS AND MORALITY.

MORAVIANS. 1. History.—The Moravian Church, or the Unitas 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, administering the sacraments and preaching the Word of God. Under the constant watchful oversight of the Conference, 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 the more spiritually-minded followers of John Huss were its first members. Henry Nicholas, or by the name of John of Prague, an earnest reformer and eloquent preacher, owed much of his religious enlightenment to the writings of Wyeliff, 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 at the Holy Supper; but others, whose convictions were 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 a religious community on NT lines, in which many of the institutions of the early Christian Church were revived, under the leadership of duly elected elders. At the Synod of Lhota in 1467 they further proceeded to elect their own ministers, and for these they obtained ordination from the Waldensians (q.v.), whose bishop, Stephen, consecrated Michael Bradacius as the first bishop of the Unitas. 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 Faullionis, the Cathari, etc. The validity of these orders was maintained by the faith and witness of the Unitas; and, as the step thus taken involved complete ecclesiastical separation from Rome, it resulted in fierce persecution, despite which, however, the congregation multiplied, and the Church's influence spread far and wide, not merely in Bohemia, but beyond its borders also. The name adopted was "Ludotia Brethelli," the Latin rendering of which, "Unitas Fratrum," was given to the "Ecclesia Fratrum," "the Church of the Brotherhood," would be more correct. The leaders in those early days were Peter of Cheltele, Gregory the patriarch, and Lucas of Prague—men of very different temperaments, but of equal devotion. The Church's doctrines soon became distinctly evangelical; thus, at the Synod of Reichenau in 1455, the Brethren decided the great question, "How shall a man be justified before God?" by the answer, "Through the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and the righteousness which is of God." They laid special stress upon the doctrine of the sacrament and the confirmation; hence, their strict discipline, which later excited the admiration of the Reformers. By the year 1560 they had over 200 congregations with more than 100,000 members; and in 1535 these figures had doubled themselves. It was the Brethren who issued the first hymn-book in the vernacular, in 1501; they set up some of the finest printing-presses in Europe, and used them largely for the production of their translation of the Bible, which is still the standard Bohemian version of to-day. Their schools had a well-deserved reputation; Bohemia's best literature was the product of their scholars. Their church music became famous, especially for the congregational part-singing. Family worship was a feature of their homes; the children were early grounded in the Scriptures; the catechisms were clear, concise, and practical. The Church government was Presbyterian, with the Synod as the supreme court. Its members were allowed to order bishops controlled their own dioceses, and they alone ordained; the presbyters preached and administered the sacraments; the deacons acted as assistants. Infant-baptism was practised, followed by confirmation. As the Church expanded, it came to include three separate branches, in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland; yet the three remained organically one, and thus the Unitas became the earliest International Protestant Church. Its history during the greater part of the 16th and 17th centuries is one long record of persecution, broken by intervals of rest and of official favour. It suffered terribly during the period of the Counter-Reformation, especially after the disastrous battle of the White Mountain in 1620. A veritable 'Book of Martyrs' might be compiled dealing with the days when Rome set itself to exterminate the Unitas. Its foremost leader, Jacob Amos Comenius, the father of universal education, was excommunicated, his clergy imprisoned, its members sent to the mines or kept in dungeons; its churches were closed, its schools destroyed, its Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and histories burned. More than 36,000 families fled from Bohemia, and with them their soul-sustaining bishop, John Amos Comenius, the herald of humanistic and religious training for the young. He was at that time the leading educationalist in Europe, and his writings still rank among the standard authorities. His wanderings took him to Poland and Holland, and he was also invited to England to re-organize the very defective system of education which prevailed in that country. Much sympathy for the Bohemian martyrs had already been aroused during the Commonwealth, when Cromwell offered the Unitas a home in Ireland; and this continued afterwards, when England was made in 1667. The separation of the Anglican churches. In the belief that the days of the Unitas 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 bequeath to our enemies and to all that posses us; but to you our friends (of the Church of England) we bequeath our dear mother; the Church of England may be God's will to revive her in our country or elsewhere. You ought to love her even in her death, because in her life she has given you an example..." ("Ratio Disciplinae," Amsterdam, 1669, Dedication).

He also secured the episcopal succession, apart from the Polish branch in which it still continued, by having his son-in-law, Peter Jazbinsky, conse-
Moravians

erated as bishop by Bishop Bytnar at Mileneys in Poland.

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 1723 a group of refugees from the Moravian border 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 Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Their story was joined by others 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, till from a chance copy of the writings of Comenius he learned what the history of the Unitas had been, how glorious its past, how evangelical its doctrine, and 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 re-organization of this venerable Church, and its re-establishment for future ages. But the Re-

ewened Church was not of Zinzendorf’s creation. Its points of contact with the Unitas lie in the personal descent of many of its members, in the church regulations which were again introduced, and, above all, in the origin of the ministry, which in 1735 were restored, when David Nitschmann was consecrated bishop by Bishop Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, whose father had received the succession from Bytnar 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 national rise of Pietism 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 the mission work, which lay the pledge of its continued existence. At the beginning of the 19th century 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 1732, 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 Eikimos 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 also 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 find teaching Hottentots and Kaffirs the faith of Jesus. They penetrated to Persia and Japan, from which they carried the gospel to the other extremities of the earth, and they established their stations on the Gold Coast and in eight of the W. India Islands, they started a mission to the Jews—and all this as pioneers, and within a few years after the founding of the Church itself. All these missions, however numerous 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. This early characteristic of the Renewed Church still remains its outstanding distinction; and that is why, alone among all others, it possesses no separate missionary society, since the whole 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 military in Berlin. Zinzendorf and his Brethren were invited everywhere, and, as the 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 ‘fervent in spirit’ was insisted on. It was largely by means of these industrial undertakings that Zinzendorf’s untinted 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 necessities.

The first official visit was paid to England in 1735; 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 covert name of the ministry, which in 1735 has 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 Church.

The Moravian influence was unquestionably one of the main factors in the early days of the Evangelical Revival; for a time it equalled 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., around two centres, Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and Salem in N. Carolina; and from each of these two places it spread rapidly in which lay the spread of the Church again of three distinct provinces, according to 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 rather 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.

The death of Zinzendorf in 1760 had important results. It involved a severe financial strain which at one time threatened disaster and dissolution, 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 reorganization of its undertakings. The administrative centre still lies in Germany, while during the latter part of the 19th and all of the 20th century it found itself in the forefront of the controversy with rationalism; they became the recognized cham-
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. In 1738 he himself felt in the universities formative power. Spangenberg learned his religion and gained his conception of the historic Christ at a Moravian college; and Kant, the philosopher of Königsberg, referred his students, when searching for peace, to the Moravian brothers as the way; thus, 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 preaching 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 work 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 activities, and designed to strengthen and promote the unity of believers. This accounts to a great extent for the good-will shown to the Moravians by those who know the disinterested nature of their labors, and the catholicity of their spirit. These matters have been little noticed, no doubt a larger numerical increase 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 communities.

(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 schools, formed a part of the inheritance which had come down from the days of the Uniter. It was held that, just as the Church had its mission to the heathen, who had never heard the gospel, so it had 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 Germany, Holland, 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, men distinguished in almost every calling and rank of life. The standard was high; and, if in many cases the discipline was strict, it was always blended with the kindly influences of a distinctly Christian atmosphere.

(c) Missionary zeal.—The third, and the most characteristic, feature of Moravianism is its missionary zeal. Never since the beginning of the work in 1732 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 links the bond of sympathy with the foreign field is maintained. The Church's energies flow largely through the field of work represented, 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 financial support. Whilst in the 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. Motte 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 207,275 souls instead of some £20,000. And if they went out as missionaries in corresponding numbers, we should have a force of nearly 355,000 foreign workers, which is vastly more than the total number of missionaries estimated as necessary to achieve the evangelisation of the World ("Report of New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1850, p. 97.)

The work abroad has to a great extent been among primitive races, some of them now approaching extinction, in parts of the world that are peculiarly unprofitable and uninviting, and which have been neglected by every one else. These have been taken up by the Moravians in accordance with Zinzendorf's early desire and determination, who, as a schoolboy, 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 Moravi{3}s 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 strengthen and comfort them by their love, as well as their souls. The result was remarkable, for within six years over 90 of the lepers were converted and baptized. Afterward the work was continued on Robben Island, a sandy stretch lying off Cape Town; and still later on, the missionaries built outside the walls of Jerusalem, where the 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, Barbados, Tobago, Trinidad), British Guiana (British Guiana), Surinam (Dutch Guiana), S. Africa, East and West, Nyassa and Umaymazi (in German E. Africa), W. Himalaya, and N. Queensland—144 different countries, 391 stations, with 1503 preaching places. The workers include 387 European and American missionaries, among them doctors, educators, desemones, etc., 48 ordained native ministers, 439 native evangelists, 1663 native helpers of various kinds, and 29 schools in their care. The annual expense amounts to £114,000, exclusive of the Lepers Home, which costs an additional £150 per annum. Mission colleges exist in England, Germany, America, the W. Indies, and the Indian provinces of Labrador, Jerusalem, Surinam, and Kashmir, where Zonana 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 province (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—74, if the Diaspora centres are included. A joint undertaking of the whole Church, apart from the foreign missions, is the evangelization of the lands of its birth and early history, viz. Bohemia and Moravia. Work among the young is carried on in both day and boarding-schools; the home Sunday schools number 175, and have 22,000 scholars; abroad there are 32 schools, with 1430 teachers, and over 25,000 scholars. In England an agency known as the Rural Mission works on lines somewhat similar to the Diaspora on the Continent.

3. Worship.—The worship of the Church com-
bines the liturgical element with a large measure of freedom in extemporaneous prayer—a blending of order and liberty. The British Book of Worship introduces special prayers for public service, an alternate form of prayer, a confession of faith, and formularies for the baptisms of infants and of adults, for confirmation, ordination, marriage, and burial—and combines these with a newly-revised collection of hymns of all ages. It is the latest successor of the first Protestant hymn-book ever issued. The Church's ritual is marked by simplicity and directness of purpose, due largely to a wish to centre the mind on the fact of salvation; the service is performed by the clergy, and the congregational responsibility is slight. It is also 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. 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 creed, compiled by Luther and made up mainly of a connected sequence of Scriptural passages, is recited on the great Church festivals, such as Easter, Whitsunday, etc. In the Trinitarian belief of the Church, a marked emphasis—the Fatherhood of God, the Creator of all things and the Author of salvation; the redemptive and mediatorial work of the Son in His perfect humanity, the 'Lamb of God' once slain, now risen and glorified; the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father, and Whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent after that He went away . . . that He should abide with us for ever.

4. Doctrine.—The main points of doctrine as held and taught are defined 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 and our justification through the sacrifice of the Cross; the doctrine of good works as 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 over the Church, which is His Body. Thus in the creed of the Church there is detailed expression of what has been called the doctrine of the Church of England, or the Anglican doctrine. The Church of England is an evangelical church, though not nominal; its members are not catechumenal, but its creed is 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 dogmas, 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 in 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, as defined by the Church of 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 is founded on the principle of religious liberty, which at one time was something of an oligarchy, 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 of 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 the account of their newly-revised collection of hymns of all ages. It is the latest successor of the first Protestant hymn-book ever issued. The Church's ritual is marked by simplicity and directness of purpose, due largely to a wish to centre the mind on the fact of salvation; the service is performed by the clergy, and the congregational responsibility is slight. It is also 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. 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 creed, compiled by Luther and made up mainly of a connected sequence of Scriptural passages, is recited on the great Church festivals, such as Easter, Whitsunday, etc. In the Trinitarian belief of the Church, a marked emphasis—the Fatherhood of God, the Creator of all things and the Author of salvation; the redemptive and mediatorial work of the Son in His perfect humanity, the 'Lamb of God' once slain, now risen and glorified; the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father, and Whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent after that He went away . . . that He should abide with us for ever.

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doctrine, but to evidence and promote the oneness of believers in Christ, and to prove the possibility of faith, organizes as well as spiritual, which rises above all barriers of nationality and opinion. The Moravian Church does not work in opposition to any other evangelical Church, nor does it seek to increase its membership by any systematic proselytizing, but gathers into the fold of Christ those who are still outside, and then to further that growth in grace and that fruitfulness of service which are the divinely appointed means for the spread of the Kingdom of God among the children of men. It is above all else a missionary and a union Church.

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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 experience or moral disease or morbidity. One author, treading the same path, and moral writers tend, on the whole, to limit moral and religious states of mind to the phenomena of such insanities, such as the delusion that one is God or Jesus Christ, or that one has committed the unpardonable sin. While it is difficult to differentiate between sanity and insanity, a useful mark of the latter is that, apart from the disease, one seems to be at least, of fulfilling their social functions. Thus, all the insanities are cases of moral inanity 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 mistakes of human nature. The best example is the moral distortions frequently found among adolescents. Under the stress of the social and mental re-organization that is going on at this period of life, the following types of moral distortions are manifest:

(1) Excessive or minute introspection of one’s desires, motives, or choices, often with the application of excessively severe standards to one’s self. In religious communities that emphasize such conformity as conversion, recreation, and the witness of the Spirit, this introspection often consists in a search for signs of the divine presence or of divine operations within one’s self.

(2) Hypercriticism may have many causes and religious situations and distinctions. To be wrong at all is to be human; only perfection is really good—this is the attitude of mind. This is what is often called ‘morbidity conscience.’ The victim of it is likely to put absurd emphasis upon the exact performance of trifles that seem to be duties. Habitual self-condemnation or censure may also appear.

(3) A passion for certitude, and refusal to live by the ordinary, common assumpions, probabilities, and ‘rule of thumb’ devices of mature 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 his own mind that he did.

(4) Feverish or self-analysing 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-chastitement 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 failure to function in the presence of normal stimuli. Callousness towards the pain and pleasures of others and lack of interest in marks.

In less extreme cases the callousness appears only in spots, as towards some one person, human interest, or kind of duty.

These adolescent twists illumine 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 nature and excess of culture, excess of it, excess and defect of introspection, over- and under-censure, 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 tolerance.

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 mental processes which lead to a state that starts an unfortunate mental habit. The fundamental facts with which we have to deal are excess, defect, and distortion of emotion. Not infrequently morbid persons cherish a conviction that their mental processes are beyond their power to control, that they are normal 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 marked by 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 irritation, of a drug, or of fatigue. The reason why morbidity occurs so frequently in adolescence is that the pubertal change and the consequent re-organization of habits put extraordinary demands upon the nervous system. To this must be added the peculiar burdens of school life, economical life, and social life that our occidental customs impose upon youth. Finally, in many cases sexual perversion 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 not be a matter of
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Discussion of depressive states of the neurasthenic type will be found in E. Worcester and others, Religion and Morals, New York, 1906. See also J. Breder, Religion und Sehnsucht, Halle, 1897.

GEORGE A. COE.

MORDVINS.—1. Introduction and sources.—The Mordvins form a branch of the Finno-Ugric race (cf. vol. vi. p. 293), 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 time when, in name at least, they had been converted to Christianity by the Russians, and when they could practice 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 overthrew the Tatars 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 were submitted en masse to 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, as a matter of fact, 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. Barbaro, who 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 social practices of the Mordvins made by N. Wittgenstein, the Dutchman, at the close of the 17th cent. are altogether negligible; nor can we gather much of value from the accounts of P. J. Strahlenberg, H. Müller, F. Lepeschkin, J. G. Georgii, and P. S. Kalita, 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 Miljukov in 1783, and several times printed (most recently in Tsemboskija Etoprovalenie, no. 19, Petrograd, 1905, p. 815 ff.). From the middle of the 19th cent. we find in Russian newspapers and periodicals (especially those of the provinces), as in other publications, sporadic notices and descriptions of local conditions. Accounts of a more general character have been given by Meljinkov, mainor, and Smirnov (cf. Literature at end). Meljinkov (writing c. 1860) 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 Mainor, 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 Meljinkov. 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 the published sources, but also upon collections made by the present writer among the Mordvins themselves, and the fairly abundant MS material subsequently forwarded by the native Mordvins to the Finno-Ugric Society in Helsingfors. Its like likewise draws upon 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 also deposited in the Annales Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Petrograd. The latter group of MSS had been already used in part, though very unsystematically, by Meljinkov and Mainor.

LITERATURE.—G. Vorbrot, Zur Religionpsychologie, Prinz, 1875. G. Brecher, Psychologie des Indier, Jena, 1866, pp. 237-293, argues against the view that religion as such is a moral phenomenon. J. A. Baier, Psychologie des Angehoren, Freiburg, 1855, gives an extended analysis of religious extremes of various sorts. E. D. Starbuck, The Psychology of Devotion, London, 1899, shows that conversion in general, a normal rather than abnormal phenomenon, chiefly of adolescence (ch. xii.), but he presents nothing with a more direct bearing on the present subject, i.e., religious terrors, delusions, depression, and introspection (ch. xiii.). G. A. C. Coe, The Spiritual Life, New York, 1900, also devotes a chapter to difficulties, particularly doubts and moral conscience. As already indicated, A. E. Giles, Moral Pathology, London, 1855, is not significant for our topic. A popular
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 in the earth—hence the large articles required by them were placed beside their bodies in the grave. In death as in life kith and kin are still together, so that the graveyard is the counterpart of the village; there is no realm of the dead separated from the living, according to the graveyard, the human-like shades come forth to visit the living. Each family worships its own 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 honored with the title of 'ruler of the graveyard' (kal'mou 'birdy'). The prevailing idea seems to be that this progenitor should not belong to too remote a past; thus among certain Erzii Mordvins 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 come directly from Moscow and so as to be relatively modern, and thus also the worship, of the earlier generations having faded away. Festivals in honor of deceased individuals are celebrated during the first year after death—one immediately after his death, and others at intervals, as e.g., six weeks, 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, while prior to that time it lingers chiefly in its former house, or it may still 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 be in attendance, and are implored to take the newly departed into their midst.

General festivals for all departed ancestors (poklittat babat, or at'at babat, 'grandfathers and grandmothers' [=ancestors]), again, are celebrated at least twice a year, in spring and autumn (but at the dates of the first and last Friday of a month). The general festivities were for the most part brought into accordance with those of the commemorative celebrations appointed by the Russian Church. The ancestors were invited in due form to a feast at the village, the several houses of the family-group being taken in rotation for this banquet of the living with the dead. According to a tradition from the beginning of the 17th cent., joint festivals for all deceased in a large part of the country were held by 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, these latter are in some districts conjoined with these as objects 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 are asked to preserve their 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 they appear on their own initiative, they are greatly feared, especially as causing disease. Peculiar terrors are excited by the dead who perish by accident—e.g., by drown-

ing—or who for other reasons have not received proper burial, as also by those who die without surviving kindred; such unforeseen cases, accordingly, attended to only in the festivals for their own ancestors.

In connexion with the ceremonial of this ancestor-worship, special mention must be made of the fact that at the festivals for deceased individuals, according to the graveyard, the human-like clay image or a doll representing the dead was set on the bench by the feast table; subsequently this was replaced by articles of clothing belonging to him. At these festivals, however, the departed has also a living representative, a person of the same sex and of about the same age, who acts his part, and is treated by those present as if he were the deceased. He presents himself in the clothes of the dead, and frequently is conducted from the graveyard, and then, at the door of the house, taken back to it. According to some accounts, he never speaks at all, but parleys heartily of the banquet, and receives the tokens of respect accorded by those present. Other accounts inform us, however, that he caries on a conversation with them: he tells them of the life of the under world, and of those who have gone there before him; he gives them good counsel, admonishing them to live in times of peace and merit, and to take from theft and excessive drinking, to look well after their cattle, and the like; he blesses man and beast, settles disputes regarding inheritance, etc.

According to some authorities, the dead, during their existence in the grave, undergo a second experience of death, passing thereby 'into a higher state,' in which they no longer maintain direct relations with those living upon the earth, but have intercourse only with those who have died long since, and through the latter alone influence the fortunes of the living.

Although the ancestors are worshipped and invoked like the gods, and to some extent conjointly with them, the two classes are, nevertheless, rigidly distinguished from each other. Still, there seem to be cases where the people have quite forgotten the human origin of a dead person whom they worship, and he is invoked as a god (pax). Among the Erza in the governments of Kazan and Saratov we find a deity called Bolta, i.e., the heavy god, who is honoured with special sacrificial festivals, and is entreated not to lançh 'his heaviness' (i.e., evil generally) upon the people. In some parts a field is dedicated in his name and bearing various proper names—e.g., Onto and Bonko (who are supposed to be husband and wife)—are invoked by the epithet of Staka pas, while elsewhere the 'heavy god' is addressed in the sacrificial prayers also as Kan pas, Kuvan pas, and regarded as living 'in the black earth.' The word Kus, the designation of which is now unknown to the people at large, is simply the Tatar kus, 'prince,' so that kan pas means 'the god-prince'; kuvan, again, is in all likelihood traceable to the Turkish princely title kagan in its Chuvash or Bulgar phonetic form kogan or kugan (with or u instead of the common Turk. a), which, though it has not come down to us, would correspond perfectly to the Mordvin kagon. As the Mordvin pantheism is, at one time among the subject peoples of the Volga Bulgars, the ancestors of the Chuvashes of to-day, we may be permitted to conjecture that the 'heavy god' was originally the spirit of a high Turkish ruler; similarly, the other heavy gods, such as Onto, etc., perhaps represent native princes of a bygone age.

With the Mordvin cult of the dead is probably connected in some way, as it is the custom of the deity or spirit called Keremot (Erza) or Keremot (Moksha), a name of Chuvash origin (in
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the Chuvash tongue of to-day, Karimät, originally an Arab. word). Among the Mordvins this deity bears the title soltan, sulta, which is obviously the same as the Arabo-Turkish sultan. What is told of him among the Mordvins is much the same as what is told, as was stated above, of the Moksha, according to an early account, he was a deity of great prestige and power, and superior to all others in his influence upon everyday life—in no sense a malign spirit, like Keremät, the Chereisses. Although he bears a name of foreign origin, and was regarded by the Moksha as ‘born 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-rite. In the legal proceedings of the community oaths are taken in the name of Kerémät, and it is believed that those who are guilty of crime 

2. Nature.—(a) Air and sky.—In the Erz tribe the deity of the sky is called Vere-pass, i.e. ‘the god who is above.’ We also find mention of Skipas and Niške-pass or Niške, the latter of whom, while new to the Erz, was originally of the Erz tribe. Vere-pass was originally in all likelihood a distinct god (probably of foreign origin). In a number of ancient MSS the name Niške occurs in the form Ineskhe, whence it appears that the name is really a compound. Interestingly enough, the first element of the divine name Ski-pass just mentioned, Skí, again, is a participle of an obsolete verb ski, meaning ‘bear,’ ‘procreate,’ so that Ski-pass signifies literally, ‘the generative god,’ ‘seed-god,’ and Niške, ‘the great procreator.’ The sky-god of the Moksha is called Škaj—a name corresponding exactly to the Erz Ski—or, with the addition of the term for ‘god,’ which among the Moksha is still often identified with the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos; he has also two daughters, Karstargo and Vezorgo, while in the songs we likewise hear of a son. Among the Moksha the wife of the sky-god is, so far as is known, mentioned, along with daughter. Сhrenzhe in the Chinese single song, where she is called Skabas-ava, ‘Mother Skabas.’ Strahenberg states that the highest deity of the Mordvins’ (by which term he obviously means the Erz tribe) is Jumilja; in the first portion of his name, jum, we have perhaps a cognate form of the Cheremiss term Juno, applied to both the sky-god and the sky, and of the stem in the Finnish jumala, ‘god,’ while the second element is either equivalent to Sin-pass, ‘sun-god,’ or, more probably, an incorrect form of Ski-pass (see above). Among the Mordvins generally thanks-god ranks as supreme among the gods, and to him must frequently be offered the ritual sacrifice. It may be noted, however, that, according to a report from the middle of the 19th cent., the Moksha, or at least part of them, did not offer sacrifice to Skaj at all, but simply, at the beginning of the chief festival, ‘washed’ their god with a brief prayer for protection. A special deity of thunder, who is worshipped in the communal sacrificial feasts, is found among the Erz. He is called Purgin-pass (‘the god Thunder,’ ‘thunder-god’), and the worshippers beseech him to send a beneficial rain, but not the noisome hail; his figure has been strongly influenced by that of the prophet Elijah in popular Russian belief. Among the Moksha thunder is called atam, a derivative of ad, ‘grandfather,’ ‘old man,’ and this, together with the fact that the rainbow is termed ad-man (‘bow’), would indicate that the Moksha also personified thunder, though the imperfect sources certainly say nothing of a thunder-cult among them.

In the prayers and elsewhere the sun is referred to as the god paza, pava, viz. Tsi-pass (Erz), Sibavas (Moksha), ‘the god sun,’ ‘sun-god,’ and Kova, Kova-bivas, ‘the god moon,’ ‘moon-god.’ Special obligations are accorded to the sun at the sacrificial feasts. The worship of the moon seems to involve more than that, when a person first describes the new moon, he bows before it with a prayer for good health, and promises it a whole (i.e. uncut) loaf. The morning and the evening glow are invoked, with Russian proper names attached to the terms, almost exclusively in magic formulae—e.g. as ‘morning-glory Maryia,’ ‘evening-glory Dariya’—and were probably derived, along with the formule themselves, from the Russians. On the midday and midnight, and others of similar character, which are likewise designated by Russian proper names in the magic formula.

Among the deities of the sky there should perhaps be included a goddess styled Azr-ava, ‘mistress,’ who, in addition to Kerémät, was once highly revered among the Moksha, at least in some districts. She was said to dwell in the high place, in the upper part of the atmosphere, and bore the epithets ‘main-bringer’ and ‘corn-bearer;’ she seems, however, to have been rather closely related in some way to Kerémät, as in the local law-courts oaths were taken in her name (see above). Here, too, may be mentioned an obscure goddess named Ancζ-pa or Ancζ-pass (pate, more correctly pot’a, means ‘elder sister’), who is said in one MS to have been worshipped among the so-called Terychans (Russified Erz in the government of Nijni Novgorod), but is otherwise unknown.

The name Ujusd or Üjé’s—/a word of obscure origin—is used among the Moksha to denote a person of spirits who wander about the upper atmosphere amid harmonious sounds (mingled, indeed, with inharmonious) and to whom women make offerings of their hair. Should one who catches a glimpse of these spirits at once implore their good fortune, he obtains his wish, though at times their gift may be death. With this host may be compared the celestial spirit known among the Chuvashes as Kevak Xuppi, ‘the gate of heaven’—the personification of some luminous appearance, when the gate of heaven opens, one obtains what one asks for.

In some districts the Mordvins worshipped the wind, mostly under the name of Varma-ava, ‘mother wind,’ ‘wind-mother,’ both privately and at the communal sacrifices; and in her divine capacity she was specially invoked not to damage the corn and hay crops. Worship, with offerings of food, was accorded also to Kuč, or Moroz-at’a or Kelme-at’a, ‘old man frost,’ but only within the house; the ceremonial of this cult is manifestly of Russian origin, as is probably also the spirit itself.

5. Earth, field, and grain.—Mastor-ava, ‘mother earth,’ ‘earth-mother,’ especially among the Erz, appears as one of the most revered of deities, being often called, indeed, immediately after the sky-god, ‘god.’ The set phrase, ‘First he bowed before the sky-god, and then before mother earth.’ At the communal sacrifices the Erz besought her to give them a good harvest and to bestow good health upon the
tilers of the field. She seems sometimes to have borne the epithet Mastor-pas, 'god earth,' 'earth-god,' although elsewhere Mastor-pas appears as a distinct (male) deity, whom people invoked in their imprecations to bring disaster to their enemies by destruction. The Moksha, too, had their Master-ava, 'mother earth,' but in their official worship her place is taken by Pak's-ava, 'mother field,' 'field-mother,' or Pak's-azērava, 'field-mistress,' 'field-hostess,' or, again, Norov-ava, 'corn-field.' Among the Erz, there is little mention of 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 Novov-ava, 'the god (female) corn,' to whom, among the Moksha, corresponds S'or-ava (or sometimes Noru-ava), 'mother corn'; S'or-ava, however, is found mainly in the magic formulae and in the songs. Each tilled field had its own particular spirits. For the meadow likewise there was a special presiding spirit, called Nar-azērava, '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 with a few pieces of bread, accompanied by a prayer for her protection.

(c) Forest and tree.—The forest-spirit — each forest has one of 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) have been borrowed in detail from Ljejy, the evil forest-spirit of the Russians (on the Ljesy), in whose cult she is not worshipped. According to our older records, however, the forest-mother, who among the Moksha is also known as Vir-azērava, 'forest-hostess,' 'forest-mistress,' was a friendly deity, to whom the hunters and the gatherers of fruits, berries, or mushrooms prayed for protection against wild beasts, serpents, and ill-luck of any kind, and for success in their efforts, presenting her at the same time with small obligations of food, drink, and money. Among the Erz the Moksha similar petitions are addressed also to Vira-pavas, 'the god forest.' While, according to the extant sources, the forest-spirits were not worshipped at the communal sacrifice, there seems likely to be a certain report that such worship was paid to particular trees—oak, lime, birch, pine—which were entreated to grant prosperity to crops and cattle; we read, e.g., of Tumu-pas, 'the god oak,' 'oak-god,' to whom were addressed prayers for the spells there is frequent mention of Cuvo-ava, 'tree-mother,' who, as in the case of many other spirits, was asked to pardon some supposed injury unwittingly done to her—e.g., by a push—and who punished the offender by afflicting him with disease.

(d) Water.—The water-deity common to all the Mordvinas is Ved-ava, Vedmaster-ava, 'mother water,' 'water-mother,' known among the Moksha as Ved-azērava, 'water-hostess,' '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, which may bear a more definite name—e.g., Rav-ava, 'a mother fowl,' 'mother fountain,' etc. In the songs we find mention also of a 'sea-mother' (Mor-ava), probably of Russian origin; with her should perhaps be identified the Ot'su-avē-azērava, 'sea-mistress' (as is the case with the god and goddess), etc., of an older Moksha account, although our informant interprets her name as Ot'su-avē-azērava, 'the great water-mistress,' i.e. as denoting a universal supreme water-goddess, 'the ruler of all local waters.' In an Erz sacrifice personal power, or the find Ved'en-kan, 'prince or prince of water,' or Ved-kan, 'water-prince,' the (sense of the word kαn, which is of Tatar origin, is not known to the people generally); mention is made also of Lis magirde-pas, the god who presides over winds and storms. A special water-spirit is Ved-enjar, 'water-dweller,' or Vetsa-enjar, 'he who inhabits the water'; there, in fact, many such spirits; they are malignant beings, who, like vampire spirits, lie in wait for newly-born children, devour the grain, and have been cursed by an enemy, etc. So far as we know, they are not worshipped. It is probable that these water-spirits, our information regarding whom is very meagre, were originally the souls of persons who had been drowned.

4. House, court-yard, etc.; the village.—The spirit of the dwelling-house bears various names. Among the Moksha it appears as Kud-azērava or Kudzli-azērava, 'house-mistress,' 'house-mother,' and also as Kud-ava, 'house-god,' 'the god house'; while among the Erz we find Kudoc't'im pas, 'god of the house' (koc, koc or koc being the analogue of kudo, kud, 'house'), or Keren'sotakom pas, 'god of the lime-bark and the beam-god' (sotakom = sotak, 'beam-god,' sometimes (perhaps through a misunderstanding and corruption of the original name) Keran'sotakom pas, 'the god of the hewn beam, or beams,' and in some districts also Kud-sarjava, 'house-mother' (lit. 'dwelling-place-mother of the house').

The dwelling-place as a whole, i.e. the court-yard, the dwelling-house, and its adjoining buildings, which the Moksha frequently designate by the name yurt, a word borrowed from the Tatar language, has a special spirit of its own, the Jurt-ava, 'dwelling-place-mother,' known among the Moksha also as Jurt-azērava, 'dwelling-place-mistress.' This spirit, especially among the Erz, has in many cases assumed the above-mentioned household-spirit in the proper sense, and taken its place; in this capacity it is also called Kudo-jurtava (see above) by way of distinguishing it from Kudarsim-ava, 'dwelling-place-mother of the house.' It is represented as a dwarfish female being, or as a cat-like creature, which lives under the stove, being thus obviously connected with the Russian domestic spirit Domovoj (on which see ERE iv. 826 f.), which likewise lives near the stove, and has the form of a dwarf or a cat. Common to all the Erz is a special spirit of the court-yard named Kordasiar'ka, 'court-sar'ka' (a word of obscure meaning in this connexion), who, in the particular in the magic formulae we find a vast number of distinct spirits, quasi-personifications of various parts of and articles in the living-room, and usually described as 'mothers,' 'mistresses' or 'riders,' Patsakhazērava (Moksha), 'stove-mistress,' Ulman's kird ('Eraz', 'ruler of the stove,' Keshk-ava, 'stove-mother,' etc., Koba-ava, 'stove-mother,' etc., Kozghi, and among the Erz Tymo is a benevolent domestic spirit of a dwarfish human form, who, however, is not worshipped.

He belongs to his master whatever of other people's property the latter may desire, but a task must be set for him every night, else he will begin to carry his master's goods to others. Those who wish to obtain such a spirit must keep an egg of a hen or a cock (?) from seven to twelve weeks in the apricot, remaining meanwhile under a pear-tree, then burnt out. It is also possible to kill this spirit. The name Tymo seems to be derived from the verb ty'm, 'to nourish,' 'to nurse,' 'to raise a young animal, a compound formed of ty, 'serpent,' and mor, 'owl,' and thus originally meant 'serpent-owl;' though the Mordvinas no longer think of it as having such a form, the fact is, among the Lithuanians the analogous spirit, the Kanka (on which see ERE ii. 806), is represented as an owl and now as a fiery dragon; cf. also the myth of the basilisk.
lives beneath a stone situated in the court,1 and is generally represented as a male, though sometimes as a female. Among some of the Moksha we hear of a court-spirit named Koram-ot’s-an, the chief of the court, while others speak of a special spirit called Kalka-ava, cattle-yard-mother.

In the Mordvin, 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 tribunal held by the head of the household, with his family and friends, according to the practice, it was the practice to wear by 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., Frolov, (a distortion of two saint’s names, Flor and Lavr), surnamed Alis-an-pas, ‘horse-god,’ Nastasja (Russ. Anastasia), with the epithet Reven-pas, ‘sleep-god(ess);’ Milikovitch mentions also a ‘twine-god’ (Tsom-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, ‘bath-goddess,’ a common name for ‘mistress,’ and on certain definite occasions offerings of food and drink were presented to these spirits. Likewise the ice-garden, sometimes forming part of the house-garden, sometimes situated in the forest, had its particular spirit: Neskep-uhna (Moksha), ‘beech-goddess,’ Neike-pas (Ezra), ‘beech-god,’ etc. Mention is made even of an alley or lane-god (Ula-sans). The village, too, had its spirit, called the ‘village-mother,’ Vel-a-zarevna, ‘village-mistress,’ or Velen-pas, ‘god or goddess of the village;’ this spirit was worshipped at the communal sacrifices.

5. Evil spirits. To this class belong the spirits called bishon (‘Satan’; pl. bishon), who dwell in marshes and waters (especially in deep parts), but also on dry land, in caverns. They beget children: they appear in various forms, including that of a fish. In the Mordvin they are found also as servants of the wicked earth-god Mastor-pas (see above, p. 845). The Erza believe in a distinct spirit of curses, ‘the ruler of the curse,’ called Ezri, ‘curse,’ Ezri-pas, ‘curse-god,’ the god curse (also Ezri) in the Moksha, sometimes terrified as having a wife and a large family. Another evil spirit is Ayes, or Javies (Moksha), Ezu, Ezuz (Ezra), called also Idem-eyes (idem, ‘fierce,’ etc.). According to this spirit, 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 Erza 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 chickens, etc.

6. General observations on the Mordvin mythology.

Among the Mordvin the personification of the deities (nature-spirits) is of a very flexible character, especially in the cultus—a fact signally attested by linguistic usage, and also by the sacrificial prayers. Thus the ‘rising and setting sun-god (god sun)’ and ‘the moon-god (god moon) who moves in a circle’ are simply the sun and the moon in their visible form, but regarded as animate. As regards the legendary sages and the heroes there is nothing that would point to their personification, and, while in the mythology the sun is depicted as a maiden and the moon as a man, this is probably due to the fact that both are seen frontwise. Nor can the designation ‘mother’

1 The blood of sacrificial animals is allowed to run into the cavity under this stone.

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 has been affected by foreign (Aryan, Lithuanian, Turkic) influence, as well as by native, (a number of mythological terms—e.g., pavo, povo, ‘god’ (cf. O. Ind. bhūgas, O. Pers. baha), Pur’gine, the thunder-god (cf. Lith. pur’kinai), Keramati (cf. Tatar Sajtan, Chuvash Sajtjan); in all these, 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 these sacrificial feasts were held, and the Keremati, appear to have been fenced in. On at least some of the sacrificial sites stood a simple building without windows, which, like the ordinary dwelling-house, was roofed and served for religious purposes. The deities were not represented in material forms—the obscure indications of such likenesses found in Russian sources probably refer to representations of the dead. The offerings comprised all kinds of edible animal products, from horseflesh and fowl’s heads, while, as has already been said, allusions to an earlier practice of human sacrifice are not wholly absent from the tradition. Parts of the sacrificial animal—especially, but not exclusively, the nature-deities sometimes included part of it (analogous magic), while the form of the prayer used occasionally recalls that of a magic formula—e.g., ‘sky-god, may the corn prosper!’ The ceremonies have, on the other hand, been noticeably influenced by Russian practice. Thus, in the sacrificial feast, the sky-god, like the dead in the mortuary feast, had a human representative, who in his stead responded to the person praying.

The notices regarding the sacrificial priests show great divergences. According to some accounts, there were priests and priestesses—designated respectively in-at’e, ‘great old man,’ and un-bates, ‘great old woman,’ among the Moksha—who held a life appointment, and who did duty also at marriages and in the legal proceedings of the community, while other reports indicate that they were selected for definite periods of longer or shorter duration. In addition to the designations just given, there were also in-at’e, ‘old man’ (cow-at’e, meaning something like ‘sacrificing old man,’ an-at’e, ‘he who sacrifices or prays,’ anat-baba, ‘the old woman who sacrifices or prays,’ and ari-waas (u), ‘great, old woman.' In some of the sacrificial feasts both sexes took part, but there were also distinct festivals for males and females respectively. The public worship of the deities was connected in the closest way with agriculture, though to the cult of the deities is also connected with the related industry of cattle-rearing, and the deities were specially besought 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 boons alone; but that element, as already indicated, does not seem to have been wholly absent from the cult of the dead, or from the worship of Keremati (and the obscure Azër-ava), and the spirits of the house and the homestead.

8. Magic.—From the sacrificial priest should be distinguished the sorcerer and sorceress, although there is certainly a notion 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. vodj-ev, sorchev (Russ. волк, волк), but we find also a genuine native term, sodit’a, sodit’j, ‘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 by all these prayers there is a specially large number in which a spirit (e.g., the earth-mother) is solicited to pardon a presumptive 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 (e.g., those of the spirits) are driven out by threats and by magic practices, special magic formulæ serve to protect against the evil eye, and so on. Magic might, of course, be employed also to cause injury.

The magic formulæ and associated practices of the Mordvin show, on the whole, strong evidence of Russian influence, or, to speak more accurately, have for the most part been borrowed from the Russian people.


MORMONISM.—See SAINTS, LATTER-DAY.

MOSQUE.—See ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadian in Syria and Egypt).

MOTHER.—See CHILDREN, FAMILY, MOTHER-

MOTHER OF THE GODS (Greek and Roman).—The Mother of the Gods was identified by Homer (II. xvi. 187) and Hesiod (Theog. 854) with Rhea, the wife of Cronus. She was famous in legend for having prevented Cronus from swallowing Zeus by providing him instead with a huge stone which she had prepared in advance (Hes. Theog. 483 ff.; Apollod. i. 5). The story was localized in Crete, which thus became the fabulous birth-place of Zeus. There is some evidence of an old-established cult of the mother of gods at various places on the mainland, although the name Rhea scarcely appears in this connexion. Thus,
there was an altar of the Mother of the Gods in the agora at Athens (Estchein, i. 60), and a sanctuary (magos), which was used as a record office (Leuc. 65). An ancient festival, known as Galaxia, on the occasion of which a barley sace was boiled in milk, was celebrated in her honour (Str. ii. 30). Graces, Beross. 1814-21, p. 229. 5). The etiological legend which ascribes the foundation of the sanctuary to the expiation required for the murder of a Phrygian (schol. Aristoph. Frat. 431; Phot. Lex., p. 918) clearly shows 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 house, where she was worshipped in conjunction with Pan (Pyth. iii. 77 ff.; 137 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 Megalopolis in Arcadia, and of another, which was roofless, closed by a roof of reeds and the Alphecus, and of two lions made of stone in its immediate neighbourhood (ib. xiv. 3). But the oldest of her temples in the Peloponnesus, containing a stone image of the goddess herself, was at Acrinon in Laconia (ib. ii. xxi. 4). Yet another temple was at Corinth (ib. ii. iv. 7) with 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. 58 ff.; 127 ff.), whose influence in Greek religion was henceforth increasingly important. Already in the Homeric prelude (Hyg. xiv.), the Mother of the Gods is addressed as rejoicing in the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, the blowing 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-slaughtered lions. She is there also addressed as ‘all-fostering Earth,’ and there are other passages in which the earth-goddess is depicted as the Mother of the Gods (Hyg. Horn. ii. 17; Solon, frag. 36. 2; Soph. frag. 268)—a title which she might well have claimed as mother and wife of Uranus according to the Hesiodic theology (117 ff.). The connection of the worship of the Mother of the Gods as merely a development from the vague conception of a motherly earth. The identifications of the Mother of the Gods by certain 5th cent. poets (Eur. Hyl. 130 ff.; Melanippides, frag. 10 [T. Berck]. Pind. Lyrici Graeci 4, Leipzig, 1878-82. iii. 592]; Pind. Isthm. vii. 4) with Demeter, who, according to the received genealogy, was a daughter of Rhea (Hes. Theog. 451), is a further cause of range bey. The existence of a Metronom at Agrae (PThi i. 323; K. G. Fransen, Pausanias, London, 1892, 204), where the lesser mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter, may assist those who maintain that the Athenian Mother was another form of Demeter (Krause, i. Berlin, 1887, p. 651). Lastly, we must take into account the antiquity of the cult of the Mountain-Mother in Crete, which has been abundantly discussed by the Cretan discoveries. 1 Pindar (frag. 89) is the earliest writer who is known to have given the name Cybele to the Mother of the Gods (cf. Aristoph. 427 ff.).

1 The reference of Pausanias to Mt. Sipylos indicates the probable site of the Phrygian Rhea, the stone was worshipped in Asia Minor. There is a curious reference to the cult of an anonymous Mother-goddess in Alex. frag. 327. 306 ff.}

of recent years. Most significant in this connexion is the impression of a signet-ring found at Cnossos, which represents the goddess standing on the apex of a mountain and guarded on either side by a lion (see art. MOUNTAIN-MOTHER).

To disentangle the actual course of development from these extraneous and accidental 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 identity of the two goddesses never so completely merged that the Rhea of the Greek theogonies did not remain distinct from the partner of Attis (Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie, p. 1921). Some modern investigators hold the opinion that the fusion did not take place until the period subsequent to the Persian Wars (J. Beloch, Griech. Geschichts, Strassburg, 1833-1904, ii. 5). 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. 1935). Beyond this lies the question whether the goddesses subsequently identified were in origin entirely distinct (Wilamowitz, in Hermes, xiv. [1879] 195), or whether the Phrygian Cybele 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 Asia Minor [P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache, Göttingen, 1886, p. 194 ff.]. Moderne theorie <small>icht an</small> (Kretschmer, in Roscher, ii. 1600), and to distinguish from Rhea a Greek Mother of the Gods, whose relation to the Phrygian Cybele is to be explained by the fact that she belonged to a period anterior to the separation of Greeks and Phrygians. It is argued that, though the evidence of the cult of Rhea is scant, its existence as distinct from that of the Mother of the Gods is well attested in Arcadia (Paus. viii. xxxvi. 3), at Olympia (schol. Pind. Ol. v. 10) and at Athens (Paus. i. xvii. 7). To this it has been replied (vog. iii. 226) that the double title justified the establishment of distinct sanctuaries, and that it was quite possible for a Goddess of 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 προς γοριν, in reference to the goddess 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 influences. Instances of such coincidence are the appearance of the Idaean Daedals 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 pre-historic times. On the other hand, although Cybele did not appear in myth as the Mother of the Gods, the supposition that she was originally distinct from Rhea, and that some accidental resemblance led to their confluence, seems to be refuted by the remarkable agreement of the traditions relating to the two goddesses. Thus, the birth of Hermes in a cave at Mt. Ida in Crete corresponds to the worship of Cybele in the hollows of Trojan Ida (Eur. Or. 1449; Lucr. ii. 611 ff.); the stone which Rhea offered to Cronus to the sacred stone of Cybele at Pessinus (Livy, xxxix. 11); the sacred oaks of Attica, after those of the Phrygian Corybantes (Lucian, de Salt. 8); and the Idaean Daedals, the attendants of Rhea,
The general characteristics of Cybele-worship have been described elsewhere (see art. ATTIS, CYBELE), and consequently we may limit ourselves to the impression which it made upon Greek civilization at various epochs. Attis was a youth beloved and eunuch-like in his youth, and his story is of a parallelism to that of Aphrodite and Adonis. According to the various narratives, none of which is earlier than the Hellenistic age, Attis was either a king of the Hittites, a Hittite king who was killed by a bear (Hermesitanax, ap. Paus. vii. 27. 9), or an hierophant (Theeopompos, xx. 40) who mutilated himself under a pine-tree and died from loss of blood (Ov. Fast. iv. 223ff.). At the festival held in his honour a mimic representation of his life, burial, and resurrection took place, where a pine-log was substituted for the corpse (GB ii. 130ff.).

The story, which attests the identification of Cybele with her Semitic counterpart Isthar or Atargatis (Lucian, de Deo Syr. i. 15), must have been current in Asia Minor from a very early date; for clear traces of Attis are recognizable in Herodotus' narrative of the death of Atys, the son of Crousus, at a bear-hunt (Herod. i. 94ff.), and the herms Andromachus of Ephesus and Hermus of Samos have been identified as the same god Attis. Theompopos, the comic poet, whose plays belong to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th cent., refers to the association of Attis with Cybele (frag. 27, L. 740ff.), but the name is not recognized in the cry συρραυς mentioned by Demosthenes (xviii. 280) in his famous account of the vulgar initiation-rites—doubtless of Asiac origin—in which Eschines took part as an acolyte. In classical times these barbaric cults became familiar to the common people as a congeries of superstition; practices (C. A. Lebok, Aglaogamum, Konigsegg, 1829, i. 116; Lucian, Icarom. 27, etc.), so that the worship of Attis and the Mother was apt to become confused with the observances proper to Dionysus (Strabo, p. 470), Satarus (Aristoph. A. 875), and Artemis (Diog. frag. 1 [A. Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Leipzig, 1889, p. 779]). With Artemis, Attis was associated as the protectress of lions, bears, panthers, and other wild beasts; and with Hephaestus, who was identified with Artemis at an early date, she shared her title Antea (schol. Proo. Rhod. 1. 141; Hesych. s.v.) as the sender of nocturnal appappings (Gruppe, p. 1539).

The worship of the Mother was distinguished from the indigenous Greek cults chiefly by its emotional, ecstatic, and mystical character. Indeed Phintys the Pythagorean pronounced that participation in the rites of the Mother was inconsistent with the requirements of womanly modesty (Stob. Flor., ix. 61). In the Corycianic initiation-rites the novice was placed on a chair (diphóron), while the celebrants danced round him, accompanied by the wild notes of the aulos (Plat. Phaed. 277 D, Legg. 790 D). Although, in consequence of the syncretism already explained, the mysteries of Cybele are sometimes associated with the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter, the symbolic words of initiation, as recorded by two of our authorities (Clem. Alex. Protrept. 1. 13, p. 14 P.; scho. Plat. Gorg. 497 C), are undoubtedly derived from the Phrygian worship of the Great Mother. "I have eaten from the timbrel, I have drunk from the cymbals; I have borne the sacred vessel, I have entered into the bridal chamber" (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1903, p. 158). The last course relates to the mystical communion between the goddess and her lover, which was ritually enacted all over the East, whether in connection with the names of Cybele and Attis, of Aprodite and Adonis, or of Isis and Osiris (GB iii. 159ff.).

1. In these legends that the lover was put to death and afterwards restored to life, if not always in the same incarnation. The mystical marriage may have been in its origin a magical process intended to stimulate the reproductive forces of the gods, while the subsequent death and resurrection of the priest-king represented the annual decay and revival of vegetation. The self-mutilation of Attis, which is, of course, the transference into ritual of a primitival custom of priestly consecration, 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 occult or its primary function as the final oblation by means of which the votary seeks to assimilate himself to the essential nature of the goddess (E. Meyer, Gesch. des Altherums, Stuttgart, 1907–08, i. 619), or whether it was intended to secure the continued fruitfulness of the Earth-mother and the renewal of her crops (GB, iv. 31, Atlantik, Attis, Osiris, London, 1897, p. 294ff.; Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 681), is not altogether certain, and the two ideas are not necessarily inconsistent with each other. Moreover, the question may be deduced from the fact that the severed genitals were dedicated in the sanctuary of Rhea-Cybele (schol. Neand. Alex. 8), and from the statement of Lucian that they were thrown into some particular house for the nourishment of the child (Loeb, in Menand. frag. 202, iii. 58 K.), were probably familiar figures in Athens at a much earlier date (R. C. Jebb, on Soph. Ed. Tyr. 388 [Tragedies, Cambridge, 1914]; cf. Plat. Rep. 936 C). It may be conjectured with some probability that the influence of this traffic was considerable, although

2. The notice that Cybele and Attis stand for the general principle and its historical process survives in the Neo-Platonic treatise of Solutius, ap. Eunapius, Cont. Menand. 4, and in Syr., Four Stages of Greek Religion, New York, 1912, p. 191ff.)

3. Some of these may have been smuts (Kebrians, cxxxvi. 1).
the conception of the frenzied Galli who scourged themselves with whips (Plut. adv. Colot. 33, p. 1127 C), and lacerated their flesh with knives (Aelian, v. 134. 5) until a holy bee, said to have been traced to an early Greek and Roman source than the Alexandrian writers (Cumont, op. cit., col. 675), and has become known to us chiefly through Latin literature (e.g., Sen. Agam. 735; Lucan, i. 367).

In the year 295 B.C. a Sibylline oracle was discovered by the Decemviri, directing them, as a condition of success in the war, to introduce into Rome the worship of the Great Mother of Pessinus (L. 1. 10). And, in fact, the sacred stone, which was then in the custody of Attalus, king of Pergamus, having been removed by him from its original home at Pessinus (L. Bloch, in Philol. iii. [1865] 690 ff.), 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 Claudius Quincta, a noble matron whose freedom of speech had provoked constant tongues to slander, 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 being then able to follow her direction, and Claudia’s innocence was triumphantly vindicated (Ov. Fast. iv. 291 ff.; Suet. Tib. 2; 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 Victory on the Palatine, and the day was set apart for a festival to be known as the Megalesia, on which gifts were presented to the statues in the Forum, and public games were held (Livy, xxix. 14). Ten years later performances were for the first time exhibited at the Megalesia (ib. xxxiv. 54). Subsequently, thirteen years after the contract had been placed, a temple on the Palatine for her sole and separate occupation was dedicated to the Magna Mater Idea on the 10th of April 191, when the Ludi Megalesiae were included for the first time in the State calendar (ib. xxxvi. 38). Somewhat later, if not immediately, they were extended so as to occupy the entire interval between the 4th and 10th of April (CIL i. 231). On the first day of the festival the praetor urbanus made a solemn offering in her temple (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. i. 19). The third day was reserved for the performance of stage-plays (Ov. Fast. iv. 377), and we know that four of the extant works of Terence were presented on this occasion. Races (circensus) were held on the last day (Marquardt, Röm. 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. 193). The recurrence of the festival was marked by general merrymaking and licence; clubs were formed to promote social enjoyment (Cic. de Senect. 45); 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 (Anul. Gell. ii. 24).

In the last two centuries of the Republic the participation of State officials 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 A.D. 3, there is evidence of a further ceremony of a primitive character which took place on the 27th of March. This was known as the lavatio, when the symbolic stone and possibly also the knife of the Gallus (Mart. iii. xlvi. 2) were conveyed, by the direction of the Quincteii, through the Tiber current, and washed in the waters of the Almo, which debouches into the Tiber just outside the city (Ov. Fast. iv. 337; Lucan, i. 398). In all other respects the administration of the cult was left in the hands of its foreign assistants, who traced it to an early period of Gallic life (Ov. Fast. iv. 342), and no Roman citizen was allowed to acquire any official status in relation to it. The Phrygian priests, however, were permitted to stated occasions to march in procession through the city in their sacred chariot, with wild songs to the accompaniment of flutes and tympana (Dion. Hal. loc. cit.), and collecting alms from the bystanders (Cic. de Leg. ii. 22).

In the later part of the 2nd cent. a complete reorganization of the cult seems to have taken place. Henceforth, as the evidence of numerous inscriptions shows, Roman citizens were permitted to assume priestly offices subject to the approval of the Quincteii, but the privilege was exercised chiefly by the freedman class. To the ceremony of the lavatio on March 27th there was now added a further festival of five days, the opening ceremony of which on March 16th was denoted Conoma intrat on the Calendar of Philocalus (CIL i. 3364), while the remaining four days, the 22nd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of March, were designated respectively Arbor intrat, Sangunae, Hiera, and Aequitio. The ceremonies are represented in detail the various incidents of the story of Attis, which are already familiar. On the 22nd the procession of rod-bearers (Cannophori) which entered the city was intended to recall the fact that Attis as a child was exposed among the bulrushes of the river Gallus (Julian, Or. v. 165 B). Similarly on March 22nd the Dendrophori carried to the temple on the Palatine a pine-tree, encircled with fillets of wool and adorned with violets, as a representation of the tree-scent, mutatis mutandis. 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, subsequently 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 25th of the Hilandar (April 15). It was recognized in antiquity that the renewal of the sun’s power after the vernal equinox was here symbolized (Macrobi. Sat. i. xxxi. 19), and that the whole festival was devised to celebrate the decay and re-birth of vegetation (Cic. de Leg. ii. 59; Ov. Fast. 378 F). Modern scholars have noticed the parallel presented by our Lenten and Easter services, which occupy a corresponding position in the calendar (OGS iii. 301).

It remains to mention the rite known as taurobolium, performed on 28th 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 the Arian Taurabhata (P. Cumont, Rec. archéol. xii. [1888] 132 F.). There is also much obscurity in the details of the rite. In the earlier period the chief incident of the taurobolium and of the certainly similar ceremony of the Cisternum was the sacrifice of a bull or a ram; but at a later date, according to both the epigraphic (e.g., CIL vi. 511) and the literary (Petr. Persiph. x. 1011 ff.) records, the recipient of the taurobolium stood in a cavity having a perforated roof through which the blood of the bull was poured over him so that he might suffer a ‘re-birth.’ The whole ceremony was under the control of the Quincteii.

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 Roman organization was such that, 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.


A. C. PEARSON.

MOTHER-RIGHT.—I. Introduction.—Mother-right is a form of social organization in which the rights 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 regulated, and their scope is determined, by the relations in which the person stands to the 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 of 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 or lineages 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, therefore, speak less directly in the family whether in the limited 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 would not be recognized 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 (EBE 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, good examples being those in which marriage is allowed with and to 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, and rights in property would be determined solely by relationships through the mother. Mother-right does not imply that rights in property should be vested either mainly or exclusively in women. On the contrary, in many cases in which children inherit nothing from the father, 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 that the property of a man passes to his brother or his sister's son. When 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 social distinction is transmitted by the death of a person. 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 we furnish with us 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 is called the 'avunculatic,' and the authority of the mother's brother in one form or another is very common, not only associated with other features of mother-right, but in societies in which descent, inheritance, and succession are matrilineal. On the other hand, authority in the household vested in the mother or oldest female. The term 'matrarchate,' which is often used loosely as the equivalent of mother-right, should be limited in its scope to this condition of mother-right. 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 he has little or no social obligation towards his 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 brothers. 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 peoples as the Iroquois and Seri Indians of N. America and the Kinsels of Assam, who in some cases which have been regarded as examples of mother-right some of the social processes included under this head depend on the tie with the mother, while others are determined by the father's relatives, but in particular cases the social conditions of the most varied kinds. Thus, while descent is matrilineal, succession may be patrilateral. 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 where descent, inheritance, and succession are all matrilineal. Moreover, a mixture of social groupings may be present, one of which may be matrilineal while the other is matrilateral, this being
especially the case when local organizations accompany different forms of exogamous grouping.

Thus, the 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 practices in connection with marriage. The offspring of 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 belongs to the nobility.

A further 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 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 practise patrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession the mother’s brother has sometimes more authority than the father, and this authority may be accompanied by a number of other social functions which show that the tie with the mother’s brother is closer than that with the father. Thus, mother’s brother and sister’s son may hold their property in common, or the sister’s son may take the goods of his uncle without restraint. The mother’s brother may act as the special guardian and instructor of his nephew’s children, and may initiate him into the mysteries of secret societies, 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 or neglect of the complexity of mother-right on the part of ethnographers, the available evidence often leaves us uncertain as to 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 the Inuit, but the woman takes a place in social life which would justify the use of the term ‘matrarchy.’ A striking example of this condition is found among the Iroquois and Hurons, 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, descent is matrilineal, the house is the property of the woman, marriage is matrilocally, and the children are regarded as belonging to the mother. Other purely or predominantly matrilineal stocks are the Caddoan (Pawnee, Arikara), the Muskogean (Creek, Choctaw, Seminole), the Yuchi, and the Timucua.

In other cases matrilineal and patrilineal tribes are found among one stock. Thus, though the Siouxan tribes are mainly patrilineal, the Biloxi, Tutelo, Crow, 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.

1 For general information regarding America see Morgan, Ancient Society, p. 160.
3 For general information regarding America see Morgan, Ancient Society, p. 160.
5 Morgan, Ancient Society, p. 160.
7 Morgan, Ancient Society, p. 160.
9 Morgan, Ancient Society, p. 160.
organized in totemic clans with matrilineal descent. Property passes to the sister’s sons, and compensation for injury goes chiefly to relatives on the mother’s side. Among the Arunta, 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 ancestress, and women take an important place in social life. Another centre of mother-right is in British Guiana; here the Arwaks practice the matrilineal descent and matriloccal marriage. The neighbouring Warau and Makusi are also said to be matrilineal. If a Makusi woman marries a man of another tribe, the children will belong to the Makusi; but, as 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 Shusi, a branch of the Arwaks, 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 Kotoshuma branch 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 of any matrilineal clan-organization. Succession appears to be in an intermediate condition, a chief being succeeded by his son, his sister’s son, or his daughter’s husband. The mother’s brother shares the exercise of authority with the father.

Among other peoples of S. America, such as the Cahuens and the Tuoror, there is matriloccal marriage; but we do not know whether this custom is associated with features of mother-right.

(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 sister’s son, and a woman 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, matrilocal 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 exogamous clans with matrilineal descent, and property passes to the sister’s sons. Only in Yap does the son follow his father, who elsewhere is 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 in the house. In the Pelew Islands there are exogamous totemic clans with matrilineal descent.

Melanesia has usually been regarded as one of the most definite examples of mother-right; 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. Descendants are often matrilocal, 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 differentiates 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, while elsewhere different kinds of property follow different rules of inheritance. In Santo in the New Hebrides, the people take the tomot of the father as part of the personal name, but belong to the mother’s clan, and in Vatu Levu in Fiji, where there is matrilocal 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 Ngarrabulla (Urubamba) 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 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. K. 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 it had been the children of the man by a regular marriage, thus showing that descent is determined by the father. Among the Yunggill, on the other hand, the children of a regular marriage belong to a 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 matrilocal so far as the class is concerned.
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 descent. Sometimes the totemic group corresponds with the local group, and where this is so descent is necessarily patrilineal. In other cases, where the totemic groups form subdivisions of the matrilineal moieties, they are of equal necessity matrilineal. 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 rites, while a man takes another kind of totem called madu (the marriage 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 and rites relative to his maternal ancestors. The communicative 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 is often passed from father to son as descent of the moiety or class. Thus, among the Arunta, whose irregular marriages point to patrilineal descent, certain objects, and especially curiosities, or ancestral bull-roarers, pass from a man to his son. If he has no son, to his brother and his brother's son. Among the Tjin-gilli and other tribes whose irregular marriages show them to have matrilineal descent, property passes into the possession of the mother's brothers or, if the father's husband, 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 northern territory. Since the Australians have neither chiefs nor priests, the subject of succession is also quite unimportant. The special powers of a wizard or totem are acquired by special processes of initiation. Perhaps the topic which comes most distinctly 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 kind of knowledge is 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 north-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 Papuan Gulf descent is probably matrilineal, but succession to the rank of chief is patrilineal. Another locality where mother-right is probably practised is the Manus River, in the Dutch portion of New Guinea, where a boy belongs 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 here and there indications of mother-right occur. Thus in the Mekeo district, which has a form of the dual organization.

1. G. G. Roberts, Adm. 44.
5. The Tojor, Motu, Boro, and Mekay peoples the mother's brother has certain social functions, and these functions are highly developed in the western islands of Torres Straits, where, side by side with patrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession, the mother's brother has more authority than the father.

(5) Indonesia.—Father-right prevails throughout the greater part of the Malay Archipelago. There is a peculiar form of matrilocial marriage in one part of the Timor, in which the husband returns to his own home after a time, leaving behind him his children, who inherit their mother's property.

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 matrilocial 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 or other of his father's brothers or sisters, the head of the household being the eldest brother of the leading woman. He takes the place of a father to his sister's children, who inherit his property after it has been enjoyed by its brothers and sisters. The family being divided into two groups of organization intermediate between the 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, and the mother's brother is the 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 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 to define information about descent or inheritance. The peoples of Asia are generally organised in patrilineal clans, but matrilocial marriage is frequently present.

In India there are two centres of mother-right. One of these, represented by the Khals and Suteng 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. Power is inherited by daughters, the house and its contents go to the youngest daughter, and, in default of daughters, the inheritance passes to a daughter of a mother's sister. The sien, or chief, is a man, except in Khyatin, is succeeded by his brother or the son of his eldest sister. The neighbouring W People show an intermediate

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2. J. G. Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, 1887.
3. For a more complete account of the distribution of mother-right in this island, see J. G. Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, ib. 1887.
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 Megam, or Lynngam, who are a fusion of Khasi and Gáro, practise a form of mother-right closely resembling that of the Khasis. Though a man cannot inherit property and cannot bequeath it that acquired by his own exertions, he nevertheless exercises 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 his name after his death. Among the Khois of N. Bengal, who are in contact with the Gáros, marriage is matriloclal, 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 matrilocal descent, inheritance, and succession are practised by the Nàyars, northern Tiyans, and other peoples, including even the Muhammadan Mappillas, or Moplahs, of N. Malabar. This system of law, known as marumakkätam, is closely connected with the so-called polyandry of this part of India. In the unions of Nàyar women with Nambutiri (Nambur) men, which are rather frequent in this region, the female in the family, the little girl, as it were, does without her own children that he cannot touch them without pollution. Elsewhere in S. India where descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilocal, matriloclal marriage is occasionally practised, and the form known as illattam. This custom is particularly followed in families where there is no son, male heirs being obtained by the daughter staying at her own home after marriage. Matrilocal 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 home to her parents for the birth of her children. The maternal uncle has much authority, and in Georgia takes the leading part in all that concerns blood-revenge.

The earliest record of mother-right comes from Lebanon, where, according to Herodotus, the phylai took the mother's name, and the status of children in marriage between free and slave was determined by the condition of the mother.

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 an early condition of mother-right. The marriage between half-brother and sister, or, more strictly, when the woman affords an example, accompanies mother-right elsewhere, and several passages in the OT, such as Gn 31:9 and Jg 8:20, 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 Beduin (Bedawi) marriage ceremony shows that great importance is attached to motherhood.

(7) Africa.—The Semites of N. Africa are definitely patrilocal, but in some Arab tribes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the wife returns to her own home for the birth of the child—a custom probably connected with matrilocal marriage. Though the Hamitic Beja are now patrilocal, 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, Barea, and other allied Hamitic or partially Hamitic peoples the mother's brother takes an important place in social life, though the patrilocal character of their institutions is otherwise very definite.²

The Nubas of S. Kordofan form a striking exception to the patrilocal institutions of most of the mixed Hamitic and Negro Nilotic peoples, such as the Shilluks and Dinka; as boys grow up, they spend much of their 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 Mbuti, Nandi, Suk, and other partially Hamitic peoples of the northern part of tropical E. Africa are purely patrilocal.

The Bantu peoples show much variety in the mode of transmission of social rights. About Lake Nyasa and the Rovuma River⁴ there are a number of definitely matrilocal tribes, such as the Wa-Yao, Achehus, Wa-Makonde, and Wa-Makua. The children take the totem of the mother, a chief is ascended 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 position of the mother's brother has derived this form of transmission from the Angoni, a branch of the Ama-Zulu. This people, together with the Ama-Xosa,⁵ Ba-Suto,⁶ Ba-Thonga,⁷ and other Bantu peoples of S.E. Africa, are definitely patrilocal, although the mother's brother exercises much authority.

Passing northwards from Lake Nyasa, we find a more or less gradual change from matrilocal to patrilocal descent.⁷ The Wa-Sagana and Wa-Digo are definitely patrilocal, but the Mbundu people, such as the Nkamba and the Loango, are definitely matrilineal. The general law among the Mbundu is that the totem of the children is determined by the descent of the mother, and the children remaining with the mother belong to her totemic clan. In both these groups the children remaining with the mother, as in any other Bantu peoples of S.E. Africa, are more closely related to her than to their father. The Bantu peoples of Uganda are definitely patrilocal.⁸

The only exceptional feature is that, while the mode of succession in the various patrilineal tribes 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 mainly patrilocal.⁹ 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

¹ See Sellmann, JEA xxii. 600.
³ The writer is indebted to Professor and Mrs. Sellmann for this information.
⁵ G. Frischat, Die Elfenbeinküsten-Süd-Afrika's, Brussels, 1873, p. 117.
⁹ G. Frischat, Die Elfenbeinküsten-Süd-Afrika's, Brussels, 1873, p. 117.
father. Here the same rule holds as in E. Africa; social institutions become more matrilineal on passing from the interior towards the coast. Mother-right also occurs in Loango and Angola.1

Among a group of Bantu peoples in the S.W. Frank Congo property and rank are transmitted to the brother or the son, and among one of these peoples, the Ba-Mbala, kinship is said to be counted farther in the female than in the male line. Not only is succession matrilineal, but the mother of the chief's eldest son estern, 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 when bar 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 patrilineal, while inheritance and succession are mainly matrilineal. It seems almost certain, the kikula bar is in the 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 Kono in W. Africa. They people possesses two distinct forms of social grouping, one matrilineal and the other patrilineal, and the most recent and trustworthy account2 shows that, while there is no definite association of animals with the patrilineal, and in the patrilineal, ona, the patrilineal ona 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 Ewe-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.3 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 abunan, there are also groups, called aforo, which appear to have a totemic character.4 In these groups descent is in the male line, or, as the people themselves put it, a person takes the fetish of his father and the family of his mother; the condition thus having a resemblance to two totemic groupings of the Diiri of Australia. Among the neighbour Fanti-speaking peoples the son inherits only the 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 Dahomey5 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 circumcission is transmitted from father to son.6 Among the next people, passing eastwards, the Yoruba,7 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. The Edo,7 who practise two forms of marriage. In one, the amoja marriage, apparently the more regular, the children belong to the clan of the father, while in the other, called imoni, they belong to the mother's clan or estern, 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 when bar 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 patrilineal, while inheritance and succession are mainly matrilineal. It seems almost certain, the kikula bar is in the 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 Kono in W. Africa. They people possesses two distinct forms of social grouping, one matrilineal and the other patrilineal, and the most recent and trustworthy account2 shows that, while there is no definite association of animals with the patrilineal, and in the patrilineal, ona, the patrilineal ona 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 Ewe-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.3 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 abunan, there are also groups, called aforo, which appear to have a totemic character.4 In these groups descent is in the male line, or, as the people themselves put it, a person takes the fetish of his father and the family of his mother; the condition thus having a resemblance to two totemic groupings of the Diiri of Australia. Among the neighbour Fanti-speaking peoples the son inherits only the 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 Dahomey5 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 circumcission is transmitted from father to son.6 Among the next people, passing eastwards, the Yoruba,7 we do not know of any definite rule of descent, but the people are said to trace kinship

strongest evidence is that in Athens half-brother and half-sister were considered to marry when by the same father. Lastly, though in, rather than of, Europe, may be mentioned the Gypsies of Transylvania, among whom a father shows little interest in his children, who remain with their mother's people if the father dies, while, as usual, marries a woman of another 'clan.'

3. Mixture-forms.—The preceding survey has shown not only that descent may follow one mode of transmission, while other social processes, such as marriage, 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 moiety, 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 Herero of South 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.

In the condition of the Ova-Herero of South 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. In the case 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 example is the custom among the widely separated Talisman of the New Hebrides. In both of these localities a person belongs to the totemic clan of his father, but takes the totem of his father at the age of 9. In the case of Abar a form of totemism which shows mixture of the two modes of transmission is found among the Massim of New Guinea and the people of Nama Levu in Fiji, where persons belonging to the social group of the mother, through the mother's brother, are kept in the clan of the father. A still more eccentric example is that of the Kwakint of the 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 cest which he had adopted from the father of his wife when he married.

4. Associated conditions.—It is not at present possible to determine mother-right with race. It occurs side by side with father-right and with intermediate forms among many peoples, including the Australian, Melanesian, Iddoensien, Bantu, W. African Negro, and N. American Indian. At the present time it is absent among Cassian and Mongol 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 Minangkabar of Malay of Sumatra, and many tribes of N. America.

As already pointed out, mother-right in its purest form cannot 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 equal parts, is personal man with patrilineal descent. Among the Malinese 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 mother-right than with father-right, as was said above, one people may even possess two forms of totemism, one associated with patrilineal and the other with patrilineal descent. The special regard for the father's totem, which accompanies among some cases of matrilineal transmission suggests a peculiar connection of totemism with father-right, and other considerations also imply that the totemic organization tends to be patrilineal. Social organizations founded on a local basis, especially with local exogamy, are usually patrilineal, and in societies devoid of the clan-organization, in which kinship is equally important on the two sides, 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 lie side by side by side. Thus the Cuhe and the Sandan the only people who use the classificatory system are the Nubas, and they are also the only people to practise mother-right. Again, in the series of peoples of W. Africa who show so definite a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal conditions (see above, p. 850) it is the Teke, with their classificatory system, whose social institutions are most clearly matrilineal.

There is some reason to suppose that mother-right may be peculiarly associated with pastoral culture. In N. America typical clan-systems are found especially in the maize country, 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 totemic 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 these customs which have been so far described 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 characteristic of the natural practices of mother-right. That they are such survivals is especially probable where 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 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

1 H. von Wilmsbeck, 'Vom wundernden Steppenvolk,' Hamburg, 1890, p. 66.
2 For Melanesia see Rivers, ii. 337.
3 Seaton, Amer. Antiq. vii. 671.
in tradition and myth. It is frequently the case among many peoples today that the ascent of a clan or tribe is ascribed to a female ancestor, and the belief in a female ancestor among a patrilineal people has been regarded as a survival of mother-right. A similar supposed survival is the widespread, and this propagation unattested patriarchic. 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 theme in the mythology of a 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 *couvade* and the cross-cousin marriage. According to one theory, the *couvade* is associated with the desire on the part of the father to assert his 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. 425 f.) has come into existence through the desire of a father that his son might have 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 non-patronymic term for son, ‘son of woman,’ has been held to point to matrilineal descent in Chinese, and the derivative of the Arabic word for ‘clan’ has been adduced to support a similar conclusion in the case of early Semitic society.1

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 Sudan there is historical proof that 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 proof 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 quarters. The idea of the priority of mother-right is supported in many parts of the world by the existence of cultures in which the descent of the line of elders of the people is described in terms of female ancestors. This form of social organization, but, as already pointed out, this is not universally true, and students of the ethnology of N. America have been led to question the dogma, largely because the Iroquois and the Shawnee, a father gives his own clan-name to his child, thus taking a position towards the history of the child to his own social group. This or some similar mechanism might well have come into play to assist a change in the opposite direction.

One of the cases most often put forward by
American ethnologists as an example of change from father- to mother-right is that of the Kwakwktli. This people practise patrilineral descent, but the peculiar system by which a man takes the crest of his wife’s father has been ascribed to the influence of their northern matrilineral neighbours, the Tsimshian and Haida. Other examples are the Athapaskan tribes bordering on the Tlingit, who are more or less adopted the matrilineral domestic organization of the people, and the Babine branch of the Takuli, another Athapaskan tribe who are said to have taken their matrilineral four-clan system from the Tsimshian.

In other parts of the world there is definite evidence that the change has been from the matrilineral to the patrilineral mode. There is a large body of evidence pointing to the change having been in this direction in Melanesia, 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 matrilineral influence. In Africa, again, there is much reason to believe that the change has been in the patrilineral direction. The transition from matrilineral to patrilineral institutions which occurs among the peoples of W. Africa from the Tahi to the Ibo points to the gradual infiltration of immigrants coming from the north-east, who became the chief of those among whom they settled. While introducing their patrilineral institutions completely in the east, they did not succeed in altering descent among the general body of the people as they progressively spread. The transitions found among the Bantu and the association of patrilineral transmission with high development of culture among such people as the Ba-Ganda and Ann-Zaun would seem to be a result of the settlement of patrilineral pastoral people among a patrilineral 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. And as the increasing number of instances that matrilineral descent is a secondary consequence of matrilocal 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.

W. H. R. Rivers.

MOTIVE.—1. 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 some kind of action, be the force conscious or unconscious, and the action voluntary or non-voluntary. Thus Bentham defines motive as 'any thing that can contribute to give birth to, or even to prevent, any kind of action' (Principles of Morals and Legislation, p. 46). In this sense motive includes all that 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 the second sense 'motive' is used 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 'any thing whatever, which, by influencing the will of a sensitive being, is supposed to serve as a means of determining him to act, or voluntarily to forbear to act, upon any occasion' (ib.). Such motives are termed by Bentham 'practical,' and are held to be reducible to pleasure and pain, though whether it be the expectation of the pain or the pain which 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, Triebfeder: and an objective, presented or intellectual element. Whether this subjective element is useful to produce pain, or includes more, and in what relation it stands to the objective, intellectual element and to the conative factor in mind, are among the most difficult questions in the psychology of the feelings.

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 an 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 realisation of the idea, not the satisfaction of a want merely, but the satisfaction of self (V. A. Short, Study of Ethics, p. 32). It is only to this last stage (5) that Green and D'Arcy apply the term 'motive.' Hence the doctrines that a conflict of motives is dispensed with, and a stronger motive as possibility (Green, Prolegomena to Ethics, bk. ii. ch. i.).

4. A fourth sense of the word 'motive' belongs to Kant. Kant reserves the term Bewegungsgrund for the objective ground of the action, which he opposes to the subjective ground of the desire, or the spring (Triebfeder). The objective ground of the self-determination of the will is the end which is assigned by reason alone, and is free from all

2 Rivers, ii. 363.
mixture of passion and sensuous affection (Werke, ed. Rosenkranz and Schubert, viii. 55; Abbott, Kant’s Theory of Ethics, London, 1909, p. 45). Such objective ends are common to us all, 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 a cause (Kant, Werke, viii. 21, 22). The regard as an object, this feeling acts negatively only.

In these four senses of the word ‘motive’ we see a progressive change of meaning from that of a motive power for action not necessarily accompanied by consciousness, to that of an internal impulse to the existence of which consciousness is essential; passing thence to the idea of an object 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 independent on the object with which the self identifies itself. Kant’s distinction of motive and spring and the replacement of these terms to different classes of action get rid of the wavering between contradictory points of view implicit in Green’s doctrine.

Whether we shall give to the term ‘motive’ the extensive significance contained under (1) from Crombie’s ‘Essay on Philosophical Necessity,’ said: ‘I 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 inductive cause, may be a motive, though it never entered into the thought of the agent.

From this reinforcement of motives of which we are unconsciously possessed, a motive, and even a predominant one, when it is wanted’ (Reid, Werke, ed. Hamilton, p. 87).

Reid then acutely remarks that ‘this addition to his [Crombie’s] defensive force takes just as much from his offensive side,’ and in the latter instance makes the evidence 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 impelling 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 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 the established pathological feeling.

‘Motive’ in this sense has passed over entirely from the meaning of an impelling force to that of an object determined and decided upon by reason.

These distinctions are closely bound up with the idea of the freedom of the will. If our will is possessed of an original power by which it can control the direction in which it acts itself, then 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 must be merely the subjective side of the action 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 conscious motives, but is not controlled by them, must be an illusion. This Münsterberg undertook to furnish in his Willenshandlung (1879). In Man’s Place in the Cosmos (Edinburgh and London, 1902), J. Seth 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 us 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 innervation. The feeling of innervation itself is, just the memory-idea of the movement, anticipating the movement itself. In the Grundzüge der Psychologie (1900) Münsterberg’s position is modified by a Fichteian point of view. The action ‘theory of mind’ here put forward makes the consciousness of sensation dependent on motor discharge. It, therefore, prejudices the idea of action other than that of mechanical causation.

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, of which we can only ever have 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. The theory of the self of an intrinsic power of strengthening indefatigably certain desires, which then become motives (in Green’s sense), seems the essence of the third theory of motives. There is an illusory atmosphere of determinism about Green’s doctrine, as determined by motives. That desire only is a motive 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 in it is that the ego, since it determines the motive, is consequently, in being determined by the motives determined by itself. This is only Spinozistic necessity. But, if the eternal ego on the finite ego is not so predeter-

mined, is something which, at the moment of decision, may fall out differently on different occasions, notwithstanding identity of desire and circumstances, then such action is not different from free will in the ordinary sense, and implies a surplus of undetermined or self-determined free activity of the ego, as in the Kantian doctrine.

Green’s theory of motives must be carefully distinguished from a modern psychological doctrine, to which it bears a strong verbal resemblance. Green says (Proleg. to Ethics, p. 93) that
an appetite or want 'only becomes a motive, so far as upon the want there supervenes the presentation of the want by a self-conscious subject to himself and with it the idea of a self-satisfaction to be attained through the filling of the want.' Stout, too, says (Manual of Psychology, p. 709): 'Motives are not mere impulses. They come before consciousness as reasons why I should act in this or that way. They depend on the subject for a suitable act, but not for a suitable impulse, proper to themselves, while the ego remains a mere spectator. On the contrary the impulses are motives only so far as they arise from the nature of the self, and presuppose the conception of the self as a determining factor. From this it follows that the reduction of a desire to a desire for a desire, can never constitute the entire case of a cause of action. Behind them there always lies the self as a whole, and what this involves can never be completely analysed 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 antecedent 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. 768).

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 it part of my actual life-history, and on the other hand I contemplate myself as I shall be if I leave it undone. I follow this representation of a hypothetical self in more or less detail until that turning-point in the process which is called 'Voluntary Decision' emerges (ib. p. 790).

This theory, that motives arise and are constituted by relation to the conception of self, whether we take it in Green's metaphysical or in Stoic logical form, of course, the general theory of motives, seems not to be true. That very many motives are determined by conscious relating of the end in view to the self is true—notably the self-regarding ones. But it is difficult to regard altruistic motives as necessarily related to the concept of self. They may sometimes be so, but not necessarily or universally. The highest moral ends are disinterested. The disinterested character of self-regarding motives is the first distinction to be perceived. When (2) and (3) in many cases a correct and complete analysis, there are other cases where, even if impelled 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 of Kant to that of the ethico of Kant from the ethics of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was dissatisfied with Kant's 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 ethico of Kant, and the point which separates the ethics of Kant from the ethics of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was dissatisfied with Kant's 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 ethico of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was dissatisfied with Kant's as the 'perfection of human character' or 'self-devotion to the perfecting of man.'

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 criticized as if the categorical imperative set up ends, detached from all the material of desire and inclination, as if all the ends existed by themselves. It is the impenetrability of particular desires and inclinations by the categorical imperative that 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 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 ambiguities 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 unsatisfactory state of the language, the word motive is employed indiscriminately to denote ends or objects of objects, which, for the better understanding of the subject, is hardly necessary. It is used to denote the end of any action or of any motive, which is considered as operating upon the mind, and prompting it to take that course, towards which it is impelled by the influence of some incident. Motives of this class are Avarice, Indolence, Revenge, and so forth. ... This latter may be styled the figurative sense of the term motive' (p. 464).

The real incidents—motives in the unfigurative 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 in 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 esse, meaning by the former the posterior considered under (2) and (3) in many cases a correct and complete analysis, there are other cases where, even if impelled 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 of Kant to that of the ethico of Kant from the ethics of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was dissatisfied with Kant's 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 ethico of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was dissatisfied with Kant's 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 ethico of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was dissatisfied with Kant's as the 'perfection of human character' or 'self-devotion to the perfecting of man.'
much feeling may guide, it cannot be considered as the motive. In true art it cannot even be said that there is a conscious or idealizable or ideal which impels the artist to produce. In art, as Schelling says, the ego is unconscious in regard to its product (System des transcendentale Idealismus, vi., Tubingen, 1800 [Sinnhalt, Werke, Stuttgart, 1839-41, iii.])

An important distinction is that between motive and intention. The nature of intentionality is thus stated by Bentham:

"Let us observe the connexion there is between intentionality and consciousness. When the act is intentional, and with respect to the existence of all the circumstances involved, as a whole with respect to the materiality of those circumstances, in relation to a given consequence, and there is no mis-supposition with regard to any preventive circumstance, that consequence must also be intentional. In other words, adventitious, with respect to the circumstances, it clear from the mis-supposition of any preventive circumstances, extends the intentionalness 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 operation 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 persuasives, disassociatives, and central consequences, it is only the first that fall under the heading of 'motive' (cf. Mill, Utilitarianism, London, 1879, ch. ii. p. 27; Muirhead, Elements of Ethics, p. 61; Mackenzie, Manual of Ethics, p. 64 ff.).

2. Classification of motives.—The various classifications reflect the difficulties which have attended the foregoing discussions. Our impulsive or active principles are classified by Reid into mechanical, animal, and rational; but only to the last two does he apply the term 'motive.' Stewart has criticized this classification on the grounds that 'motive' should be defined in terms of the 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 brutes, and to distinguish our instincts as 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 including under animal principles of action the desire of knowledge, of esteem, of power.

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. 194).

Stewart's own classification falls under five heads:

1. The native appetites of the mind leading to emotions. These include: (1) the inclination to exercise our native power voluntarily or involuntarily; (2) the desire to receive pleasure and avoid pain; (3) the appeal to the senses to seek for knowledge, esteem, society, love, property; (4) an inward principle that makes for satisfaction; (5) the moral power as a prompting energy; (6) animallike motives prompting to action in relation to other beings, e.g. sympathy.

2. The will as not furnishing incitements, inducements, or motives, but as supported above these, sanctioning, restraining, and deciding among them.

3. The changes in motives leading to certain beliefs and judgments (Intuitions of the Mind, p. 242 ff.).

4. More important than any of these classifications is that of Martineau (ii. 129-170). 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 preconception is present of an action gratifying to 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, compassionate; 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 ours.

Under the secondary springs which are characterized by their interested nature or invariable aim to produce certain states of ourselves come—(1) secondary propensions: love of pleasure, money, power; (2) secondary passions: malice, vindictiveness, suspicion; (3) secondary affections: sentimentality; (4) secondary sentiments: self-culture, aestheticism, interest in religion.

The secondary series is the self-conscious counter part of the primary series. These combinations, such as love of praise, emulation, fellow-feeling. In addition to these are prudence and conscience, but neither is, according to Martineau, a positive principle, so 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 or stated. Stewart's distinction of primary and secondary springs of action directly 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 secondary springs of action. Again, 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 effective 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 effective spring of action, in either the primary or secondary form, remains; and with it remains the necessity of regarding a fourth form of motive, the motivity of which, whether proceeding from an autonomy of the will itself or from a recognition of an intrinsic authority, is a question of society, or of clarity of authority in inward springs or outward courses of conduct, demands a unique position for itself in the classification of these 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 ways. Their height, their vastness, the mystery of their recesses, the veil of mist or cloud now shrouding them, now dispelled 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 eventually of worship. They are next thought to have a spirit akin to, yet greater than, man's, and such a spirit may become separate from the mountain and exist as a god of the mountain. The same dangers encountered by the traveler or mountain-dweller, as well as the mystery of gorge, precipice, or cavern, suggest the presence of spirits, dangerous or at times beneficent, and in many cases also ghosts of the dead are thought to haunt the mountains. The spirit of the mountains, being near to the heavens, high up in the sky and often surrounded by cloud, suggest their connexion with gods of sky or rain; or the remoteness and mystery of their peaks cause them to be regarded as dwellings of gods or of ghosts.

The conception of mountains or mountain-spirits, but that is generally where no cult of nature exists, or, of course, where there is no higher god. Where they are feared, it is generally as much because of the demons supposed to inhabit them as because of their own suggestion of terror. The horror of mountains found in writers from Walker to the time of Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth was perhaps a literary affectation as such as genuine lack of appreciation. Wordsworth's vision of the mountains has generally made a strong appeal to men and has given a great impulsion to the imagination.

1. The personification of mountains.—The various impressions which mountains made upon men's minds led to their being regarded as alive, or possessed of a power lurking behind their massive forms, and, finally, to their personification in a greater or less degree. The next stage was that they were associated—perhaps the personified mountain which received worship—became a god of the mountain, separate from it, yet 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 when 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 to some extent personal.

The Cholee of Tna regarded one particular hill as god of all things connected with it, and on it formed a perpetual fire. 1 To the Huelo Indians every hill and rock of peculiar shape is a deity, 2 and hills, especially near lakes, rain, etc., are tribal gods of the Thompson Indians. 3 But they regarded all mountains as divine and personified them. The mountain god of the wife of Pompoppet. Moina describes the hill Huanacauri as the chief Astore of the Incas. 4 In Korea mountains are personified, and the idea of guardian spirits of the rotten is common to them. 5 There are also spirits of mountains. 6 In Japan the term kami, associated with shrines, is likewise applied to mountains, which are supposed to possess great power. 7 Similarly in China, where

1 NR III. 122.
3 PB, xi. [1900] 288.
4 Ht., Hist. of the Church, 1849, ii. 41; C. R. Markham, Narrative of the Kitefah and Lady of the Ficks, do. 1873, p. 13.

spirits of mountains have always been worshipped, mountain themselves are included among such gods. There are ten principal mountains included among the t'ien, or earth-gods—the five peaks, of which the greatest is Shasta in Shantung, and the five mountains, of which there is one in each cardinal point (the four mountains), and one in the centre. The chief minister of Tao was called the great god. In Tibet the mountains, both sacred and profane, are worshipped. Among the Celts a cult of mountains, as well as of gods of mountains, is to be traced. One inscription was "To the Mountains," they are often invoked in spell or prayer or invocation in Irish texts; and Gildas speaks of the 12 ilin people who adored mountains and other parts of nature. 8 While the Greeks adored divinities associated with mountains, some mountains still retained a degree of personification—e.g., M. Ida as a nymph. In India as early as the Rigveda (vii. xcvii. 8) there is a direct appeal to the mountains: "May the mountains be propitious to us." The Himalaya is mentioned by Mani as a seat of his spiritual excellence, pre-eminent in sacred art. It is not thus in the abode of the deities of mighty creatures, and of heroes, saints and sages, as well as the haunt of demons of all kinds. But its own virtues are supreme. To think of it is to gain vast merit; to see it is to have one's sins removed. It was personified as Himavat or Harivansha, father of Gaâga and Uma Devi, or Parvat, the mountain-goddess, identified with one of the peaks.

An ancient story tells how Parvat covered up the eyes of Mahavira when he was performing ten hundred hundred-hour fasts. He burst from his forehead and scorched the mountain; but, when she assumed a submissive attitude, her father was restored to his former condition.

Among the aboriginal tribes of India mountains are personified. The Santhia worshiped the mountains, and a mountain god, a mysterious, pre-possibly the dwelling-place or seat of a god (§ 9). But the evidence is mainly that of cult associations with these (§ 7). The pagan Sarpas are described as worshipping mountains.

Where a god associated with a hill or mountain bears a name similar to it, it is probable that the mountain personified gave this name to the subsequent god of the mountain. A Celtic god Posmuc was god of the mountains, and another was god of the Vesse mountains. Cf. other examples above.

Evidence of the personification of mountains is also to be found in the sporadic cases of alleged descent from mountains, possibly because some mark the region whence some tribe took its origin or migrated.

The Haravos thought that they came from the bowls of a great mountain near the San Juan. 9 Some Mexicans regarded the mountain Caalepel as their mother. 10 The Indian kings were supposed to have descended from the mountain Usiladores. 11

2. Gods and mountains.—Besides being personified, mountains are associated with clearly defined gods, either as their occasional or as permanent seats or abodes, or are gods of the mountains distinct from these as personified.

The home of the Mâsi god Ngâi (Ethel) is in the snowy range of Kilimanjaro. Among the Yoruba tribes the mountains called Oke. In Hawaii several distinct deities of the volcano Kilauea were recognized, each of these being connected with some part of it. 12 Among the Vedas most deities are associated with hills, each occupying a separate peak, on the summit of which is a stone circle, boulder, or cairn. 13 The

2 SBE III. [1879] 35.
3 Jb. xxxiv. [1891] 244 ; de Groot, Loc. cit.
5 Dlod, Sic. ii. 12; L. F. A. Manly, Hist. des religions de la Grece ancient, Paris, 1877, ii. 185.
6 J. A. MacCulloch, Religion of the Ancient Cote, Edinburgh, 1811, pp. 39, 172; Gildas, Des Ecclésiast Britannie, ii. 4.
7 Apollodorus, i. 1. 6.
8 Ocock, P. l 101, 65; Muir, Orig. Sci. Texts, l. 3 (1872) 121; Wilkins-pastia, iv. 769.
9 Muir, l. 3 (1873) 260 f., quoting Mahâdrâhrata, xiii. 655 f.
10 P. l. 61; E. W. Hopkins, Religions of India, Boston, 1896, p. 237; cf. EBE 11. 829.
11 L. Leger, La Mythologie slave, Paris, 1901, p. 190.
12 SBE II. 177.
13 Prescot, ii. 41.
16 W. Ellis, Polynesian Researches, London, 1835-36, i. 349.
17 FL xvii. [1897] 103.
Khonds worship a god of hills, and among the Kols the great deity Marang Buri, or 'Great Mountain,' is the rain-god, Marang Busek in Chekha language in which it is also the god himself or his dwelling-place. Before the time of rain elaborate ceremonies take place on the mountain for rain and a fruitful harvest. It is said by American Indian tribes to have been made of snow and ice by the Great Spirit from the sky, after which he stepped down upon it and hollowed it out, and it is said that they observed his visit to the earth. Among the Europeans the 'Old Man' is said to be living on the mountain, entrapped by rain or snow by scrutinizing himself. The Master of Life is thought by other tribes to dwell in the Rocky Mountains. The Mexicans thought that the dome over the central mountains was the dwelling-place of a God among the clouds. Other gods, their deities, bearing their names, were worshiped as gods of water and of mountains. The cult of Tlaloc was of great importance, and was connected with festivals of the first rank. In Central India the sun-god is supposed to dwell on hills, and isolated rounded hills are hence called 'sun-rays.' Several outstanding peaks of the Himalayas are the seat of gods—Kalika of Siva and Kubera—and a little of Siva is the 'mountain-god.' Other mountain chains or peaks are associated with divinities, e.g., the Vindhyas with Mahadeva Vindhyesvari, the goddess of the range. In earlier times Rudra was believed to dwell among the mountains, or on their tops, and Dyaus was called 'the dweller in the Mandala.' Manu is said to have descended on a slope of the Himalayas called 'Manu's Descent,' and to have tied his slip to a peak after the sacrifice. As has been seen, there is a constant confusion between the mountains personified and the deities that dwell among the mountains. In Greece certain gods were closely associated with mountains. The habitual cult of Zeus on mountain-top, like that of the Mexican Tlaloc, shows with rain, cloud, and lightning sent down from the heights, and he probably had been identified with and had absorbed earlier earth gods worshiped—e.g., Lykaion in Arcadia, where other instances the mountain where the cult took place a little of Zeus. In Greece, the Olympics (here the cult no longer observed), Zeus Laphystos (Bacchia); on Mt. Pellaos he was worshiped as Zeus Akraios. Clouds resting on peaks where Zeus was worshiped were a sign of the gods. Hermon had a temple on the summit of Mt. Cyllene, and Apollo on the hill of Mt. Lykaios was also worshiped on high peaks in Arcadia. The Cretan Mother-goddess, the like of Phrygian Cybele (p.), represented standing on a hill (cf. art. MotlECA), and she had the mountain and its recesses, called her name. In the same way other divinities associated with mountains was Pan, who was born on Mt. Lykaios and had one of his sanctuaries there. Several mountains—e.g., Mt. Meolus, Mt. Lycus, were sacred to Minos. Here he lived, and there he might be heard piping. The personalized nymphs were also of the mountains, and were worshiped there. They had caves on Mt. Citharion, and gave oracles from them. Certain nymphs, called Ogygians or Ocygians, presided on mountain tops and were connected with Artemis. Mt. Olympus was supposed to be the seat of the gods, with the palace of Zeus on its summit. In Capadocia, according to Strabo, a mountain was called after a god Omnos. Some Babylonian gods were called 'ruler' of the mountains, and Raft is described as 'a mountain dwelling.'—Reference to Babylonian cosmogony and to the belief that he was god of all the forces of life, later that of all the gods, as mountain was erected in the plain. The world-mountain was the seat of the gods. Among the Celts gods associated with mountains were offered to, or worshiped with mountain deities. Within these they believed to have retired on the coming of Christianity, and that they live as fairies.18

For Berber see H.H. p. 400.

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 doubtless connected with the fact that mountains are lofty and touch the clouds or are swathed at times in mist. They are near the sky-land which is so often associated with the dead. They are lofty and mysterious; and, as they are the dwelling-place of gods and spirits other than human, it was natural enough to regard them as also the habitation of ghosts. Boreal on hills is only one of many methods of disposing of the dead, and is by no means universal. It is found among the Nomads, Arabians, and the American Indians, the Caribs and Patagonians, in Arabia and Tibet, and among the Puri people where no doubtful exists (the body is also commonly put in the earth), and is favored by the former as well as the latter.

In Melanesia the idea that ghosts dwell on mountains is frequently found,—e.g., in British New Guinea (life that of each [Koita]; a fleshy Elymus [Aroma]; a ghost as a light or fungus [here—speaking tribes]), and among the Kali of German New Guinea (ghosts as animals hunting wild fowls). In the Entente group the spirit-mountain is regarded by the happy spirit-land which the ghosts reach in some sort of ecstasy. So mortal dare climb it or speak above a whisper when passing it. In Tahiti the head of the house, Tahamani, is on a mountain on the north-west side of Fatu Hiva, and frequently in the top of Rapa Nui, and the ghosts feed on the moss on its sides. Among the Dayaks of Borneo hill-tops are associated with ghosts. The heaven of the Pana and other tribes is on the top of Ruta Tana, and the ghosts feed on the moss on its sides. Among the Aeta the object of a cult is buried on a又被 on the crest of a hill, and the ghosts inhabit the surrounding mists are the abode or resort of ghosts. In the Shirelands the dead go to certain mountains, and, after remaining there for some time, depart to a volcano. Among the Dayaks of Borneo hill-tops are associated with ghosts. The heaven of the Pana and other tribes is on the top of Ruta Tana, and the ghosts feed on the moss on its sides. Among the Aeta the object of a cult is buried on the crest of a hill, and the ghosts inhabit the surrounding mists.16

In N. America the Scorn Indians thought that ghosts dwelt in caves and rocks, and the echo being their note.17 Of other tribes it is said that souls of the dead go to Wokwok, who dwells in the Rocky Mountains. After death, as they regard it, the soul is a Mexican Elymus in the mountains, was the place of souls of those sacrificed to Tlaloc and of those who died of leprosy or who by drowning or lightning. The Himalayas are regarded as the home of the dead. One Chinese paradise is in the Ruen-lun mountains, and is for those who attain holiness or divinity; many tales are told of its wonders. Similar beliefs lingered on in the W. Highlands. Certain clans had hill tops of which the spirits of their dead spirits of the dead on this hill. In pagan Slavic belief the dead must climb a steep grass mountain, on whose top is paradise, and in Märonen, Scandinavian and Slavic, this idea reappeared in the belief that the spirits of the dead mounted a grass mound or a fairy being from the top of a grass mountain by a hero.18

The road which the soul has to traverse to the region of the dead is often a difficult one, and in some savage instances it passes through the entrance to the other-world from a cave in a volcanic vent (see DESCENT TO HADES [Eichholz], § 1.)

3 Ellis, l. c. 41, 716.
4 Pouz, l. c. 310, 311.
6 A. J. M. Forster, Descriptive, i. 253, 345.
8 C. G. Dale, Jour. Am. Soc. 1897, 195.
9 J. E. L. N. Jour. 1892, 197.
10 J. E. L. N. Jour. 1892, 197.
11 P. L. vi. 1891, 257.
12 Ellis, Hist. of Madagascar, London, 1858, p. 429.
13 IRVING, p. 145.
14 POUZ, l. c. 66.
15 G. De Groof, Religion in China, p. 175.
is a shrine where prayer is made to them or an offering laid. They are said to terrify and give the house in which they are placed life and power. In China mountain spirits are much feared, and evil spirits haunt mountains, their power being proportionate to the size of these. Only on certain days should offerings be made and only after fasting and purification. The geni of mountains are said to be more friendly and have a regular dwelling place. In the Thai believe in the ph dwelling on steep mountains, who have the power of limiting storms or bringing rain by night. In Armenia female spirits or fairies called oon dwell in forests and mountains, and for each hill there are genii good and bad.4 Among the Beasts of S.E. Africa demons haunt mountainous areas are much feared.5 On the other hand, the Aiwema believe in guardian spirits attached to hills, etc., who send rain and fertility.6 For similar Belief see ERFII. In Europe folklorists thought that evil spirits dwell on mountain-tops.7 In Persia Damin is the name of the god of mountain and water and is worshiped as a symbol of nature.8 In Europe, folklorists make hills and mountains one of the dwelling-places of spirits, demons, and witches.9 In Armenia the daws (demons) of Armenian folk-belief live in mountains,10 while fairyland is often within a hollow hill (see art. FAIRY, § 11). So the Serbs and the Serbs took the Roman name of Greece and haunted the earth, the chief names of their spirits.11 These gatherings probably being reminiscent of sacred rites in pagan times on the same spirits.

5. Sacred mountains.—Wherever mountains are personified or associated with gods or are the seat of a cult, their sacredness is obvious. But some mountains have a peculiar sanctity. Legend clusters thickly round them, and they are places of pilgrimage or sources of merit.

Among the Western Nandi there is a sacred hill called Chepech, the hill to which the spirits set fire. Ghosts are supposed to fire the grass there annually, and no Nandi will go near it.12 In Japan Fuji-yama is the sacred mountain, regarded as a goddess, and connect with a goddess of the same name.13 Pilgrimages ascend its summit in vast numbers annually, and it is the frequent object of Japanese art. The Kwan-lun mountains are the sacred mountains of China and have given rise to numerous fanciful legends.14 In early Hinduism Mt. Mandar in Bihar was a kind of Olympos. It formed the stick with which the gods chased the ocean for ambrosia. But usually Himavanta (Himalaya) is the sacred mountain-chalke, the divine mountain, beloved of the gods.15 As has been said, it is offered as a god. There are many temples on it, and it is the object of innumerable pilgrimages. It is inhabited by beings whose mere presence adds value to the ritual of the puja of ascetics (see also § 1). Other mountains are sacred to witches,16 and the witch—蜷—of various groups and has given rise to numerous fanciful legends.17 In early India Auroville or Niravanil was peculiarly sacred, the first of the mountains. The sun and stars revolved round it as the Loines was called some at this time and returned thence it was called ovit and it was the heathen god of India. The Himalayas are the dwelling of innumerable beings, its forms resembles a country, and so forth.18 Other mountains are equally infested and crowded with spirits. As early as the Vedas times such beliefs are found, and in the Mahabharata witches are said to live in mountains.19 Among the peoples of mountains are duly worshipped by sacrifices, and on every pass

1 PL xi. 238.
2 De Gothic, Reg. System of China, Leyden, 1902 [it. vi. viii. 107.]
4 A. Bouillet, Anthropos, ii. (1907) 615.
8 J. M. F. Saenger, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, Boston, 1887, p. 309.
13 J. L. Durand, J.R.A. xxxix. 56.
14 Mor,
19 J. L. Durand, J.R.A. xxxix. 56.
20 Poggendorf, pp. 1052, 10190.
22 T. W. XXV. (1908) 261.
23 SBB viii. (1901) 244. xx. (1901) 790.
6. Fabulous mountains. As the preceding section has shown, actual mountains are often regarded in a mythical light — e.g., Alibür in Zoroastrian belief, Himavat in Hindu beliefs, and Tsin in Taoist. Some mythology mountains, however, have intervened mythical mountains, mainly in connection with cosmogony.

Among such is the Bah. ‘mountain of the world’ (1 g, 6). In Hindu and, more particularly, Buddhist mythology, the abode of the gods, occupies a prominent place. It is the primal and the chief of mountains, the ‘god-mountain.’ It holds the key to the coming of Buddha. It is 84,000 miles high, and is surmounted by the heavens. Seven concentric rings of vast mountains surround it, with leaves being forever shed. Between these and an eighth cutmost ring are the four continents. Bound Mera the moon, and planets revolve about the Bhuddhas daily universe in effigy; Mera is represented by a doe of rice in the midst of Bhuddha. In Mahayana, it is believed to encompass the earth and its surrounding ocean like a ring, as Alibür was hauled to do in Zorastrian belief. They are of green chrysoprase, and are the chief abode of the jinns. Our earth is one of seven successive earths, rising above each other, and supported by pillars of mountains, with Qaf as the root of the great mountains. In Malay belief Qaf (which may be the Canoace) is being bored through by people called Taja and Mahil, men that when they have succeeded, the world will come to an end. The Malays believe in the existence of a central mountain Mahameru, a borrowing from Hindu belief.

7. Cult of mountains. — A cult offered to mountains or to divinities connected with them cannot be sharply divided from a cult on mountains, whether that is to such gods or to others. In no doubt, mountain-veneration was selected for altars, shrines, or temples because of their supposed nearness to heaven — one seat of the gods. Here and there, however, the difference can be seen even in the same religion.

Among the Mundari, after harvest the people of each geographical division hold a feast on the top of a hill, and in drought people send to Tinhinanga and the ‘land of rain, ‘Zaidi, to ‘beg rain, ’Rain, Thendir? ’ The savage Malayas of Malacca sacrifice to the mountain-spirits on the summits, make a wish, addressing the spirit, and partake of the spirit-gift. In Tibet the Lamas offer three times, if not successful: should a third visit fail, another mountain is visited. According to the American Indians, the Hurons say that a direct worship of hills was unusual, there was a liking for hills and mountains as places of worship. The Thompson Indians, however, offered the first horseshoe to the mountains, an old man dressing and holding the offering up to the sky. The Nootka worshipped mountains and mountain gods, and, when no hills were available for temples, made artificial mounds, or tocaloi, for worship. Edgills of the mountains, however, are made of stones. Sacrifices are offered to the Taisco and mountains. Infants and hairless dogs were also sacrificed on mountains. To Chinese, the ancient times mountains and rivers with the reverence of the State. There are many historical notices in the sacred books of the influence of the hills on the people, the hills being marked in the OT, as is natural where so many of them were sacred, and Zos was in particular seat of God’s house.

They may be described, yet, subject to being. They melt like wax before Him or smoke at His touch. They rejoice with the worshipper, or are hidden to do so, or they break forth into singing before the return of the exiles. They are symbols of God’s righteousness; they bring peace and plenty to the people.

1 For many others see Breal, vol. ii. p. 387, and references there of. 2 H.J. v. 1: Max. Tyr. Disert. viii. 37; see Remesel, vol. ii. p. 347. 3 De Groot, Religion System of China, iii. 94 f. Religion in China, pp. 359, 294, 301, 314; cit. Shih King, iii. 5. 4 De Groot, Religion System of China, iii. 94 f. Religion in China, pp. 359, 294, 301, 314; cit. Shih King, iii. 5. 5 Vaisista Dharmasastra, xxi. 12; Banabasa Dharmasastra, m. vi. 12, 19. 6 To the Sin. 7 To the Mosaic Law was revealed from Sinai. In Geonic bicycle, there is a special revelation given on a mountain, perhaps a combination of Mt. 514. 29 and 248. Cit. also the apocryphal notes. 8 Fr. B. Masson, X.-Y., liv. 2-6; cit. also Fr. Y. L. 31; Lund. vii. 3-5; Selections of Zabur and, vii. 1-7, cit. A. J. T. L. 12. 9 Nyigis, vi. 5. 10 Bund. vii. 1 f. 11 Bund. xxi. 35; cit. Patancher, Da es. et Gair, 47: ‘the earth has no face, name and level.’

In India from early times a cult has been paid to or on moun-
tains, especially of the Himalayan range. The mountains are excel-
lent places for performing śrāddhas, and the grāhyāṣṭra speak of
an obligation of butter made on a mountain to east or north.4
There are sacred mountains, on which shrines or temples are
commonly built, has already been referred to. Aboriginal tribes,
which live near some sacred mountains, and many sacred
places rise the sites upon hills and mountains. (Santalas, Korwas, Kia and so on).5
In Korea people go once a year to wor-
ship the local deities that dwell in the tops
of the mountains. Popular sacred mountains
are revered, and carry a pebble, which is placed on the heap at the
top, as a token that the deity has been there.6
In ancient Persia there are frequent
references in the sacred books to worship and sacrifice offered to
mountains 'glorious with sanctity,' or 'brilliant with a mountain
which gives understanding are worshiping with libations, as part of the liturgical services. The mention of the worship of Sraospas by Behistun
on the highest peak of high Harvarz,'7 and Herodotus speaks of
the custom of ascending the highest peaks and offering sacrifices to Zeus, called the whole vault of the sky, Zeus, probably some Zoroastrian sky-god representing the primitive Indo-European god of the sky.
8
In Greece numerous mountains
were crowned by temples dedicated to some particular god, but no deity was so much worshipped on mountains-top as Zeus, from his habit of thundering. The Greek cults on high places were of ancient date, and per-
cited persons supposed to dwell in heaven, rather than
gods of the heights. In modern Greece, mountain shrines are often
on the site of these ancient mountain-shrines.

Pamassus describes the cult of Zeus on Mt. Lycaon. There was
a mound of heaped-up earth for an altar with two pillars facing the rising sun. Here also on Mt. Ida worshippers met certain days for the propitiation of rain. In
the ancient Anatolia festivals in honour of Cybele were cele-
brated at Termessos, Pergamum, and Beroeus, where she was
supposed to reside, and where the trees were sacred to her and never cut down.

Among the Semitic peoples there was a perpetual fire in honour of the god Paro, which controlled thunder and tempests. Among the Semitic peoples high places
were favourite places of worship, and are frequently referred to
in OT in connection both with pagan tribes or peoples and with Jewish
inhabitants of those countries. The high places were thus sacred,
and was supposed to dwell there, according to an older stratum of
thought, while Israel also offered sacrifices and incense on them to the local gods—either in his—other gods from time
to time (cf. Hos 4:13, Jer 31:8; Ezr 3:9; 2 K 18:21; 22:14; 2 K
19:17).7

Archeological research has discovered remains of many
'high places,' often on hills, and even now remains of temples and sacred groves are to be
seen on Hermon and other mountains. On some
mountains worship and sacrifice still take place, and
and circular enclosures of stone crown the summits.

Aaron has a所说的, Mt. Hermon, and is supposed to visit it
twice a year, and the Muhammadan saints have also shrines on
hills.11 In European folk-sources from earlier paganism, religious practices may be found at May-day or similar
—often take place on hills.12

Many high places are probably artificial con-
structions.

The term temple-tower (sīwār) was an earthy copy of the
world-mountain, and served the purpose of the worshippers,
whose ancestors, had been accustomed to worship on
heights, gaining nearer access to heaven (cf. ERE l. 6669).
The Mexicans and American peoples built mounds, pyramids, or sacred places, where no hills were available for worship. Some of these
mountains were of great bulk. On them sacred groves
were placed the more sacred they seemed. Temple-tower were also erected on high
places and their shrines were in the bottom hands, though occasionally on higher ground.13

Heaps of stones, often dedicated to the local genius on the highest point of mountain-passes, to which every traveller adds a stone, are found in all parts of the world and at all stages of culture. The added stone may be an offering (like Dakkam describes the mountain-spirit as said to be offended if no stone is
given), or may carry off weariness (it is often alleged that weariness leaves the traveller when he offers it), or the contagion of evil, or it may drive away evil spirits, or it may be a materialization of the prayer made at the moment. See LAMMACK.

In all religions which have encouraged asceticism
men have chosen to live a solitary life among
mountains, partly because of their loneliness, partly
because of their sacred associations. Their living there tended to increase the sacred aspect of
some mountains.

In India Himalayas has always been the resort of saints
and ascetics. In the Buddhist monasteries in Tibet are often on almost inaccessible heights, like many in Eastern Christian regions. (No bone has been found of mountains), as also have
Christian ascetics.

8. Symbolism.—Mountains are everywhere sym-
boles of strength and everlastingness (cf. the frequent phrase in OT: 'the everlasting mountains'). The title 'the mountain' was
called 'the great mountain' or 'the great Earth-Mountain.' The Zulus speak of
their king as being 'high as the mountain,' and address him as 'Yon mountain,' and elsewhere 'mountain' is a title of the
gods, or is supposed to be composed and firm as Sumeru, or he is called 'the golden mountain,' and he is illustrious among
men as Sumeru among mountains. The name mountgwa was given to the extreme French Revolutionists, the people who occupied the higher part of the hall
where the Assembly met.

9. Mountains in cosmogony.—(a) The creation
of the world is referred to in some cosmogonies. In
an American Indian myth they were created by the gods, and
the hawk and the mud brought about by a duck.15 In W.
India myths they were created by the gods, and
the mud brought about by a duck.15 In W.
India myths they were created by the gods, and
A Moor myth describes how the mountains and valleys of New Zealand were
were carved out by the knives of Māori's heroes at May-day or similar
—often take place on hills.12

As Indian myth regards certain mountains as offsets from the
Himalayas, brought for the sake of the earth. The bridge
is also as (see also § 5).6

(6) As to the ordinary observer the sky seems
near to the tops of mountains, so many myths regard it as so near as to be easily reached from them; or, again, the mountains, real or mythical, support
the sky or the heavens.

1. JXII 130. 2. JR 755 f. 3. F. L. Dillingham, North America
of the Hymen, New York, 1911, pp. 180, 206, 212.
7. Westwork 792-93; cf. IS 52.
9. J. F. Cross, Chapters of a Journey to the Southern Country, London, 1895, pp. 91; J. Shooter, Eusebius of Nata, 1857,
Mt. Atlas was formerly known as 'the Pillar of Heaven;'

In Bab. cosmology the sky rested on the 'mountain of the world,' i.e. 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 Cosmography [Hindu], [Hindu]). Fragments of Coptic myths suggest that with the Celts also a mountain supported the sky—some, a mountain near the sources of the Rhine 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 piling Mt. Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion on Ossa, in order to scale heaven.

In a Hebrew story the ark rested on Mt. Arran after the Flood (Gen 8:4). So in Bab. myth 'the mountain of the land of Nairi' held the ship fast and did not let it slip, and on its top Ushinish and the serpent ascent and inset to the gods. The Hindu flood-myth tells how the fish rode the seven yaks bind the ship to the highest peak of Himalayas. Manu descended from it on Himalaya. The northern mountain is called 'Manu's descent.'

MOUNTAIN-MOTHER. The Mountain-Mother is the only Greek deity certainly known to be of pre-historic origin. In the accompanying figure we have a seal-impression of late Minoan style (c. 1500 B.C.) found at Knossos. It is of cardinal importance and embodies, indeed, nearly all that we understand of the nature of the Mountain-Mother. She wears the typical flounced Minoan 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-eulogists are, in fact, characteristic of the two strata that go to the making of Greek religion—the southern (Egyptian or Anatolian) stratum has the dominant Father-god, the northern (Indo-European) the dominant Mother-god, the latter being, without any doubt, a personification of the life-giving earth, and, seemingly, a non-maternal and at least a monogamous husband of a subordinate wife. The northern religion obviously reflects patrilineral, the southern matrilineral, social conditions. A further distinction of importance—the Homeric patriarchal Olympus is the outcome of a 'heroic' condition 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 race 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 deities who personify the placid and placidly fertile earth. The Kourites, Koryantes, Telchines, Daedaly, Satyrs, and the like.

A further characteristic of this southern matrilineral group-worship of the Mother is that it is mystical and orgiastic. The mystery centre not on Zeus the Father, but on the Mother and the subordinate son Demeter in Greece, whose daughter, Kore, is but her younger form, and Rhea or some other form of the great Mother of the Dionysos of the mysteries, or of the Earth-Mother. The reason is simple; mysteries are now known to be simply magic ceremonies, dramatic representations of birth, marriage, and death, enacted with a view to promoting the health and fertility of the individual, and by way of inculcating mystic mysteries, in fact, spell magic, and the mysteries of the Mother stand again in marked contrast to the rational worship of the Olympian Father. In the Olympian system the worshipper approaches his god as he would his fellow-man, with prayer, praise, and presents; his action is rational and anthropomorphous, not magical, not mysterious, not orgiastic.

The mysteries of the Mother are based, like all other mysteries, on initiation-ceremonies, by which the man has for their object to prepare the boy for adult life and especially for marriage (see Initiation [Greek] and KOUVENTES and KORYBANTES). Each young man, each member of the band of Kourites, or even youths, became by initiations not only the son but the prince-consort of the Mother; he went through a mystical and magical topos γυμνος. This explains at once the expression used by Euripides (Bacchae, 120), διδωμενα με το χυμασκον Αλκαλειας. It also elucidates the confusion made by the Orphic initiate, Aργοσιας δι τον ολοκληρω υπο κυριος Αργοσιας. Marriage is the mystery par excellence. In the matrilineral worship of the Mother the series of cortea was perennial. In Crete the fracturing of the Mother was mimetic and dramatic; in some Asia Minor cults it was attended by the horrors of castration. In the Crotaea of Euripides (frag. 472, Nanek) the mystic 'held about his head the torches of the Mother' (μυστήριον και κυριος εν χελης κεραυνοφω) the blazing torch being a familiar fertilizer and purifier of fields and crops.

To the Olympians of Homer—a product of the Achaeans heroic age—the Mother was never admitted; even Demeter had then no 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.

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2. J. E. Harrison, Protopsyneon, p. 666.
3. For an explanation of the practice see J. G. Frazer, Αδεια, Athens, Oecon., London, 1907, p. 344.
5. Paus. xii. 10.
animal, the mouth is one of the orifices by which it may leave the body either during life or at death. Popular sayings like 'to have one's heart in one's mouth' or 'the soul on the lip,' illustrate this. It is also seen in the precaution taken by the Hindus of snapping the thumbs to keep the soul back when any one yawns. The soul may escape from the mouth during sleep, as is illustrated by many tales where, in the form of a small animal, it has been seen doing so. By preventing its re-entering one can cause the death of its owner. At death, in the belief of many peoples, the soul finally makes its exit by the mouth. In the Mādākhāṭā (iii. 297) Yama opens the mouth of Sātavain while he sleeps and draws out his soul, which is afterwards given to his wife, who replaces it in his mouth. Ovid tells how Hylonomus applied his lips to those of the dying Cyllaurus to prevent his breath leaving him. Homer says that life cannot return once it has passed the lips. On the frescoes of the Campo Santo, Pisa, the soul is depicted as a sexless cold creature leaving the body by the mouth. Similar beliefs are common among savages and with the folk everywhere. Hence where the soul as a ghost is feared, precautions are sometimes taken to prevent its egress from the mouth. The mouth and other orifices are forcibly closed or stopped up, as among the S. Australians, the Hottentots, and Malayas (S. America), Malays, New Caledonians, and Marquesas Islanders. In some cases the jaws are bound for the same purpose, and it is possible that, where this is done merely to keep the mouth closed, its real origin may be traced here. The Ainus bind the mouth of a fox when killed, lest its ghost come forth and warn other animals of the hunter's coming.

On the other hand, the desire of recalling the soul to the body gives rise to certain practices connected with the mouth. In China it is stuffed with things endued with vital energy, so that, if the soul returns, revival of the body may be aided and decomposition prevented. Among these are certain minerals, cowries, pearls, grains, and cubes, and a ritual is prescribed for the purpose. Similar practices are found in Bali (gold ring on tongue), in Tonking (gold and silver in mouth), and elsewhere. De Groot holds that 'the mouth of the mouth of the dead had the same purpose. This practice is best known from its use among the Greeks and Romans, but it is also recorded in India (small pieces of gold in mouth, etc., or melted butter allowed to trickle down [Hindus placed with dead [non-Aryan tribes]], and among the Litu-Slav and Teutons. This has been generally regarded either as a fee for the ghostly ferryman, as held by Greeks and Romans themselves, or as part of a gift to the dead, or a commutation of such a gift. The Chinese practice, however,
MOUTH

throws new light on the subject, and points to a possible origin for the same practice elsewhere, though no example of it has otherwise.

To the same origin may be ascribed the practice of filling the mouth of the corpse with food before 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 examined in its own context, and 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.

It is found among the Tub of Tongking (E.E.E. 419.), some Papuan and Polynesian tribes, and the Bajukas (de Groot, i. 357.). In the Panjaban leaves of the tulasi plant and Ganges wax are placed in the mouth of the corpse before it is buried, and he is fed and watered until he reaches the Other-world. The ancient Persians drank soma juice, which produces immortality, and the Egyptian mummiﬁcation seeds were put into the mouth of the dead (E.E.E. iv. 509.). With this may be compared the practice of putting the Host into the mouth of the dead, which is observed in Carpathia and at other councils and synods (J. Hingham, Origins of Ecclesiast., London, 1839, p. 10.)

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 tube connected with the mouth is made to protrude from the grave so that nourishment may be given, and the dead may be fed through it. When the head is being opened, the head is cut, and the tube connected with the mouth is frequently used to prop open the mouth of the deceased, and the deceased himself is fed by having food placed in the mouth. The Egyptian ceremony of opening the mouth and eyes was performed so 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 mummiﬁed or statue represented in the deceased were rubbed with part of the food to excite the appetite. Then seal priest 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 eyes. I have opened thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis, the heart of Men-Out-With-the-Mouth of the gods was opened." Mouth and eyes were touched with this instrument, and Horus asked to open the mouth of the deceased as he had opened that of Osiris. With another instrument the lips were touched so that the right words might be spoken. Then the mouth was touched with other articles to give life and color to the lips, and touched again so that the jaw-bones might be established; and, ﬁnally, food was then placed in the mouth.

It is probable, as the establishment of the jaw-bones probably refers to an old custom of disembowelment. Various texts speak of restoring the jaw-bones and the mouth in the reconstructed 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 Melanesian tribes.

In the king’s jaw-bone is cut out and preserved in a special place, wherein it is called an oracle, as the eye was supposed to attach itself to it. 2. Widows among the tribes of the Hood peninsula carry the husband’s jaw-bone. 3 The Tahiti of German New Guinea examine the corpse after some months and with great ceremony remove and preserve the lower jaw and the teeth, and the gutter customs are observed by other tribes of this region. 4 Again, the Solomons (Solomons Islands) preserve it with the skull in a hollow wooden image of a fish or bear. In the public cases of death in New Britain the jaw-bone is worn by relatives as a means of obtaining its owner’s help. 5 These are but a few of the many ways of preserving the jaw-bone or lips of enemies, as in Ashanti, Dahomey, Tahiti, etc. (see E.E.E. vol. vi. p. 5340), if the purpose is to secure power over the ghost of the dead man.

The Egyptian custom should be compared with the ‘way of purifying the three dead’—body, mouth, and heart—as practised on the deceased by the Shinto sect in Japan. 6 Among the Baga the lips of the dead are smeared with oil. 7

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 men 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 closely connected with this belief, and have for their object the warding off of such noxious spirits. Eating in private is one of these; uttering a charm or performing some ritual act after yawning is another; scrupulous teeth-cleaning, as with the Hindus, is a third; vulling the face is a fourth. A wide-spread custom of knocking out or ﬁlling the teeth, usually at puberty, is also connected with these dangers at initiation to man’s food. 8 Though, from the savage point of view, tainting the lips or boring one or both lips and inserting brass, iron, or metal, which is often increased to large dimensions, is regarded as ornamental, the origin of the place is perhaps magical. The lip-ornament is a protective charm or spirit-engaging center 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 this being among the Baboons), as well as among many African tribes.

3. The mouth and the breath.—As the soul or life is so often connected with the 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, 9 certain rites in connexion with the mouth have arisen. In some instances a message is received by application of this to the dying man’s, or by a kiss. 10 The Altars, on the other hand, close the mouths of animals at a birth lest they swallow the infant’s soul, and the mother and others in the house must keep the mouth shut. 11 The breath, again, may have life-giving properties. Hence the Eskimo angakool will breathe on a sick man to cure him or give him a new soul; 12 or, as among the Buriund Indians, the medicine-man purifies a woman after

1 E. Reiss, JAF xviii. 1899. 237.
5 E.E.E. 4000.
7 See P.R.I. 246, ii. 25, 48, and references.
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 Oriental countries. 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 Timor the common people, in addressing the RaJA, place the hand upon the mouth, lest they profane him by their breath.2 Among the Parisi the priest must cover his mouth and nose with a thick veil—the pasifidana—on approaching the sacred fire and other sacred objects.3 Gerald de Cambrai relates of the sacred fire in the shrine of St. Brigit at Kildare that it must not be approached by those who tend it—probably an earlier pagan Celtic tabu.4 Similarly the Laws of Manus forbid the Brahman to blow the sacred fire with his mouth.5 A tabu of this kind is found among the Balinese Sariy in connection with the sacred house-fire on the Javan.6 Shirtless priests have also to veil their mouths when cooking the sacred food, and so have the cooks in the Mikado's kitchen.7 Saxo Grammaticus tells of a shrine at Rügen so sacred that the priest might not breathe in it, but had to go to the door for that purpose.8 On the other hand, a Maori chief would not blow upon a fire lest his sacred power should pass to it and so to the food cooked on it, and then to the eater of the food, causing his death.9

The old custom of 'scoring above the breath,' i.e., making an incision on a witch's forehead to neutralize her evil power, may have been connected with the idea that her evil life-influence came forth with the breath.10 Saliva, as connected with the mouth, is at once a tabooed thing and a supernatural god, and also a safeguard—e.g., against witchcraft—as well as in use in healing rites (see Saliva).11

See also BREATH.

LITERATURE.—See Eliza B. Clapsaddle.

MOZZOOMDAR.—See BRAMA SMAJ.

MUGGLETIONS.—The followers of the London prophets, John Reeve (1808–38), and his countryman, John Mugleston (1829–38) were designated 'Muggletonians.' Both Reeve and Mugleston were originally Puritans, but Reeve became a Ranter and Mugleston dropped all public worship, being attached to private meetings and the prophecies of John Robbins and Thomas Tany. In 1651 Mugleston had inward revelations interpreting the Scriptures; Reeve had the same experience next year, and on 3rd–4th Feb., 1652 Reeve and Tany issued a pamphlet urging him to rebuke Robbins and Tany and constituting the last messenger of the third and final dispensation. Mugleston being his 'mouth.' They were two of the witnesses of Rev. 11, so announce a new body of doctrine and to declare the eternal destiny of individuals. By 27th July 1652 their Transcendental Spiritual Treatise was complete for publication. They declared that all succession had ceased for 1500 years, and, when challenged to prove their new commission, their last resort was to curse their opponents in 1653, they issued two more pamphlets—

1. H. Pitter de Friburge, SWJW, phil.-hist. Class. cxxxviii (1896) 100.
localized as Al-Tihāmī ('of the Tihāmāh' [Mutanabbi, ed. F. Dieterici, Berlin, 1881, p. 331]), known by his followers as 'the Apostle or the Prophet of Allah,' and also by numerous other names, variously estimated at 30, 300, or even 100,000. His collection of Hadīth, Maqāmah, and al-Majmū‘ al-Laduniyyah, Cairo, 1278, iii. 133–170, was the founder of the religious and political system called in Europe after him, but named by him Isāl or Jumāl. The event in his life which furnishes his followers with a parable to the Chri-migration (hijrah) from Mecca to Medina, is fixed by synchronism with the Jewish Day of Atonement for 29th 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 [† 585 A.H.], Kāmil, Cairo, 1368, i. 355), 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 era previously employed in Central Arabia are only vaguely known, and the story of 'Omar implies the idea that Isāl had before heard of an era (which perhaps is confirmed by the fact that the word used for 'era' signifies 'month-making'), accurate dating of events in the Prophet's life is impossible. There is, however, an allusion in the Qurān (xxx. 1) to a victory of Chevirages over the Nearer Eastern tribes which took place A.D. 616, and this agrees with the tradition that Muhammad preached for some ten years in Mecca before his migration. Probably the earliest written account of him is that which appears in the Chronicle of Chirvania (Armen. text, Petrograd, 1879, pp. 104–106; Russ. tr. by K. Patkanian, dd. 1882, pp. 116–118), of the 7th cent.; it is very scanty, giving little more than the fact that he was an Ishmaelite who taught his countrymen to return to the religion of Abraham and claim the promises made to the descendants of Ishmael. 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. ʿIshaq (c. 159 A.H.), who composed his Sira ("Biography") for the 'Abbāsids Khalifah Mansūr (138–168 A.H.). Contemporary with Ibn ʿIshaq was Mūsā b. ʿUqba († 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. Sachau, SDBAW, 1882, and others of little value); and Ishār († 204); quotes this author once for what is clearly an edifying tale (Umm, Cairo, 1221, ii. 100). Later by some fifty years is the work of Wāqidi († 294), which, with some extent to the same materials as the work of Ibn ʿIshaq and some of which has been still the encyclopedic work of Ibn Saʿd († 290), secretary of Wāqidi, on the Prophet, his family, and his followers. The memoirs or table-talk of the Prophet's companions were collected and treated (with infinite repetitions) by the jurist Ahmad 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 ʿIshaq.

There is reason for thinking that shortly after Muhammad's death some sketch of his life, comparable to the Chronicle of Chirvania, was communi- cated orally to those who embraced Isāl, enabling them to understand allusions in the Qurān; but this is likely to have been brief, and statements in early law-books indicate that considerable uncertainty prevailed with regard to events of_current importance in the Prophet's biography. It is of interest that the Khalifah 'Abd al-Malik (65–86 A.H.) wrote to ʿUrwa b. Zuhayr (born 22) for an account of the battle of Badr, and his letter in reply is preserved by Tabari (i. 1294)—as usual, not from a copy but from oral tradition. This personage was born twenty years after the event, and appears in treating the subject to have consulted the Qurān. 'Anord need to reply to a question about the sense of the Qurān has the appearance of a conjecture as to its meaning rather than of a historical tradition (Tabari, Commentary, xviii. 24). The general suspicion of and objection to written matter in the Sacred Book which prevailed prior to the foundation of Baghdad, and indeed for some time after, prevented the perpetuation of memoranda or notes which would have been destroyed by the fire that was reserved for the biography. Although the work of Ibn ʿIshaq contains a certain number of ostensibly contemporary documents—e.g., letters and State-papers—their authenticity seems in every case liable to question, not only on internal grounds, but because different authorities are in disagreement about them. It is, indeed, clear that no official collection was ever made of Muhammad's correspondence, treaties, and receipts; Shiā'ī († 204), who appears to have made a special study in Arabia, could find nothing in writing referable to the Prophet except the Qurān and one apocryphal document, of which he knew only by hearsay. Contemporaries produced in ancient and modern times, have been shown to be fabrications by the anachronisms which they contain (see Yaqt, i. 248).

The Qurān appears to be the most part authentic, but those which collected it in a convenient and chronological arrangement as much as possible, combining in the same sira, or chapters, matter belonging to widely different periods. In order to use it for historical purposes the reader has to interpret it by Ibn ʿIshaq's biography; but there are many cases in which that biography appears to be conjectural interpretation of the Qurān. It is true that the commentaries on the latter, of which one on an enormous scale was compiled by the historian Tabari in the middle of the 3rd Islamic cent., profess to locate most or all of the texts; but, unfortunately, they give a variety of translations, and leave on the mind the impression that nothing was certainly known or remembered about the 'occasions of revelation' beyond what the texts themselves imply.

If, in spite of these considerations, the general trustworthy of the Prophetic narrative is probably to be maintained, there are three reasons for this:

(1) The practice ascribed to the second Khalifah of assigning pensions to the Muslims, which varied with the length of time during which they had been members of the community, furnishes the existence of lists of fighters in various battles, and for the preservation of the chronological order of
familiar with the foibles of the Arabs, and utilized them to the utmost advantage. The stories of his successes as told by Ibn Ishaq indicate a complete absence of moral scruple; but they also show a combination of patience, courage, and caution, ability to seize opportunities, and distrust of loyalty when not backed by interest, which fully explain the certainty with which history records his career. If his age is correctly recorded, and no event 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. Surprised is the love and veneration 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 reenactment of paganism. Yet, some analogies can be discovered. The fact of primary importance in the rise of Islam is that the movement 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 evidently favoured him as an advocate of monotheism; that he was able to make the fullest use of this opportunity was due to his own ability. The only difficulties which are to be found in his career are, therefore, those which render all history difficult. It is impossible to say why one man should be more gifted than his fellow, why one prophecy or another should occur for the development of special talents.

According to the Qur'an (xxiii. 30), he was not a great man in his city, and, if the words of xciii. 2 are to be taken literally, he was not born in Medina. The account of his settlement at an early age, and at some period after his marriage, is the result of the need for a new place of refuge, a family, and, perhaps, an early divorce. Thus, when he records the charge made against him by his enemies in the ancient history which he reproduced in the Qur'an from dictation (xxv. 51.), he does not rebut it by the assertion that he could not write. The historical tradition makes him the patriarch of various Arabian tribes and the leader of the Meccan community, and his fortune companion finds in him a fellow-citizen, his life in Medina, and in the capture of the city in the eighth year of his migration. By the end of his life he had imposed his doctrine on the whole of Arabia, exterminating the Jewish communities, with few exceptions, rendering the Christian communities tributary, and abolishing paganism.

So far as this career is that of a military and political adventurer, countless parallels could be adduced. A man who can organize an armed force and lead it to victory may rise from obscurity to autocracy anywhere. Probably every century of Islam has its tale of such personages. The 'Abbasid, Fatimid, Buwayhid, Seljuk, and Ottoman dynasties all trace back to his line; and of these the religious appeal played an important part. The success of the founders was clearly due not to the objective truth of the doctrines with which they were associated, but to their skill as organizers and military leaders. The caliph's case, owing to the amount of information which we possess about him, it is easier to analyze the qualities which produced success than where the records are scanty. In the first place, his ability to gauge the capacities of others was extraordinary; hence in the choice of subordinates he seems to have made no mistakes. In the second place, he was thoroughly

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1 Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad, 1. 126.
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 (xi. 105 = Ps. 37), the nature of their origin is explicatory only as the reproduction of hearsay. Thus it cites (lii. 37 f., lxxxvii. 10) 'the Scrolls of Moses and Abraham' for maxims that are analogous to those occurring in the Prophets or the NT, though differing in quite kindred substance; and the mode of quotation implies that the writer had a vague notion of the work cited, such as actual personal perusal would have corrected. Further, the form assumes the source of the Maxims and the religious technicalities indicates a great variety of linguistic sources; for in these Ethiopic, 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., Tahit for Saní, 'Isa 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 out or altering a degree to suit his impression, in spite of the fact that they interested him keenly. Besides the canonical books, various uncanonical works contribute to the matter of the Qur'án, which, in addition, refers to prophets not mentioned elsewhere. 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 is not impossible that the story reproduced during the Meccan period had been heard from travelling companions or from Jews and Christians whom he had met in foreign parts.

Prior to his call Muhammad is said to have practised ascetic retirement on Mt. Hírā, and for this an odd technicality, taḥannuth, is preserved, which is said to mean 'to acquire merit,' and certainly has nothing to do with the Heb. 'ăhannuth, 'communion.' The call itself evidently took the form of a command to read, which the Prophet reluctantly obeyed. The communications embodied in the Qur'án were, according to the tradition, made to the Prophet and uttered by him in his own person; he would wear himself in a blanket and perspire copiously at the time. A certain number of these stories may be inference from sūrah liii. and lxxvi., where the Prophet is addressed as 'Thou that art wrapped up,' combined with sūrah xxvi. (supposed to be the first revelation), where he is bidden '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 rhythm, 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 rhyme of classical Arabic is an enigma which cannot at present be solved. An artifice based on the recurrence of letters is obviously literary; i.e., it depends for its existence on the practice of writing by those who are accustomed to read and write think of their words as agglomera-
tions of letters; to the illiterate the word, if not the sentence, is the unit. Indeed, in what is supposed to be the first revelation the deity is stated to fight with the calumina, or red-pen. The existence of poems before the Qur'án is attested by a sūrah which is directed against them (xxxvi. 1) and a text in which the deity states that He had not taught Muhammad poetry (xxxvi. 69). If the poetry which existed before the Qur'án was analogous to the classical poetry, the people of Mecca cannot have been in the state of native ignorance with which the Qur'án identifies them; yet the poetry which is ascribed to the Umayyad period—i.e., the second half of the 1st Islamic cent.—is to a great extent clearly authentic, while its authors represent the continuance of a pagan tradition.

With regard to rhytmic prose, probably we have nothing in this style that is certainly genuine and older than the 2nd cent. of Islam. It is, however, much easier to be written verse, though no less dependent on writing. Oracles are supposed to have been delivered in it by pre-Muslimian wizards.

Now the respect of ignorance for knowledge is a well-attested phenomenon, displayed in the case of the Prophet that Jews and Christians should not be molested in the exercise of their creeds. It is therefore unlikely that the poets and wizards who preceded Muhammad presented a higher stage of education; hence, according to natural sequence, the style of the Qur'án would seem to come between such naive jingles as may have counted for versification in Arabia and the highly artificial products with which we meet in the Umayyad period. It would follow that the early Islamic oracles as all as all that ostensibly belongs to the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors is spurious; but, as has been seen, the spuriousness of that which is incorporated in the Prophet's biography is otherwise attested; and the most likely hypothesis is that, as all that ostensibly belongs to the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors is spurious; but, as has been seen, the spuriousness of that which is incorporated in the Prophet's biography is otherwise attested; and the most likely hypothesis is that the oracles and prophesies were current among the people of Arabia and the East in the early Abbasid period, to whose labours we owe our collections of early poetry, were unscrupulous fabricators.

The Prophet, then, claimed to introduce literature into his native language, and the form was probably modelled on the quasi-poetic experiments which had preceded the Qur'án. It is, however, very noticeable that in his lifetime his book resembled a newspaper in having a fluid rather than a stationary existence; it was as whole a continuous, but each number had ephemeral importance. The theory was gradually evolved that it was a reproduction of a divine archetype, first as a series of copies, and then in complete form. The development of this theory was not possible before the collection of the Qur'án; and the Prophet himself never thought of attempting such an undertaking.

The difference between his first conception of a prophet and that current in ancient Israel, before the literary prophet had arisen, was perhaps not very great. The oracles were partly spontaneous, partly required for emergencies; their form differed from that of ordinary speech by the presence of an artifice; and the prophet delivered them in what spiritualists call 'the superior condition.' At times the oracles were supplemented by dreams. Further, the Hebrew prophet was a 'warnner,' which is one of the epithets applied by Muhammad to himself; he foretold misfortunes, which, however, were ordinarily contingent, since it was his business to indicate the line of conduct whereby they could be averted. Muhammad and his prophecy seem to have been chiefly influenced by those cases in which the prophet 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 epileptic fits which in Muhammad's case ostensibly accompanied the revelations; but it is evident how far these are to be regarded as real occurrences. It is clear that the Prophet was of great physical strength, since his life as tyrant of Medina was spent in constant military expeditions, added to the cares of a rapidly increasing community, of which he was at once priest, legi-
lator, ruler, and judge. Yet we never hear of his health breaking down under the strain. The 'fish seem to have been threatened by it when they were required for the delivery of the revelations, and in no case to have interfered with his activities.

A message must have matter as well as form, and, when Muhammad became head of a State, his Qur'an served as a government organ, containing reprints and something like an official chronicle of important events, with comments upon them. But before the migration the matter was not so easily supplied. To a certain extent it reproduced the 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 doctrine of the early days was the future of 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. 749), it is difficult to say whether it was an innovation or a medieval development.

The doctrine of the future life was 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 make the same point to his converts and to his enemies enter hell immediately after death—a belief not easily reconciled with the former.

According to Tabari, during the Meccan period he at one time, under stress, issued a revelation admitting of the Meccan godesses to his pantheon; and, though this text was expunged from the Qur'an, the apology for it, viz. that it was the devil's interpolation, remains (lil. 19-23, xxiii. 51; see ERE vii. 150). He even consented at one time to be addressed as 'Abu lebnkil'; but it was from a document, when it stood in the way of the ratification of a treaty. Even the formulas with which the suaraks and other documents commence shows clear signs of effort to import the 'In the Name of Allah, 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 'Allah' 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 of slow growth; it is probable that the final form of the religion of Abraham. One of Muhammad's predecessors, Zaid b. 'Amr, is represented as travelling with the view of the religion of this patriarch, from whom the tribes of Arabia, according to Genesis, 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 safer ground than they who live Jews and Christians, were agreed about the relationship. If the tradition is to be trusted, the new system was called by the Meccans 'Sabism,' a name connected historically with Harran, where a cult of Abraham is likely to have existed; the Harranians appear to have been called 'Hampe,' 'hostile,' by their Christian neighbours, and possibly this is the solution of the puzzling name 'Hamit' applied in the Qur'an to the religion of Abraham, and synonymous with 'Muslim,' which, according to the same book (vi. 168), was a little invented by the prophet. 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 masikridei, i.e. particularly, he decided to make the Meccan pilgrimage part of his system, he ascribed the building of the Ka'bah to Abraham and Ishmael (ii. 115 f.), and brought the Abraham-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 salatit; and it is not easy to dissociate from these the theory of legal purity, which, however, seems to have existed in parts of pagan Arabia, since the technique of the technical words found in Sasanian inscriptions. Of the actual growth of the ritual or liturgy nothing certain is known; the prayer which corresponds with the Postemer is called 'Fikdah,' because it is prefixed to the Qur'an, contains polemical 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 them did not cease 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 required 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 'alms' (zaklit or sadaqah)—belong to the Medina period, though they cannot be precisely dated. The establishment of the House of God, the Prophet's resolve to conciliate so far as possible the pagans of Mecca, and to abandon Judaism, which on his arrival at Medina he was inclined to adopt, it belongs to the same policy as that which dictated his making the Meccan temple the destination of prayer instead of Jerusalem (i. 139 f.). The fasting month, whatever its origin, is evidently a military exercise; on the one hand, it accustoms the fighting men to endure privation, and, on the other, it trains them to turn night into day. The alms or income-tax of 2.5 per cent is organized poor relief. An innovation which is at least as important as the canons, though it is not termed one, is the tabu on intoxicants (i. 218, v. 92), which is said to have been introduced in the third year of the migration, and appears to belong to military discipline. There may, however, be some truth in the idea of W. G. Palgrave ¹ that this tabu is definitely anti-Christian, and that the religious duties of the new faith were the religious duties of the old.

It is probable, then, that the positive parts of Islam teaching belong to the period after the migration, and that these were largely suggested by the Jews and Christians. When he held his usual plan when he adopted institutions was to disguise the borrowing; but he also introduced serious modifications. Thus, in the case of the Sabbath he not only shifted the day from Saturday to Friday, but retained the practice when business might not be transacted to the period occupied by the mid-day religious service (lixii. 9 f.). Instead of the elaborate system of

¹ Central and Eastern Arabia, London, 1866, i. 428.
Muhammad’s sincerity in his claim to be the spokes-
man of the deity has often been discussed, and
various views have been held on the subject; as,
e.g., that Muhammad’s assertions on this subject are
a case of epileptic mendacity; 1 while L. Caetani
finds no contradiction between his supposed elabo-
rate preparation of revelations and his ascription
of them to direct communication from the deity. 2 In
the former view, as has already been seen, it 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 revela-
tions having been made by some of his followers,
but it seems certain that Muhammad himself kept
no such collection. Caetani’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, in
the case of Muhammad, while the angels who came
to his battles were partly pious, partly poetical per-
senations of the heroism of his followers, he was
fully conscious of the value of attributing his
victories to those supernatural auxiliaries; to be
defeated by angels was not a thought in his
mind. He was also quite conscious of the value attaining 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. 61 ff.), was commonly practised in Arabia in the case of female
infants. On the other hand, some crimes, e.g., the
institution of slavery. In the case of the blood feud
Muhammad did not contemplate complete abolition, but
he endeavoured to mitigate its consequences and
favoured mild reprisals (ii. 173-175). With the
institution of private property and the acquisition of
wealth he found it, indeed, the destiny of the Prophet’s
family to display its 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 inter-
pretation of the Qur’an that is reasonably literal,
and clearly receives no countenance from the
Prophet’s own career, if any creditability attaches
to his biography. Like other founders, he claimed
a large share of the booty won in war as his perquisite,
and appropriated territory as his domain.

It is not clear, then, that Muhammad can be
credited with any direct part in the matter of infanticide, whereas in the social
organization of the family tie to the religious brother-
hood he appears to have weakened one social sanction
without introducing any other equally strong
by way of compensation. The history of this sub-

1 A. Rashi, t. 1377 f.
2 Annali dell’Islam, Milan, 1906 f., i. 394 f.
ordination can be traced in the Qur'an rather more continuously than most institutions.

Where moral codes are drawn up, as is the case in several ancient societies, the person is given a high place in the list of commandments. When Abraham is first introduced, he is told by God to establish a religion, and after the migration, when the younger generation were joining Muhammad against the wishes of their parents, their unbelieving parents were thought to be tolerable; hence they are forbidden to pray for the latter, and Abraham's conduct is excused on the ground that his life was made so difficult. Abraham himself is represented as repudiating all parental claims, and his conduct is declared exemplary even in disregarding the exhortation to pray for his father (iv. 43, xix. 44, xxvi. 72, xlii. 15, lix. 6).

This is only one example of the movement in the direction of intolerance which the Qur'an exhibits as it proceeds. The Prophet undoubtedly wished to make Muslim life as sacrosanct within the Muslim world as in the old tribal system the tribesman's life had been within the tribe; but in this he failed, since his first followers eventually waged civil war with each other, and in the history of Islam the victims of massacres by Muslim Suljans have frequently been Muslim communities, and, indeed, families claiming descent from the Prophet himself.

3. Tolerat6n—On the question of religious toleration the Qur'an contains a series of utterances belonging to different periods, and varying from large-minded tolerance to extreme fanaticism. In one text (v. 78) future happiness is promised to four communities—believers, Jews, Sabians, and Christians—on condition of their believing in Allah and the last day, and doing good works; in another, the last three communities are mentioned with the pagans and the Magyars in a context which implies that the prospect before them is less satisfactory (xxii. 17). At times no form 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 humble submission. Friendship with members of other communities is forbidden. The most intolerant utterances are the latest ones, but the progress in this direction does not seem to have been regular. The permission granted the Muslims to conceal their faith if confession is dangerous (iii. 27, as ordinarily explained) is characteristic of a system which is more political than religious. The ultimate system adopted was to permit the existence of communities which professed to follow a revealed book, but to disown them and make them tributary; this condition is identified by some jurists with that of slaves. The existence of communities to which this description did not apply was forbidden. Since the chief Christian doctrine is said in the Qur'an (xix. 22) to be so blasphemous as to be calculated to produce a general convulsion of nature, this toleration, though praiseworthy, is clearly irreligious; for we can scarcely conceive a confession of nature being averted by the payment of a moderate poll-tax.

4. Legislation. As a legislator Muhammad probably perpetuated current practice rather than introduced a fresh system, and the Qur'an is on many grounds ill-suited for a basis of jurisprudence. It is imperfect, self-contradictory, and destitute of order; and since in its arrangement, the collector 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. While there is anything like systematic treatment of any topic—e.g., the laws of inheritance in sähah 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 Muhammed 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 words of God, this utterance not unnaturally seemed ridiculous. The State, however, suffered very seriously for the want of a code in the matter of appointing successors to the sovereign; and until the introduction of European codes it was never able to give a decisive


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 form of religious propaganda 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 firmness. His theory of the deity is, on the whole, naïvely anthropomorphic; the Allah of the Qur'an has been compared to a magnified Oriental despot. A royal court is formed by the angels: Jibril conveys messages to the Prophet (ii. 91), whereas others are sent, mounted on horses, to fight the Prophet's battles (iii. 125, viii. 9, ix. 28, 40). Other intelligent beings are the jinn, or sha'dan, whose prince is Iblis; the second word is taken from the Ethiopic, the third from the Syriac transliteration of the Greek; the sh 'alas was mistaken for the Syriac sign of the genitive, somewhat as Obènce is transformed into Liber essentiae. To these the Prophet preaches (perhaps through a vague reminiscence of 1 P 39), and some are converted (xlii. 28-30, lxii. 1f.). Satan himself is the power that makes for evil, causes men to forget, and even interprets the oracles of prophets. He has the divine permission to mislead mankind for a season (xv. 37-39). The Qur'an, on the whole, seems to favour the theory of predestination, but there are passages which contradict it, and to those who believe it is an evasive answer rather than a rejoinder is given (see art. FATE[Muslim]).

The resurrection of the body is taught in a crude form, and the future life is thought of as one of bodily pains and pleasures; hence metaphysical questions concerning the soul are scarcely touched. The creation is narrated mainly as in G. 1, but with the addition of some apocryphal matter. The teleological argument for the existence of God is often emphasized.

10. The Prophet's apologists.—The distinction drawn in the case of the founder of Christianity by D. F. Strauss 1 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 cite canonical documents as to contrast the impressions left by the biography of Ibn Ishaq with the character of the Prophet as it appears at later periods of Islam. That biography 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 Ishaq is, as has been seen, exceedingly unfavourable. In order to gain his ends he recites from no expeditious, and he approves of similar unscrupulousness on the part of his adherents, when exercised in his interest. He profits

1 Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet, Leipzig, 1854, p. 33ff.
to the utmost from the chivalry of the Meccans, but rarely requires it with the like. He organizes assassinations and wholesale massacres. His career as tyrant of Mekkah 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 on principles which fail to see his followers' ideas of justice. He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever he does he is prepared to plead the express authorization of the deity. It is, however, impossible to find any doctrine which he is not prepared to abandon in order to secure a political end. At different points in his career he abandons 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 pleadcd 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.

Apologies for Muhammad were started in the 18th cent. by H. de Boulainvilliers, who was favoured by Gibbon because this apology provided some instruments against Christianity. More importance was attached to the lecture of Carlyle on the Prophet. The theory that this person's conduct was a model for his followers has in consequence done serious mischief.

The Hero as Prophet, incorporated in the collection called On Heroes and Hero-Worship (London, 1841), in which Muhammad was taken as the type of a heroic prophet, just as Odin 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 Bowditch Smith, who, too, was satisfied with 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 apologist for Muhammad succeeded in having possessed any proper acquaintance with the Arabic sources. Only after the definite assertion of European superiority over the world of Islam, which may be dated from the episcopal invasion of Egypt, and the acquisition of European nationality equivalents or equivalents by large numbers of Muslims, has the necessity for apologies made itself felt in Muslim communities. The most prominent writer on this side is Syed Ameer Ali, but there are many others. These apologists endeavor to discredit the biography of Ibn Ishaq where it shocks the European reader; and, where this cannot easily be done, they suggest imitable motives or suppose the course followed by the Prophet to have been the least objectionable of those that were open to him at the time. Thus his tolerance 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. He has even been made to set an example of monogamy, but the ingenuity required for this is not great and the result is unconvincing. But, while Muslim dogmas, by assuming whatever the Prophet did must necessarily have been right, renders apology unnecessary, from the earth there has been no such edifying fiction in which the Prophet is shown to have practiced all the virtues which mankind agree in admiring. The lines on which the historical character has been distorted and a mythical character substituted have in the main been three.

(1) In the Qur'an Muhammad on the whole disclaims the character of a human, arguing that his predecessors were ordinary men, though he accepts the most important of the miracles ascribed to Moses, Jesus, and others (e.g., vii, 169, liii. 43). The miracles which he claims are victories in the field, won by the sword, and which the Qur'an itself, which is a miracle either as containing historical matter to which the Prophet had no natural access or as being of unattainable excellence (cf. xxvii. 1 ff., liii, 1 ff.). To these it is possible that one case of foretelling the future, viz. the recovery by the Romans of the territory seized by the Persians in the Near East (xxx. 2 ff.), should be added, though the text of the Qur'an does not insist on this as evidence of mysterious knowledge. Since the miracles of earlier prophets are attributed by the Qur'an, this scracity of the miraculous doubtless from the first constituted a serious difficulty to Muslim controversialists, and it is likely that in Muhammad's lifetime many miracles were attributed to him which he did not himself claim; in time he was credited with the analogue of every miracle of consequence in either OT or NT, with the exception of raising the dead, which perhaps was not ascribed to him on the ground that his own resurrection never became a dogma of Islam. In works of the 4th cent. of Islam these miracles are collected and, as usual in Muslim works, attested by chains of authorities, under the title 'Proofs of the Mission.' The most frequent narrated of these miracles is the 'splitting of the moon,' for which it seems possible to adduce Qur'anic attestation (liv. 1), though perhaps the text should be taken hypothetically rather than as an assertion. Another form of miracle which was popularly attributed to him was foretelling the future; even the reverse which he sustained at Ubud was, according to the tradition, revealed to him in a dream, though the official account of that affair in surah iii. 133 ff. makes no allusion to the warning. Of marvellous experiences which that which has attracted most attention is his supposed ascension into heaven, which grew up out of the Qur'an (xvii. 1), which merely says that God took his servant by night from the sacred place of prostration to the furthest place of prostration, usually supposed to mean from Mecca to Jerusalem. It is probable that this reference is made in the same surah (xvii. 62), where it is coupled with the accursed tree in the Qur'an 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 colloquy 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.' In the story that the Prophet was transferred from Mecca to Jerusalem and from Jerusalem to heaven we probably have a combination of gospels on the one hand, the 'further place of prostration,' the meaning of which is obviously obscure.

(2) The Prophet's sayings and doings were made into a source of law, corresponding with the Oral Law of the Jews, and, like the latter, 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 latter of the two leaders. 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 fathering sayings upon him was so common during the early part of the Islamic period that it is almost certain that any genuine sayings of his are inextricably mixed up with such as are apocryphal. The native criticism of this tradition consisted in ascertaining if possible the credibility of the person who handed it down. This was by no means easy, and various motives prevented those who endeavoured to criticize it from exercising judgment fairly; hence the chains which are technically regarded as strong appear to the Muslim critic naturally weak. The Prophet's merit as a legislator must, therefore, be judged exclusively 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 condemnation of vices or the condemnation of vices were collected on a considerable scale by Ghazali (+565 A.H.) in his Revival of the Religious Sciences (Cairo, 1262 A.H.), the standard text-book of orthodox Islamic theology; he was, however, criticized severely for employing so many spurious dicta, many of which could be traced to fabricators.

11. The Prophet's Companions.—No account of Muhammad, however brief, can be omitted 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 editor 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 certain whether these associates had any share in their composition. Indeed, such participation would have been at variance with the theory that the surahs were direct communications from the deity.

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 teach we hear 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 theology to those portions of the Qur'an which were to be employed in the liturgy; these missionaries appear, however, to have had in part military character.

When the time had come to extend the mission outside the environs were sent bearing copies of the Prophet's letter to all monarchs known to him; but, as those contained a command to adopt Islam on pain of being attacked, there was no occasion for the messengers to endeavour to persuade.

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 conspici-

ous 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 quarter of a century after the Prophet's death different groups of Companions vied with each other. The latter legend transforms all of them into saints and preachers, and sometimes into ascetics. This is done in particular in the case of 'Ali, of whom a sort of cult arose, especially in Persia, and which presents him as an ambitious libertine, 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 history; the tradition makes the first wife, Khadijah, a woman of wealth, whose acceptance of her husband's claim to a supernatural 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 (over that term may have meant) was devoted to this purpose and, indeed, consumed therein. After her death the Prophet began that course of polygamy and concubinage which has given offence to European students of his character, but which appears to have scandalized his Arabian contemporaries, 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 other 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 harem, 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 (xxxvi. 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 if the Prophet had married to A'ishah, the Qur'an would have benefited by the omission of the affair of the adopted son, and this criticism might be extended to the others.

In several of these marriages it is easy to see that political considerations were dominant. Muhammad, 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 consequence, and in the first civil war herself took the field. The descendants of the Prophet, distinguished since the year 773 A.H. by green turbans, all trace their pedigree to Fātimah, his daughter by Khadijah; the other daughters appear to have 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 unfitted in supporting her husband's claim to the succession. It is significant that the exact number of his sons is unknown, though it is certain that all died in infancy. Of one, born late in his life of a Coptic concubine, sent as a present by the Byzantine governor of Egypt, the death was synchronized with an eclipse of the sun, supposed to be that of 27th Jan. 632.
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China (M. Hartmann), p. 888.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Africa).

Muhammadanism is said to have reached Central Africa through the Persians or their vizirs of Tripoli via Ghadamis to Timbuktu, and Algeria via Wargila. Certain details of the dates of its introduction into various communities were collected by the traveler, H. Barth; about A.D. 1000 it found its way into Songhi, near the end of the 11th cent. into Kanem, about 1500 into Bagirmi, and not much later into Katsena. It was introduced into Logon about the beginning of the 18th cent. In the neighborhood of Tripoli a number of indigenous Muslims in British Central Africa was 50,000 as compared with 950,000 fetishists. Its introduction in certain places is connected with the names of historical personages; the chief missionary of Central Negro land was one Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karim b. Maghili, a native of Buda in Tawat, who flourished about 1500.

The Islam of Central Africa seems to be everywhere of the Malikite school; and, if it has produced a literature, few monuments of it have as yet come to light. In Revue du monde musulman, xil. (1910) 197 Ismael Hamet gives a summary of the history of Egypt by L. Magnin and b. al-Mukhtar of the Kenite tribe of Asawwad; this personage died in 1826, twenty years after the completion of his work, which consists of an edifying biography of his parents, containing the kind of matter which is usually found in hagiographies. In Revue du monde musulman, xiv. (1911) Hamet gives extracts from the works of a somewhat earlier writer Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Ya'dili (f1752), a poem by whom in praise of the Prophet was published by L. Magnin (Gaz. VIII (1909) 199). Some contemporary poems (satiros) by one Bakai were published by Barth. There appears to be nothing in these specimens that is distinctly African. In the same magazine (vol. IX, 499) Masson published the catalogue of a library belonging to a Central African chieftain Shaikh Sidia; the editor notices the absence of books bearing on philosophy, alchemy, and music, but otherwise it does not differ in character from the same libraries, and the want of representation of these subjects may be due to accident.


T. H. Weir, 1912. More recent biographies are those by H. Grimmke, Mohammed, Munich, 1904, and D. S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Black World, London, 1905. Besides biographies, numerous works deal with either the prophetic character of Muhammad or certain aspects of his work. One of the most important is the Sūra 'Abād al-Muhammad (f. 160 A.H.), on which there is a vast literature, described by Hāfiẓ Khālīfīr in 56 cit.; the ed. of Constantineople, 1335, in 4 vols. with the commentary of Khātībī (f. 1105 A.H.), is probably the best. Somewhat similar is the Mawdūṣāb al-Darājāt of Qanātlī (f. 663 A.H.) with the commentary of Zārūkī, 8 vols., Cairo, 1278. Of European works mention may be made of O. Faniuze, Mohammedische Lehrer von der Offenbarung, Leipzig, 1894; O. Procksch, Uber die Bibeltexte und Mahommedanische Sprachregeln zu far, do. 1899; P. Cassanova, Mohammed et les Prophètes de l’Islam, 3 vols., Paris, 1914. The ninth volume of V. Chavouit’s Bibliographie des sources arabes, CONSTANTINOPLE, 1909, contains a list of all European works on the subject from 1610 to 1885.

T. H. WEIR, 1912.

Persia (W. A. Shedd), p. 897.
Turkey (F. Giese), p. 905.

Africans commenced shortly after the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr b. al-'As, who in A.D. 641 penetrated to the Red Sea as far as Baraa, marked by the Nile and its affluent, Tripoli by storm. It was not till the autumn of 647, however, that an expedition on a great scale was organized for the subjugation of Africa, where the Patriarch Gregory had declared himself independent of the Byzantine emperor, and made Sbeitla (in Tunisia) his seat of government. The Arab invaders, 'Abdallah b. Abi Sarh, who had advanced through the interior, defeated the forces collected by Gregory in the plains of Egypt, who was himself perished, took and pillaged Sbeitla, and proceeded to devastate the country southwards as far as Gafsia and Jerid and northwards as far as Marmajanna. Permanent occupation was not 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 'Utman 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 699 established a province in Africa, with Tripoli as its capital, for its first governor, who for the first time employed Berber converts as soldiers, and founded the city of Kairawan. Since the Islamic programme was carried out by this governor, who threatened the pagans with extermination, the religion began to spread fast among the Berber tribes. In 675 'Uqbab 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 home- ward; but he did not again reach Kairawan, as his army was attacked by superior forces and annihilated at Tebhala, 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 state was re-taken by the Arabs, who, however, evacuated the province, which lapsed into anarchy. An end was put to this by Mūshā b. Nusair, sent in 706 to Kairawan as governor of Sirīgīyūs, who traversed as far as the four corners of the country, previously invaded by 'Uqbab, penetrated as far south as the Oasis of Sijilmassa, took Tangiers, and installed
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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 Khilafahal of Unayyad ‘Omar II. is said to have manifested zeal in the propagation of Islam among the inhabitants of these territories.

The Berbers, who were giving much trouble in the eastern dominions of the Khalifahs, also sent missionaries to the west, where they found a ready hearing among the recently converted tribes. The Sufi doctrine spread among the westerly tribes of N. Africa. In 740 a revolt broke out in the extreme west against the Unayyad ruler in favour of the Khairijite doctrine, and, as it met with some initial success, it spread over Muslim Africa; a Syrian force sent by the Khalifah Hishâm to quell the rebellion was defeated on the Seôr. Another force headed by the governor of Egypt in 742 was more fortunate; but, though Kairawan was rendered secure, the Khairijites maintained themselves at Tlemcen and in the neighbouring parts of the modern Morocco, and various independent Khairijite communities established themselves to the west of the continent.

At the beginning of the 9th cent., while the dominions of the Khalifahs were extending, a settlement established itself at Kairawan, under the nominal suzerainty of the Khalifahs of Baghdaäd, but virtually independent, an ‘Alid dynasty called the Idrisid became dominant in the west, and in 808 founded the city of Fez. The Idrisid were of different stock from the ‘Abbasids and established themselves in various places. The great event in the history of Muslim Africa during this century was the arrival of the Fatimid missionery Abû ‘Abdallah, who won adherents among the Kettama, and by skill in the art of propaganda alienated the Aghlabites, and install Kairawan as a Shi‘ah dynasty, which presently substituted for Kairawan a new city, Mahdiyya, as metropolis. The petty principalities to the west of Kairawan alternated in their allegiance between the Unayyads of Spain and the Fatimids of Mahdiyya, but the latter remained the dominant power in N. Africa until they, having conquered Egypt, transferred their capital to Cairo. At this stage of their possession of Mahdiyya a dependent dynasty called the Zirids, who in the middle of the 11th cent. threw off Fatimid suzerainty. As the 11th cent. neared its end, the Almoravids dynasty, founded by an Arabic emigré, Yüsuf ibn Tûmân, with his capital at Morocco, obtained the hegemony; and this, in the middle of the 12th cent., was displaced by that of the Almohads founded by Ibn Tûmân, which under its first actual sovereign, Abû al-Mu‘âmin, 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 Zayanids with theirs at Tlemcen, and the Hafsids, with theirs at Tunis—which occupied the throne of Morocco and continued to hold it 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 then by Turks; the three native dynasties disappeared, and, whereas that of Tunes 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 transferred to Cairo, and Morocco continued as a state of Moroccans; and sometimes Mekeen; their first dynasty, that of the Sa’dians, lasted from 1520 until 1654, when it was ousted by that of the Hassans, which became prominent in 1633. The Sharifs and the Turks were succeeded in existing 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 less from the time of their establishment, and the raise of Algiers was easier 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. The influx of Arabs at the time of the original invasion, the introduction of the Arab tribes Hilal and Sulaim in the 11th cent. has been of great importance for the political development of the country. These tribes, which were already in the country, it is said, sent westwards by the Fatimids Khalifah Mustansir, by way of avenging himself on the Zirid Mu’izz, who in 1048 had accepted the suzerainty of the Abbasid Khalifah, destroyed the Ifertella college at Kairawan, where the Shi‘ah doctrine was taught, and burned in public all that was indicative of Shi‘ism. The Arabs advanced victoriously, and compelled the Berber sovereigns to make terms with them; under the Abbasids some of the divisions of these tribes were introduced into the western provinces and employed by the government as a military force.

Indeed, their risings form a chapter in the history of N. Africa. Towards the end of the 17th cent. the Hassânids of Morocco procured a great number of Negroes, of whom they 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 Sultan with a guarantee for his guard, while various employments were also found for the females. By the end of his reign as many as 150,000 of these black soldiers were registered in his lists; they were placed under the patronage of Bukhari, 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 gendarmerie 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.

2. Sects and orders. - It will have been seen from this sketch that during the first four centuries of Islam both Khairijite and Shi‘ite opinions held sway in different parts of N. Africa. The former are still represented by certain isolated communities (see Arab. KHAHAR); when 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 Fatimids, the former asserted the legitimacy of the Abbasid Khalifate and proclaimed the orthodoxy of the Malikite system, upon which they had insisted. The founder of the Almohad dynasty was a follower of the Asharite theology, and himself propagated it in Africa, displacing that of the Zahirites (al-Qahshad, ed., al-Ab‘âr, 1815, v. 181). The end of the various dynasties cease to have produced no alteration in the domination of these systems. The histories of the earlier period call attention to two purely African sects, both of which had already died out. The first of these was that founded by Sâlih b. Tariq, prophet of the Baggawra in Tennesa, who about A.D. 750 promulgated a Qurâ‘ containing sûras named after the Ceek, the Elephant,
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're 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, we are told, fifty years, professing Islam, but secretly harbouring his father's heresy, which was a form of the orthodox faith of the Haushan. Yunus. Yunus endeavoured to enforce its acceptance under penalty of death, and is said to have razed numerous cities and massacred crowds of his subjects in his endeavour to propagate the orthodox faith. The doctrine seems to have differed from orthodox Islam in matters of ceremony chiefly. It substituted Rabat as fasting month for Ramadán; it prescribed ten daily and nightly prayers instead of five; its sacrificial day was 11th Muharram; its alms tax was a title of all fruits; its ceremonial cleansing was much more elaborate than the orthodox; some of the prayers consisted of gestures without bending of the body; and the formule were in the vernacular Arabic. The sect, however, survived till the middle of the 11th century, when it was suppressed by the Almoravids.

Another Berber author of a Qur'an was Hānim, a prophet of the Ghumarah near Tetuan, who came forward in A.D. 925; in his system prayer was only twice a day, and the only fast was that of the month of Shaban. Purgation and total abstinence, and permitted cows' flesh to be eaten, on the ground that the Qur'an of Muhammad forbade that of the boar only. Specimens of his Qur'an, which was in the Berber language, are given in the Kitāb al-tātibār (tr. E. Fagnan, Constantine, 1900, p. 143), and relics of the sect which he founded exist in the time of the historian Ibn Khaldun (c. A.D. 1400), who asserts that the greater number of Saracens came from the Jebl Hānim, which took its name from this personage, whose actual career appears to have been very short. He was defeated in the neighbourhood of Tangiers by a force sent by the Spanish Umayyads and died in the year 927, and his head was sent to Cordova.

In the year 1228 another prophet arose among the Ghumarah, called Muhammad b. Afitl-Tawžij, who performed miracles and instituted a code; he was, however, cursed by the saint and ascetic 'Abd al-Salam b. Mashish, in consequence of which most of his Berber followers withdrew from him. The prophet in retaliation caused the saint to be assassinated, but he himself shortly afterwards was defeated by the garrison of Ceuta, and killed by a Berber; his descendants are still to be found in the neighbourhood of the Wad Ras, where, however, they are under a sort of ban, and forbidden access to the Jabal Alam, where the saint Ibn Mashish dwelt, of whose cult hatred for the Bani Tawžij formed a part (Archives marocaines, ii. [1905] 24). Ibn Khaldun gives no details of the system which this prophet founded, but states (Hist. ed. Cairo, 1824, vii 222.) The title 'Mahdi' is said to have been taken by the first of these prophets, and, being less likely to offend popular prejudice than the title of prophet, was assumed by many pretenders in Africa—e.g., the founders of the Fātimid and Almohad dynasties, a contemporary of the former, 'a young man' at the commencement of the reign of the Fātimid Mansūr (A.D. 948). It is impossible to determine whether it was introduced into Morocco in 1239, definitely rejected the claim of the founder of his dynasty to this title, asserting that the only Mahdi was Jesus, the Son of Mary. Yet, however, it may be accepted, as is Mimar, that Ibn Tunit was a false. Numerous claimants to it have risen since that time (see art. MAHDI).

Of an obscure sect called the Badújwa, located on the right bank of the Sebu, an account is given by G. Salmin in Arch. in Orien, ii. [1905] 359-363. A branch of these called 'the sect of Yusuf' is mentioned as having arisen in the 10th century (ix, xix. [1918] 214). Apparently they were a sort of ascetics, but differ from other Muslims in points of ritual.

The general dominance of the Mālikite code, of which the most familiar compendium is that of Sidi Khallī (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 Abu Hanifah, was introduced without displacing the other; in these regions there were two judi. In the cities of N. Africa there were the orthodox schools of the胄 hole, and teachers of eminence, and such were to be found as far south as Timbuktu, which was made subject to Morocco in 1590; one of the prisoners then taken, Aljmad Bābā, who, with a family of theologians, complained that the conquerors had pillaged his library, which, though containing 1600 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 Sufism connected with the name of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilāni (q.v.), to whom the establishment of orders is traced. In one of the earliest European accounts of the orders (E. de Neve, Les Khoum: Ordres religieux des Musulmans de l'Algérie, Paris, 1846) various popular beliefs about this personage are collected.

He it is whose name is ceaselessly repeated by beggars desiring alms, and whose name is invoked by all whom any accident befalls. When a man falls, the bystanders and he himself cry out, "Ah, my lord 'Abd al-Qadir!" The misfortune in their suffering, and women in travail, pray him to intercede for them. In the month of Sha'ab 390,000 evils of all sorts descend from the sky; of these he bears three-quarters himself" (p. 351).

Lists of the orders established in N. Africa were made by this writer, and more complete registers were later drawn up by L. Rinn, O. Depont, and X. Coppolani. Some of these either originated in Africa or are only known to have been there.

In the 15th cent. Shadhilism was propagated in Morocco by Muhammad b. Sulaimān al-Jazzālī, who counts as the starting-point of all the orders and sects of this region. An account of this personage, who died in 1484, and is famous throughout Islam as the author of the Dala'i al-Kairātî, is given in Archives marocaines, xix. 277 ff., as an appendix to the treatise Diwān al-Nasnîr of Ibn Askar, which contains the lives of ascetics of Morocco; A. Graule, who is the translator of this work, added it to as a continuation in vol. xxi. [1913] the Nashr al-Mathani of Muhammad b. al-Tayyib al-Qadiri, and proposes to add another supplement the Ghusb al-Muhâjad dar of Jāfar al-Kittānī. The Salont al-asnîf, published at Fez in 1516, is of similar import. The amount of historical matter contained in these lives is small; they serve to edify. The growth of the orders throughout N. Africa, ultimately (according to French authorities) rendering possible a territorial division by sects, was not pursued to have at any time had a beneficial effect either on the morals of the inhabitants. In an essay, "Sur la Mentalité religieuse dans la région de Rabat et de Sale" (Archives marocaines, vi. [1906] 423-435), E. Merete describes the orders in which he witnessed in two towns which count as sacred.
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3. Cult of saints.—Closely connected 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 Maahish (see above, p. 882) is visited in the month Shabân, and comprehends a series of visits to those of his ancestors and of the descendants (Archives marocaines, ii, 24). A list of the tombs visited in the month of Shabân is given in Archives marocaines, xx. [1913] 246, 278; of the saints thus venerated the most popular is Sidi Qasim b. Labti († A.H. 1688). What is certain is that he has two sanctuaries, one on the left and one on the right bank of the Sebû (p. 261), and that he has several festivals in the year, one of which lasts three days. A list for the province Habi is given in Archives marocaines, xvii. [1911] 481 ff. These saints have functions corresponding closely with those of the patron saints of Christianity.

Muhammadanism (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 case with which the fetishists were discarded by their worshipers has elicited expressions of wonder from some who have chronicled the period. It should be noted 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. As far as the authorities from whom we learn, every tradition of the older religious worship has perished; statements about them which meet us in Arabic literature are ordinarily fictions based on Qur'ânic 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 Islam; 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 prophets 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 penalizing of all non-Islamic cults, even the Jews and Christians, whose rights had been guaranteed to the Prophet, being either banished or forcibly converted in the time of the second Khalifah.

The murder of the third of these rulers in the year 35 A.H. was an event of the greatest importance for both Arabia and Islam. 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 Islam was thereby shifted to a point outside Arabia; the Assassins came from Egypt, and the battles for the succession were fought from Basra, Kufa, and Damascus. These cities became the capitals of great empires, and Medina was never restored to the position which it had once held. Arabia has, therefore, ever since been a province, at a distance from the seat of government; and such principalities as have been created within the peninsula have been mediocre both in magnitude and in importance. Such talent as Arabia produced has been attracted to the political centre, whereas the peoples attracted to it from outside have been mainly deserters.

There are, however, certain ways in which the influence of Arabia upon Islam has been constant or permanent. On the one hand, Mecca has maintained its position throughout history as the greatest Islamic sanctuary; some sovereigns are said to have contemplated substituting either Jerusalem or Bagdad, but to have abandoned the idea as impracticable. This place has not only served to perpetuate the traditions which Islam took up in its earliest 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 Islamic world as a whole can be most easily addressed, and this is particularly the case with the sunniya, which are usually reactionary, have a tendency to materialize there.

On the other hand, Medina remained the chief seat of Islamic learning some generations after it had ceased to be the political capital. At this place, the residence of the Prophet's widow, 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 the first in the list. In the 1st cent. of Medina's productions a school of jurists who, though they left nothing in writing, by their labours prepared the way for the code whose publication followed shortly after the foundation of Bagdad. In the middle of the 2nd cent. it was the home of the jurist Malik, who received as pupil Shafi'i; Shafi'i in later life went to Bagdad, where his conscious ability could find its reward. With the names of these personages two of the three great Islamic codes are connected. It is, therefore, Arabian (and indeed Medinan) law that is theoretically preserved throughout Islam, though in the more civilized States the civil and criminal portions have given way to the Code Napoleon.

The development of the other Islamic sciences has little to do with Arab culture, which is this matter 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 and to establish the murder of Othman; hence there has generally been a disinclination towards the ruling power. Perhaps the most serious attempt made at recovering the lost hegemony was when in the early Abbasid period Abdalrahim, son of Zubayr, was able to maintain the two sacred cities, Mecca and Medina, for a time against the Unrayad 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 Islam is given by the geographer al-Maghaddasi (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1877, p. 36). The three great political sects, the Sunnis, the Shi'ahs, and the Kharijites (called by them Shurtâ), were represented in different parts of the peninsula. One sect which has since disappeared, the Qarmatis, was dominant in Hajj. The Qarmans were not then restricted to four, and, besides the systems of Abû Hanifah and Malik, those of Dâwûd the Zahirî, Suyûfî al-Thauri, and Ibn al-Munshir had adherents. The Shi'ites in the course of the 8th cent. were distinguished as Mu'tazilites.

Of the rise of the Kharijî power in Oman an account has been given in the art. BRADS. Of a Kharijî who maintained himself in Yemen from 538 to 569 A.H. a notice is given by Ibn Khaldîn (tr. I. C. Kay, Oman's History of Yemen, London, 1892, pp. 161-165). The branch of the Shi'ah which has maintained itself permanently in S. Arabia is the Zaidi (q.v.). It is called after a descendant of Ali, Zaid, who is said to have led in an abortive rising of the year 129 A.H. For its history, references may be given to the work of H. C. Kay (pp. 184-190), and Khazrati's History of the Basleli Dynasty of Yamam (tr. J. W. Redhouse, London, 1897). An account of the Qarmatis in Yemen by Janadî 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; of a Shi'ite sect called Sabiyya representatives are to be found in Armenia and in the district of Yam (Abul Rasahid, History of Yemen and Some of its Tribes, Constantinople, 1291 A.H., ii. 87); their views appear to be similar to those of Azkitir (Yaqût, Dictionary of Learned Men, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1907-13, i. 301). Probably the most important religious movement which has taken place in Arabia since the rise of Islam is that called Wahhabi (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. Noldé.

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 at the great Islamic centers, and have themselves been incapable of producing original works of any genuine value. There are few specimens as yet accessible of purely Arabian theology, Al'Ibn al-Shâ microbi, by Said b. Mâhî of Yemen (+1108 A.H.), in which an endeavour is made to find a (false) law that is proposed, giving behind the supposed innovations of the founders, appears to rest entirely on the older theological works, already known in Europe, the authors of which were natives of extra-Arabian provinces. We can mention the Sufi orders and practices, which originated in Bagdad and Basra, were in the author's time
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well represented in S. Arabia. Against these the Wahhabi movement in the centre and north of the peninsula was to some extent a revolt.

From the statements of the few travellers who have spent much time in the peninsula and have been able to familiarize themselves with its conditions it would appear that the great bulk of the population are, in theory at any rate, fiercely Muhammadan, but that the observation of the practices which the system enjoins is much more irregular in the islands. Moreover, there is considerable difference between the statements of different travellers, and much variety has doubtless been occasioned by local, temporal, and personal factors. When K. Niebuhr (in the latter half of the 18th cent.) visited S. Arabia, he found that a Christian was there treated somewhat as a Jew was treated in Europe—as an inferior being, but not necessarily to be molested. Perhaps the greater number of visitors in the 19th cent. either adopted or simulated Islam; and this, indeed, has been a necessity in the sacred territory, where the presence of unbelievers is not tolerated by the government. In the Wahhabi States the tendency seems to have been in the direction of tolerance; yet on this matter almost contemporary accounts are inconsistent, and it would appear that the demesnour of the traveller has largely determined the conduct of his entertainers; even a missionary who is the avowed object of circulating the NT was only sent under escort out of the Wahhabi territory. The explorers of S. Arabia appear to have undergone little molestation on religious grounds; intertribal wars and intestine conflicts have interfered with them much more. It is worth noticing that the Cairo newspaper, which is conducted ostensibly in the interest of the Muslim chieftains of S. Arabia has for its proprietor and editor a Christian with the unmistakable name of Al Masri, "Slave of Christ."

LITERATURE. — This is sufficiently quoted throughout the article.

D. S. MARCOURT.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Asia).—In sketching the peculiarities of Islam in Central Asia, 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 pass wide-spread 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 becomes 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 aspersions, and has, to a certain extent, prepared for a natural understanding. In spirit, the temporary outbreak of enmity between Kurds and Armenians, caused by the predatory habits of the Kurds and not by their religion—for they are very lax Muslims—the relations between Christians and Muslims would be much better if the misrule of the central government on the Bosphorus and the political instigations from without did not so constantly envenom the situation. In Persia Islam presents itself in quite a different form: there first appears the deep-rooted enmity between Shi'ites and Sunnites, and the fire which this schism kindled more than 1200 years ago is still raging. As for the life of the Shi'ite sect, what the present writer saw and heard during his wanderings as a dervish in Iran gave him a very poor opinion of their piety and the moral effect of their teachings. Outward appearance and formalities, hypocrisy and fanaticism, hatred and impiability, are the main characteristics of the national religion of Persia; whereas in Turkey a good deal of the hierarchical power is invested in the hands of the Sultan, in Persia we find the clergy the supreme arbiters of the spiritual life, unchecked by the secular government and frequently their rival. During the more than 100 years' rule of the present Persian dynasty the Shah have striven in vain to curtail the influence of the priests; the Imam Jum'a of Isfahan and Karbalah were dead and are thus equally if not superiors in power, and the Shah's 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 Hanfite rite. For it is only in E. Turkestan that adherents of the Shafi'i 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 stamp of extravagant fanaticism, of an exalted conception of the duties of religious life, of an elaborate performance of religious duties, and of a deep hatred against innovations. In observing the Central Asian Muslim in his daily life, his social intercourse, his trade, and his attitude towards his government, one is tempted to believe that the Turks of the 14th, but in the 2nd cent. of the Hijrah, and probably even then the prescribers of the Qur'an and the Sunnah were hardly so rigorously observed as they are to-day in Central Asia. Nearly one-third of the day is devoted to religious duties. Every good Muhammadan has in his room a quadrangular depression for the ritual ablutions, a niche in the wall in which to keep the Qur'an, and a special place reserved for the adjutah, or prayer carpet. Like most Orientals, he is careful to have his dress in harmony with the prescriptions of his religion, and not the slightest alteration has taken place in the cut and shape of his inner and outer garments. Any deviation from the old fashion, be it only in button or braid, is looked upon as an infringement of the spirit of the law. Even the material of his dress is under rigid rule; and, as the use of pure silk is prohibited by orthodox Islam, the silk stuffs manufactured in Khorassan and Khoqand are intermixed with a few threads of cotton. The turban, also, the jubba, or overcoat, and many other garments have undergone no change for centuries, there being a predominant desire to imitate and reproduce the usage of the Muslim world of bygone ages, and particularly of Baghdad, Damascus, and the holy cities of Arabia. The case is similar as to the relations between the sexes. The separation is much more strict, and women are looked upon as mere chattels and slaves in the hands of a tyrannical master, in spite of the milder views of the Qur'an and its exponents. They not only cover their faces with a thick impenetrable veil, but are literally smothered in a cloak of greater length and width than their body; and, in order not to attract the envious glance of men, young girls even have to feign the appearance of old decrepit matrons, and very often walk leaning on a stick, as if bowed down by age or infirmities. The prohibition, also, of alcoholic drinks is very naturally more rigorously enforced than elsewhere in Islam, although in former times the ruling for indulging freely in spirits; during the epoch of the Timurid princes are mentioned who died

1 Description de l'Afrique, Amsterdam, 1774, p. 42.
of delirium tremens; and Bābār and his followers transported this vice to the court of the Mughals. This, however, could not be said of the maces.

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 begun to spread among the inhabitants of the towns.

In the observance, then, of the ruling precepts of the Qur'an and Sunnah the Muhammadians in Turkestan surpasses all his con-religionists elsewhere; his creed is the moving power in his spiritual and material life; by it he is guided in all his undertakings, thoughts, deeds, and wishes. His Muslim brother in Turkey and Persia is satisfied when he is able to perform his five daily prayers, consisting of a certain number of rak'ahs (bowings), and has spent three to six minutes at muraqabah (contemplation). The religions man in Central Asia must go far beyond this, for he has to add a few nāfšūḥ (additional) rak'ahs; he remains from ten to fifteen minutes in contemplation, and, after having performed this extra prayer, he has to read in the forenoon either the surah Yā Sin (xxvii), or Innā Allāhu la ilāhi, and in the afternoon he has to recite a portion of the Mathnawi of Jalāl al-Din Rāmī (p. r.), or to chant a few idāhās (hymns). This form of devotion is obligatory on every educated and respectable man, whereas the performance of these prayers is indispensable for every Muslim irrespective of sex, age, or calling; and whoever neglects this duty, or remains ignorant of the elementary teachings of Islam, cannot escape every kind of vexation and reproof from the authorities. For this purpose a special functionary called ro'a (chief) is appointed, who, accompanied by one or two servants, has to traverse the bazaars and the public places with the dervesh, a whip made of twisted twigs, in his hand, and, whenever he notices any one who does not go to the mosque on the first sounds of the muadhdhin (the public crier who assembles the people to prayer), he is entitled to beat the infidel with the whip, or to put him in a prison. The ro'a, besides, plays a great part in public examinations: he stops at random any one in the street, puts him to a question concerning the main prescriptions of Islam, and the individual under examination is liable to be imprisoned, or to be put to death, in consideration of age or profession. Full-grown and even grey-bearded men are sent to school by the religious police to learn their lesson by heart before being allowed to go. The ro'a's, whose office is a survival from the early Khalifate, non-existent elsewhere in Islam, also superintends the laws of public morality. Women indecently dressed are publicly rebuked and sent home, and even children are subjected to his control. What he is still for Central Asia that the muhaddis (police inspector) was for all Islam in former times; but at present, when modern European institutions are gaining ground, the office is but a nominal one in Persia as well as in Turkey. Further, not only are the precepts of the Qur'an more rigorously kept; they are also differently expounded. In Turkey, e.g., the cutting or shaving of the beard has been practised as a natural custom, usually looked upon as a deadly sin, or even as apostasy. In Turkey, again, and everywhere in Islam, it suffices for the believer to wash certain parts of his body after relieving nature; in Central Asia this is a much more circunstancial: he must apply istinjād (cleaning with a flint or with a cloth), istinmād (washing with water), and istitūd (drying).

For this purpose he conceals a few cloths in the fold of his lower garment.

But these and many other peculiarities of Islam in Central Asia are of secondary importance in comparison with one salient phase of the religious life, namely, the wide-spread and highly influential religions orders which dominate the situation, and have ever been the main moving power of the spiritual life. During many years' intimate contact with the Muhammadians of Turkey and Persia, the present writer never observed such strict adherence to the rites of the different orders and such veneration for their members generally called dervishes. In the Ottoman empire—and this is particularly the case with the genuine Turks—the Manlavi, the Bāqṭāshi, the Rīṭā, and the Qādīrī orders have many votaries among the lower classes, and the respective dervishes are looked upon as saints. But the better classes, i.e. the Efendis and the higher dignitaries, very rarely manifest the same degree of attachment. They visit the convents on Friday afternoons, they attend the holy ceremonies, 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 Shaihkh, and particularly of the Bāqṭāshi, who, having acted as revolutionary factors in the innovations (xiv), and in the time of Sultan Mahmūd II., are officially interdicted and only secretly followed. Somewhat similar is the case in Persia, where the conflicts between Shi'ites and Sunnites engage too much attention to leave room for any one to resume the vociferous and superstitious preaching of the people, or to appropriate to themselves who conceal their laziness under the khaqān (mantle) of religious exaltation.

In the settled parts of Central Asia, and even among the nomads, the orders play a very different and far more important part. There they have taken hold of the entire population; they have pushed aside the secular clergy, i.e. the 'ulama, or priests educated in the madrasahs, and appointed as such by the government. Of course, are not engaged in war with the members of the orders, among whom the Naqshbandis, founded by Bahā al-Dīn, best known as the author of the Roshdālū 'in al-hayūt ("Drops from the Fountain of Life"), occupy the most important place. Having associated with the Naqshbandi dervishes during his stay in Central Asia, the present writer found among them various sub-divisions, the character of which is expressed partly in outer appearance, partly in the way in which they fulfil their obligations. They begin as muraḍa (disciples), and as such they must forsake all worldly purposes and, clad in the khāqān and kulūsh (conical hat), holding in one hand the 'agā (staff) and in the other the kashkāl (a bowl made of a half coco-nut), have to wander about singing hymns or taking part in the dīkār (mentioning the name of God) and tawba (acknowledg-
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for two nights without interruption the Ya Hā, Ya Haqq ('He is the true and the right') without exhaustion. This, of course, refers to the upper degree of dervishes, who very rarely attain the rank of ḥafīṣah, a kind of graduate, entitled to preside over a taṣayyūḥ or ḥāngāh (convent), and to lead the ritual proceedings. The title of ḥafīṣah is mostly given to women dervishes, who also are addressed as izādah ('they', as a polite expression instead of 'thou'), and have always a group of followers, who either stay continuously with them or call on them once or twice a week. The Timing of this ḥangiā 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, an empty cell without any furniture or bedding and no regular food, except from time to time a pilau (rice dish), and, if deprived of all means, a piece of bread. The guests and inmates of the taṣayyūḥ regard it as a heaven; and assemble round the chief at the time of the five daily prayers and also at the particular exercises of the dervishes, such as the taṣfīqa (recitation of prayer) and the ḥalqah (ring). The latter is a circle of dervishes, who are all izādah, who sit and cry so long and so vehemently that they pass into a state of excitement and hallucination; their eyes turn wildly, their mouths foam, they tremble in all their limbs, and whoever touches a dervish in this state 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 movements of his followers. He is the centre and expressing his satisfaction only by a complacent nodding. Old and young women, children, greybeards, and particularly all-dressed people, press around; they spasmodically seize the dervishes by their arms, head, or shoulders, the ringing sound of their necklaces and bracelets, crying and sobbing; and some of them actually surpass the dervishes in their ecstasies. In Turkey this excitement, bordering on madness, is somewhat checked by the presence of the public, a similar participation on the part of the people.

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, when the believer is expected to follow blindly the tenets of the Qur’an; no discussion or explanation is permitted, nor any effort to attract. Hence we see, that whereas in Western Islam the asūkhā (call to prayer) is given from the top of a minaret in a sweet melodious song, the mu’adalāḥā 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 allurement. Austerity and dracoic 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 the judge, asserting that a woman cannot go in adultery had to undergo the penalty of rajim (being stoned to death). Strange to say, the Central Asians are themselves fully alive to the exceptional position which they occupy in Islam; they even pride themselves on the fact 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 foreign influence, but has remained as pure and as perfect as the time of the Prophet, in which they call waqt-i-asrādat (the period of happiness). Accordingly, the spiritual leaders and teachers in Central Asia form a distinct class, and enjoy greater fame and reputation in Turkestan and the neighbouring countries than in the West. This refers particularly to the saints (sanah), religious teachers (hidvah), and chiefs of orders (pir), and not to the learned in general. They are peculiarly esteemed and venerated in Central Asia proper, and, though not unknown in the rest of Islam, may be stilled the eminently national forms in which they have taken hold of the religious spirit of the people of Turkestan, Afghanistan, and India. A few of these may be mentioned here, and, first, the previously named Bahā’-e-Din Nāʾīm Bahā’-e-Din Nāʾīm, he was Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Bukhārī, and, as a pupil of Sayyid Amir Kulā’ī, he was early known for his great learning and piety in Bukhārā, then the centre of Muslim letters. There he founded the order named after him. During his lifetime he became the object of great veneration, and after his death the Amir Abd al-ʿAzīz Khān erected over his tomb in the year 1544 the famous mausoleum and convent near Bukhārā, which has since become the greatest place of pilgrimage in Central Asia, and of such sanctity that three visits to it are deemed equal to a pilgrimage to Mecca. Next to Bahā’-e-Din ranks Khwājah Kāshānī, known as Makhārim Aṣām (‘the greatest of the great’), born in the village of Khwājah in the fortress of Aṣām, who died A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), and was buried in Dehāb, a village near Samarqand. In the early part of his life he acted as governor of various places, but later he devoted himself exclusively to religious contemplation and theological studies, and aroused so high a veneration that his children reached princely rank. Of these the most noted was the great saint of E. Turkestan, Prey, in the beginning of the 17th century, the founder of a ruling dynasty, members of which still exist in Kashgar. Frequently mentioned and highly venerated also is Khwājah Uṣbaḍ Alī, the one of the highest theologians of his time (A.D. 1589 at Khwājah-i-Khodā, a village near Samarqand), whose grave is still a place of pilgrimage. Similarly with the tomb at Gijduvān of Khwājah Abū al-Khaliq, a pupil of Khwājah Kāshānī (A.H. 1010), he was the founder of the principal of Bahā’-e-Din (A.H. 945), whose grave in Balkh is a place of pilgrimage, particularly for Afghans; Khwājah Abd Allāh Hātiff, a famous poet and mystic, who spent much time in India with the Mogul dynasty, and died there in A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520); and Jābārī (A.H. 997 (A.D. 1583), whose grave is in Bukhārā. Apart from these great theological scholars, saints, and mystics, there are a number of popular spiritual worthies who are venerated by the lower classes, sedentary and nomadic, and whose plain, unadorned, and more intelligible works are the favourite reading of the masses. To these belongs the poet of the northern people of Central Asia. His religious poems, known as Ikwānāt (Wisdom, Philosophy), are still much esteemed, although their language, mixed with Arabic and Persian expressions, is not easily understood by the un instructed natives. West of Turkestan, Mashar (personal name, Rāhib Bābā) is the best south. He was a native of Namangan in Khaoqand, and known as a diedah, a religious madman. A diedah wanders from town to town, 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 own observation of these diedahs or fūqar (poor) has led him to the con-
viction 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 əkən, or spiritual chief. It was chiefly in the villages and in the tents of the nomads that they had religious vagabonds; there they are highly revered. The müllâs, on the other hand, accuse them of ignorance, and of breaking the precept of Islam—La rubhân fi'l-İslâm, 'There are no monks in Islam.' The majority of them are not believers, but the met with divânahs 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 divânahs there is also a certain Turk-dívânah, 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. Once asked Him to deliver mankind from hell, to which Allah replied that He would when peace, justice, charity, etc., reigned supreme in the world. Further, among the latter divânahs there are many of local examples; divânahs of such a character are as common in Central Asia as in India, or Persia. The Turk himself is too lazy, too easy-tempered, and too much given to a quiet life to find pleasure in the eccentricities of the divânah; yet, the Samanid Turk, like the Kurd 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 fanatical and orthodox than in the time of Hâšîn al-Rašîd and Al-Ma'mûn. Such, however, was not always the case. As long as the Iranian element was predominant beyond the Oxus, worldy science found many votaries, and during the reign of the Sâmânis and later Central Asia was the birthplace of literary celebrities of high standing. But with the increase of the Turk, imputation and hundreds of rules of warlike Turkish chieftains, mostly of nomadic origin, a great change has set in. The place of scientific culture has been taken by exclusively theological studies and mystic speculation. There has been no room for science and philosophy and schools; but the students, flocks 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.

Naturally, then, scientific inquiry having been gradually banished, religious eccentricity has taken its place, and Central Asia has long been the seat of fanaticism. Ja'âl al-Dîn Rûmî, the author of the Mathnâwî, was right in saying:

'Thou wilt to Bukhârâ? O fool for thy pains! Rather thou goest, to be put among their divânahs.'

Similar things were said to the present writer by his learned friends in Turkey and Persia when they heard of his intended visit to Central Asia; and when, on returning, he related to them his experiences, many of them destroyed and laughed at the overheated religious zeal of their fellow-believers. Another reason for this great difference is to be sought in the belt of dreary sand steppes, infested by nomadic robbers, which surrounds Central Asia, and which 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 sheikhs in the general Muslim world from distant countries have their own influence; in fact, the farther a divânah has wandered, the greater is deemed his supernatural power, and the stronger is his power over the people. The extraordinary influence of the beggâr-divânahs does not lie merely in the utter ignorance of the people, but rather in the tyrannical rule of the governing classes, who, lay and ecclesiastic, are everywhere hated. These unofficial servants of God, then, are credited and despised by the müllâs, are regarded by the lower class as of themselves: they thus very naturally become popular favourites, and frequently play the part of publicly avowed propagators of innovations.

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 found among the followers of the spiritual divânahs in these countries, India, or Persia. The Turk himself is too lazy, too easy-tempered, and too much given to a quiet life to find pleasure in the eccentricities of the divânah; yet, the Samanid Turk, like the Kurd 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 hundred 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 fanatical and orthodox than in the time of Hâšîn al-Rašîd and Al-Ma'mûn. Such, however, was not always the case. As long as the Iranian element was predominant beyond the Oxus, worldy science found many votaries, and during the reign of the Sâmânis and later Central Asia was the birthplace of literary celebrities of high standing. But with the increase of the Turk, imputation and hundreds of rules of warlike Turkish chieftains, mostly of nomadic origin, a great change has set in. The place of scientific culture has been taken by exclusively theological studies and mystic speculation. There has been no room for science and philosophy and schools; but the students, flocks 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.

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 Muhammadan resident in Tibet and Mongolia have never been more than an insignificant fraction. According to H. d'Ollone, Revue du monde musulman, v. [1908] 94, they are to be found all along the highway to India through Tibet; thus, e.g., there is a mosque at Tschulun for the hundred or so Muslim families living in the vicinity, while mosques are found also in Batang and Lhasa; those in the latter city being attended, it is said, by Hindu Muhammadans. 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 making all possible conciliation to the domination of China. Nevertheless, there is no prospect of any considerable expansion of Islam in Tibet (cf. R.M.M. v. 458). Hitherto, at all events, the commercial relations between Muhammadans and Tibetans

1 Hereafter cited as R.M.M.
have brought about no conversions to Islam, though the commercial bond is far from being insignificant. In particular, the Muslims of Sung-p'an-t'ing in Szechwan carry on with Tibet an important traffic in tea, but in this locality the d'Ollone expedition of 1907 found only a single Tibetan convert to Islam, who, moreover, was rather lukewarm in his adherence (ZEE.M v. 438 f.); on the other hand, several thousand Tibetans (in obedience to Christianity were met with in Sung-p'an-t'ing.

Muhammadanism was introduced into Turkestan at the time when the powerful kingdom of the Sarts was pressing towards the east. According to the tradition-interwoven with many legendary features— which is given in the Tsekeret al-Boghra (extracts in R. B. Shaw, Sketch of the Turkish Language, Calcutta, 1875-80), the Turki prince Satak Boghara was converted to Islam at the age of twelve (A.D. 968; he reigned till 1047) by a certain Abi Nayar Samani, who came from the west. It is a fact of history that the descendants of Satak Boghara, known as the Boghrais of Ilkhis, maintained their power till the year 1103, and in 1700, during the reign of Tappaghaz (one of that dynasty), Ysuf Khass Najib finished his great didactic poem Qudratul Biliq ("Joy-giving Science"), a work imbued with the spirit of Islam. It is remarkable in diffusing after the fall of the Great Civilizations among the Turki population had contributed to the spread of Islam in that region. But, if Islam was here the recognized religion of the majority, it was certainly tolerated in the adjacent Turki kingdom to the east—the land of the Uighurs. Nor can the position of the Muslims have undergone any essential change by the time when the Kara Khaitai overthrew the Ilkhis, since, through their civilization of the Uighurs, the latter were left in full exercise of their religious freedom as long as they paid tribute to the victors. Similar methods were practised by the Mongol conqueror Jenghiz Khan and his immediate successors. At the discretion of his empire Turkestan fell to his grandson, Jagatai, 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 muezzins and mullahs of Lamsana and the other settlements were quite common among the professed Muslims. The blind superstition of the people facilitated the usurping tactics of the philosophically gifted despots of Makhmud. He who at first rose as the spiritual adviser of the despotic house of Jagatai, and eventually in his own name. The discontents that arose within the family of Makhmud, their struggle with the Kalnus of Zungaria, and the internal wars of the Kalnus kingdom led (c. 750) 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' (Hsin-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 Altyshai ('Six Cities'), and subsequently Yetishai ('Seven Cities')—figure as an independent state under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Constantinople as Kialilah; e.g., the coinage was stamped with his name. The severance of these districts from the other parts of Turki, though an insignificant number of them, are Dungans (see below, pp. 981, 982) or Chinese, and the total population is estimated at from 1,600,000 to 1,600,000.

This period 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, Wbb Abi Khaled, who landed at Canton in A.D. 628 or 629, bearing presents from Muhammad to the emperor of China, together with an invitation to embrace Islam, and who then proceeded to Hai-an-fu. Other reports say that the earliest message was brought by an envoy of Abi Waqqas, whose tomb may be seen in the city of Turkestan. This envoy attaches special importance to an expedition of 4000 Muslim troops which the Khalifah Mansur is said to have sent to assist the emperor in a struggle with rebels (A.D. 756). The Chinese then forced them to settle in the chief 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. A bout 629 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 into contact. Just as Islam (c. 720) conquered Transoxania, which it had been attacking incessantly ever since after the end of the Sassanid, so Tai Teung (627-649), the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty, made himself master of Kashgar. Of the more general incentives to mutual intercourse the strongest was that of trade, 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 stote of Hai-ansfu dating from 780 after a long period of isolation, gained these influences, however, must be placed the impediment to intercourse arising from the tendency of both empires to rest content with their gains, and so to limit their frontiers. The emperor Tai Teung showed caution in rejecting the appeal of Yazzagird III. for assistance (as may be inferred from Tabari, i. 269 f., though the report of the ambassador is a fabrication; cf. i. 287). The Muslims became more aggressive after their able general Qutba Ibn Hisham had subdued Khorasan, but his expedition against Kashgar in 713 was unsuccessful. A comparison of the sources (Tabari, i. 1275-1279) shows that Kashgar remained unconquered. The conflict of the senior house of China with the empire of the Chinese (Hsian Teung, 712-756), however, is probably historical, though, as narrated by Tabari (i. c. 777 f.) in the traditional form, it is garnished with all the conventional features. Under the Umayyads the Musulins had, indirectly, a good deal to do with China, since the bhadga of the Turki, and also the jahghu, 2 were vassals of the emperor. A time-honoured tale is that of the scene between Naikak and the jahghu on the one side, and the shahid (the shah of the Orhimian records) and the sekel (probably to be identified with the sibek of the Théophanes; cf. E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turke orientaux, Petrograd, 1903, p. 208) on the other side, in which the shahid makes a great show of power, but politically capable Yaqub Beg, who recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan of Constantinople as Kialilah; e.g., the coinage was stamped with his name. The severance of these districts from the other parts of Turki, though an insignificant number of them, are Dungans (see below, pp. 981, 982) or Chinese, and the total population is estimated at from 1,600,000 to 1,600,000.

1 Notwithstanding the surreptitious introduction of silk culture into the Byzantine empire under Justinian, the silk merchandise of China was largely neglected. It was not until it was conveyed by land on the ancient 'Silk Road' or by sea through the Persian Gulf, on the north shore of which Al-tunsh (Tabari, ed. Leyden, 1737-1740, i. 250), and afterwards Birl (reference in G. L. Strange, The Land of the Eastern Culture, Calcutta, 1869, p. 287), was the case.

2 Nothing is however, of an embassy from the Chinese side. At an earlier date in the reign of T'ang, there were Chinese at the squashian court (Tabari, i. 896; cf. T. Noldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, Leyden, 1879, p. 161).

3 In Tabari this term is always mutilated to jahgha.
was sent to Damascus, and was probably the first 
Chinese, or Chinese Turk, that the Syrians had seen. It 
may be regarded as certain that it was 
Chinese statecraft that abetted the opposi-
tion of the Turkic Mongols and the national-
ities in Transoxania dependent upon him or upon China itself, so that the Muslims had to 
maintain a ceaseless struggle. The Khottal, who 
are probably to be located in the Pamirs, were not 
discovered by Talbot Rice till 1913, but the Arab 
King Al-Khazzad, king of Kasbah, was slain in 761, his treasures 
— costly Chinese ware—being conveyed to Abu 
Muslim at Samargand (Tabari, iii. 791 f.). When 
with the downfall of the Arabian empire the vigour 
of Muslim expansion had somewhat relaxed, and the 
central authority was busy with the mainte-
anance and organization of what had been won, and 
when contemporaneously the central power of 
China under the Tang emperors showed symptoms 
of decline, the interjacent territory was soon 
occupied by strong buffer States—first of all by the 
Uigurs, and then by the Hephids (see above). 
Islam, thus placed in a very unfavourable 
position for competition with China, when 
as were the dynasties that followed the Tang 
emperors, the people held firmly to the maxims, 
"No foreign religion in China." 
Buddhism, it is true, secured 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 (li), which, if 
hardly to be called a religion, was more widely 
diffused than any other, and (2) it assimilated 
certain elements of the national spirit and 
adapted itself to the prevailing sentiment (see art. 
China [Buddhism in]). Islam, which with its rigid 
doctrine of uniformity does not on principle express 
itsself in creeds, and is a discipline of the 
delicate and arrogant tone of its adherents, and which, 
above all, contrasts with Buddhism in its being 
especially 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 Khan. These potentates had no religion— 
nothing at all events beyond the worship of their 
individual star; and, consequently, their political 
ambitions only had to bring this star down from heaven. 
Jenghiz Khan himself saw only the advantages of a 
huge centralization of human beings, and, wherever it 
served his purposes, he intermingled detached 
fragments of Buddhism, not by way of nationality or 
religion. As a Mongol, his leading aim was the 
disintegration of the Chinese element and the 
fusion 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 Turki took 
precedence, alike in numbers, in the importance 
capacity for bearing arms, and in discipline. We 
shall hardly err in adding Afghan mercenaries; for 
the Afghans—the Pathans of India—were always 
prized for their qualities for service on foot, and 
and bands of warriors 
may also have flocked to the 
mountain passes 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. 
Yet the Mongols were not veryinformation regarding the composition of his armies, or those 
of his successors, for the great Mongol rulers were 
not the people to lend themselves to the statisticians, 
that exacting profession, not with the 
keeping of army musters-rolls. We may 
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 Turkic between the Great 
and the mountain barrier of the Thian Shan (Chinese 
Turkestan), Transoxania and Khurasan. This 
explains also the curious phenomenon that from 
that day till the present day the noms of the exiled 
warrior clans by the Muslims of China as the language of polite 
education, and that the vernacular Chinese written 
by these Muslims is mixed with scraps of Persian. 
In elucidation of this it has been supposed that at 
some time in the 9th century the Tartars migrated 
in the country, losing their mother tongue, but 
retaining vestiges of it in these numerous 
fragments. This, however, is certainly erroneous, 
for the internment of Persian in the Muslim 
idiom of Chinese is due rather to the supersedes 
organizing regard for the Persian language entertained by the 
barbarian and semi-barbarian hordes of Neuer 
Asia who swarmed to the camps of the Mongolian 
Khans. Moreover, as soon as Kuhini Khan 
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 Arab traveller Ibn Bajidah supply full information regarding the 
Chinese services. To a great extent they would 
be full-blooded Persians, and they no doubt helped 
to enhance the respect accorded to their language, 
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 
even hazard a conjecture, although an incident 
now to hand may throw light upon such importations. 
In A.D. 1226 a young 
native of Bukhara, who claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet—a Sayyid—placed himself at the 
disposal of Jenghiz Khan. The latter perceived at 
ones the outstanding ability of the young man, and 
attaching him to his bodyguard, soon began to 
employ him on commissions of a special kind. 
His successor, Kuhini Khan, entrusted this Sayyid 
(who appears as Sayyidjul Alger in the work of 
Kashif-al-Din, and as Sayyid Khoja in the Chinese 
sources) with the task of subjugating the province of 
Yin-nan, and for six years the affairs of that 
province were administered by this talented 
Mussulman. He died in office, and his two 
tombs—the first in Yin-nan-du, the other 
were discovered almost simultaneously by French 
explorers. The official employment of this Muslim 
from Bukhara, who, of course, did not come 
without orders, was attended by a company of armed 
men, is of special interest, because his soldiers were sent on service to Yin-nan, while he himself was 
installed as viceroy of that province. We may 
accordingly infer that the influx of Islam into 
Yin-nan began at that time, for that it reached 

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1 An excellent specimen of this idiom is found in the short 
Chinese MS (MS Sin. Hartmann 1 of the Royal Library, Berlin) 
collected by C. F. Forke, which contains a Chinese text in Arabic script 
(Tsongs-pa, v. 827 [1907] no. 8). From the nature of the 
language Forke inferred wrongly, as the present writer thinks— 
the Persian origin of the Dungan.

2 It is no argument against the theory, however, to say 
that it would involve a wider diffusion of Islam than 
we actually find, for the introduction of Shi'ism as the national religion of 
Persia and the dissemination of the Shi'ite principle among the 
people did not take place until the 11th century; and there is also a 
tendency to regard all Persian writings as of Shi'ite origin—an 
utterly mistaken idea, as even the writer himself admits (Asad 
Nabouai, 'Life of the Prophet,' by Muin-al-Din al-Muhammad).

3 (A.D. 1213), is Sombule in character.

4 One of those officials who gave, as was generally the case, 
very conspicuous—Asmuth (Akhmad) 'the Rabi', whose story is given not only in the Chinese MS (cf. J. A. M. du 

5 For reports of their visitation to China, see Nota sur des inscriptions arabes, persanes et chinoises du Chou-mouלג, du 
Chen-oung, Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris, 1895. A. Vissière has 
written the facts into a graphic and ingenious sketch (RMM 
iv. [1907] 230 ff.).
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 movement just mentioned—the only known instance of the systematic migration of Muslims from China—the number of those who have left was certainly not the only other—we are prompted to ask how the Muslim element has attained to such vast proportions. The total number of Muslims who settled in China from the date of the earliest campaigns of Jenghiz Khan (1206) to the fall of the Mongol dominion (c. A.D. 1297) 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, often equipped with superior vigour, better qualified to grapple with the manifold misfortunes which throughout the centuries have fallen upon this ill-governed country. It has already been noted that the Muslim communities are a compact, strong, and brave. The high appreciation accorded to their eminent qualities by the Chinese government is shown by a recently-issued decree to the effect that Muslims are to be employed in the cultivation of all lands which adjoin the projected Ondin Road. Against these favourable conditions, however, must be set certain drawbacks. For one thing, the Chinese government has frequently been stricken with fear of the Muslims, the power of whose national-religious organisation is a matter of common knowledge. Then there is the antagonism that arose between the Muslims of China and their co-religionists in the West; and, finally, their internal conflicts must be taken into account (see p. 594).

A word may be added regarding the names applied to the Muslims of China. It is a common notion that they are all called Dungans, and in point of fact the present writer has been much struck by the use of this designation in Kashgar and Yarkand; by the Turki all Chinese-speaking Muslims are called ‘Dungan(är).’ They themselves do not use that name, but term themselves ‘Hui-hui’ or ‘Hui-tät,’ and this appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Muslims, whether resident in China proper or in Turkestan. The Turki offer strong resistance to this usage, and desire to be called ‘Ch'än-tu,’ ‘the tu-nessed,’ i.e., ‘head-bound.’

A few details will now be given regarding the several provinces:

(1) Kan-su.—In this province, according to P. Dabry (Le Mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental, Pékin, 1877, 250-500, i.e., about 50% of the population), there are about 60,000 Muslims, who are mostly engaged in trade and commerce, especially in the cities of Tashkent and Samarkand, and in the towns of the province. The majority of these are of the Han-national stock, and are called ‘Hui-hui’ or ‘Hui-tät,’ while the remaining portion are of the Han-national stock, and are called ‘Hui-hui’ or ‘Hui-tät.’ These are the most numerous of the Muslim communities in China, and are usually regarded as the most distinctive, owing to their long residence in the country, and their close connection with the Chinese. The Turki-speaking Muslims are generally known as ‘Kashgaris,’ and are believed to be descendants of the old ‘Turki’ inhabitants of the province. The Chinese speak of them as ‘Hui-hui’ or ‘Hui-tät,’ and regard them as a distinct and separate community. The Turki-speaking Muslims are generally regarded as the most distinctive, owing to their long residence in the country, and their close connection with the Chinese.
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(Mongols) and the aborigines of the south (Lotus, Miao-tze)—into Chinese and Musulmans holds good throughout. The name Dungans is applied to a large section of the Chinese Musulmans, who, however, as was said above, term themselves simply Han and do not take the appellative Dungans; 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 Turki. The name Dungans is sometimes erroneously extended also to the Turki of Turkestan, but in reality there exists a marked contrast between Dungans and Turki. The Dungans who speak Turkish—their language is 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. 390) is composed in a very correct Chinese. In Forke's opinion, however, its solecisms are not such as might be perpetrated by an uneducated Chinese, but are in many cases not Chinese at all, suggesting that the Dungan text is of a later origin. An especial illustration of the intercourse between the Chinese Muslims and the Turki, cf. the story of Hidjayat-Allah (Apau Khojam) of Kaskhgor, who came to Hsi-ning-ku, in MS Hartmann I (Forke, p. 97).

The process which dominates everything found within the Great Wall is one of adaptation to Chinese standards, of assimilation to the character 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 characteristics. This holds good even of physical qualities, for Chinese sentiment does not countenance the affiancing of native women with foreigners, while Muslim women cannot legally be given in marriage to non-Muslims. The resultant diffusion of Chinese blood amongst the Musulmans of China, and we cannot but admire the tenacity with which the latter have kept themselves from complete absorption by the Chinese. In spite of a considerable admixture, even of the most material nature, the two peoples look at things from a fundamentally different standpoint. For the Chinese reason (li) is supreme; for the Muslims tradition is all. Notable, too, is the contrast in certain traits of character. The Chinese, generally speaking, 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 not seldom give one the impression of being a dejected and downtrodden man; the Muslim carries himself proudly, and faces the world with a frank and open countenance. The relative physical debility of the Chinese may be due in part to the disinherited habit. Among the Muslims this is but rarely found; tobacco smoking is prohibited, and the drinking of wine and other intoxicants, which the stringent interdict of the law does not prevent in Western Islam, is quite inconsiderable among the Musulmans 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 are a separate people.

What, then, are the Muslims of China, ethnologically considered? To this question there is no answer, whether or not we postulate a connexion between the name Hsi-hsii (Hsi-lai) and the name Hsi-li. This very word Hsi-li is used for a foreigner in the Chinese language (Chavannes, pp. 97-94). From the time of the earliest considerable incursions of Muslims, this region of many races has been overwhelmed with so many devastations that it is now impossible to speak of any single racial type. In addition to this we must also take into account the Muslim policy of incorporating believers of other faiths, notably purchased children (cf. the present writer's note in his Der islamische Orient, i. (Leipzig, 1905); more recently d'Ollone, in R.M.M. ix.,). Such absorption of foreign elements must be regarded as a very important factor. In this connection we should note the suggestive remark of d'Ollone, 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 one of those fables concerning that cannot be too vehemently opposed, since in point of fact many who are not Muslims at all are more Chinese than the Muslims themselves.

A distinct ethnological group is formed by the Salars, who live in Hsiin-hua-ting (Playfair, p. 3110) on the right bank of the Hoang-ho, and in the surrounding villages, and who are also found on a section of the road between Hsi-ning-ku and Ho-chou. They show many characteristics divergent from the ordinary Chinese Muslims. In figure they are tall and spare, with nose large but not broad, eyes black and set horizontally, cheekbones not very prominent, face longish, eyebrows bushy, beard black and abundant, stature long, skin flattened behind, skin brown but not in any sense yellow. The Salars thus bear a striking resemblance to the Turki of Turkestan. Their chief peculiarity is their language, which may be described as a demi-derivative Turkish. Their style of dress is Chinese, but they shave the head completely and wear a polygonal cap (tibh) of white colour. In religion they are strict Hanifies, and show the utmost respect to their spiritual guides (akhons), many of whom speak and write the Persian language; but they are given to the use of strong drink. Even the lower classes are acquainted with the Arabic script. They do not burn incense in worship, nor do they tolerate the emperor's portrait in their mosques. This form of the Muslim faith is said to have emanated from a reformer named Ma-ming-hsin (Muhammad Emina), who preached to the Salars c. 1750, laying great stress on the practice of praying aloud (salat), and thus avoiding all serious disturbances. The Salars are a daring brigands, and fraternize with the rabble of the upper Hoang-ho, with whom they also share a fierce hatred of the Chinese.

(b) Marriage, funeral, kinship. The external aspects of the sexual relation among the Muslims of China are regulated by the shari'ah—in the scholastic form developed in the Hanifite school—which applies to all Islam, though here the separate ordinances are not very well known to the people at large, nor, even where they are known, are they very strictly observed. As to the degree in which the Chinese environment has brought about modifications in practice, we do not possess the necessary details of information; nor would such details yield a complete and uniform picture, since the influence varies greatly in different localities.¹

¹ Our authority for these particulars is Gramcord, Mission, iv. 457 ff. A somewhat different account is given by d'Ollone (R.M.M. ix. 388 ff.), who says that the Salars, who are distributed among the villages in the district of Hsiin-hua-ting on the right bank of the Hoang-ho, but that the bulk of the Salars live on the left bank, especially the town of Hsi-ning, in which, however, there reside only five Salar families; they do not shave the head completely, but retain the pigtails; they wear, not the Salar cap, but the turban-like head-dress of the Chinese; they have taken part in various risings; and they assert that their original home was Samargand.

² With reference to the well-known canon allowing the Muslim to marry as many wives as he desires, as long as he can support them, as the caliph Harun al-Rashid was wont to do, as his concubine, Babyl (II. 396, n. 1) writes: 'In China the Muslims are forced to submit to the laws of the land regarding marriage.' This is undoubtedly a mistake so far as it implies that
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The like is true of the position of women in general. According to Mollendorf, the so-called law of veiling is not observed by Muslim women in China, who walk abroad without reserve (RMM ix. 540); Grenard had indicated the fact, but noted an exception in the case of the wealthier classes. In Hokhong, however, d'Ollone found a different practice, the women there wearing a veil of black silk below the eyes (a custom which seems to the present writer to be connected with the sect of Mas-hu-lang); further, they go on the street on horseback in cases where regards foot-binding, d'Ollone notices no difference between Muslim women and Chinese women; in Kueh-siu especially the practice is very common. Thence, a Muslim should take in marriage a non-Muslim, as 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 Turk princess with the emperor Chien-lung has already been referred to; and, when the present writer passed through Moscow (s.a. a journey west of Kashgar) in 1861, Chinese with a Turkic wife (?) concubine was presented to him. Illicit intercourse is not punished here, any more than in other Muslim countries, with the strict legal penalty (forty whippings, see above), but it must not be supposed that the says usual laxity of morals prevails, and the unnatural vice common among the Chinese (see an instructive chapter in J. J. Mantigny, Superstition, crime et vices en Chine', Lyons, 1862, p. 185 ff.). The prevalent attitude of the Muslims is not in the least bit affected by these.

The impartation of the Arabic MS. given in the Chinese-Arabic MS. edited by Forke; the latter finds expression in the liturgical prayers for parents and ancestors, while use is also made of pictures of ancestors after the Chinese manner. Social distinctions are not in China socially fixed by descent, except in the case of the Prophets and descendants of the Prophet (Dungan).

(c) Industries. The industries in which the Chinese Muslims are engaged are (1) agriculture, (2) commerce (including handicraft and traffic in goods), and (3) productive trade. The Muslims do not take up agriculture naturally, but here the environment has asserted itself, inasmuch as the Chinese are pre-eminently agricultural people and have in great measure adopted the methods of the Chinese, and even 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 innovate upon this domain of personal rights, though this in itself may perhaps be necessary to assert the universal validity of the imperial ordinances. These ordinances are so high-handedly set forth in Kueh-siu that d'Ollone says they are absurd. The present writer has not succeeded in discovering among them anything that formally concedes an exceptional position to the Muslim, but he cannot altogether be said to have been successful in discovering anything which he considers a serious objection to the contention that the Chinese are as it is known as the hands of Chinese, who combine the qualities of the hard-working peasant with those of the successful merchant, yet the Muslims are very largely monopolized the related branches of mercantile industry—the conveyance of goods from place to place and the retailers of products of their own or others' labour.

Thus the Mafus, i.e. horse-hirers and horse-dealers, as also carriers throughout the whole of China, are principally adherents of Islam, while certain trades—especially that of butchering animals (not including the pig, of course)—are largely in the hands of Muslims. Their special preference, however, is for pastoral life, though in this department they are faced by a great obstacle, viz. the number and difficulty of the examinations to be passed by aspirants to the Chinese civil service. The Muslims who could successfully undergo these tests must always have been very few. This in itself, however, does not carry any discredit, for it simply means that the Muslims have not the required degree of plodding industry for such ordeals. On the other hand, the most capable and industrious of them were doubtless able to fulfil the conditions of entrance into the Chinese army, and to work their way to the higher ranks. From the Mongolian period onwards Muslims have often filled the more distinguished military or administrative positions, and in general Tung-fu-liang (see below (d)), as well as of Ma-ti-kai, of Yuan-nan, and Tung-fu-liang, and commander-general of the forces in the province of Szechuan.

(d) Cultus, education, etc. The religious attitude of the Chinese Muslims is—outwardly, at least—characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property, and the most capable and resolute of them take part in the ceremonies of the national cult. The hatred of foreigners sometimes shown by Muslim officers of high rank, like that displayed by the Chinese themselves, is the reverse, not to religious motives, but to the expatriation provoked by the banded way in which foreigners interfere with the internal affairs of the country, and in a few cases, indeed, the conduct of Muslims generals is simply a vulgar hangover after rank and wealth, as has now been made clear by the observations of d'Ollone (RMM vi. [1906] 7 ff., contending the misleading note in RMM iv. 441 ff.). Tung-fu-liang, e.g., was in no sense a fanatic Muslim, but a more adventurer, who gained a following amidst the chaos caused by the rising of 1881-74, and who, in return for the gift of a mandarinate, made himself the tool of the viceroy, Tsung-lin, and of General Lu-sung-shan. He was the ideal of the new doctrine, who fell into his hands in a sort of a rebellion by the city of Kin-k'iu, to be abashed. At that time he acquired landed estates of enormous extent. It was also he who crushed the rebellion of 1899 in Hsin-hu-fu and Hu-chou, enriching himself, as usual, with the spoils floated under the pretext of religious motives. He revived the title 'generalissimo' (fu-tzu), 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 famous Ma-an-lang, Tung-fu-liang, and—made himself conspicuous by his violent and malicious proceedings against the foreigners, who saw in him a tool of the head of a horde of Muslims,
and were quite unaware of his real relation to Islam. Having been ostensibly punished by ‘banishment’ from the land, he lived there like a
sâltân. He held two fortified castles near Kink-pa, and had a bodyguard of 500 veterans—as tenants of the surrounding estates which he had taken in the name of Islam. The local councils of Kink-pa and Lin-chun could not lift a finger without his approval. After his death in February 1900, all his titles, of which he had been deprived at the instance of the European Powers, were restored, and he was buried with the highest honours at Kon-yen, his birth-place (RMM vi. 700 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, enjoined as they are by the Qur'an to fight against the unbeliever, feel the ascendancy of the latter as a heavy infliction, and from time to time the strain has found expression in open revolt. The most notable and most serious of such outbreaks have been those of the north (Kansu and Shensi) in 1861-74, and of the south (Yunn-nan) in 1858-72. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute these ructions in surrections 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 mihrâb and minbar alone proclaiming their Muslim origin. We sometimes met with Indo-Arabic styles, as, e.g., the two minarets above the porch of each of the mosques in Sui-fu. For occasions of prayer the akhans (Pers. akhân, ‘learned one’; in China, ‘mosque-minister’) don the white turbans, and 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-crowned, wholly covered by the turban—was worn by many; and the Bukharian—polygonal, being formed of four or six pieces—which hangs out from beneath the turban. It is identical with the tuba, or toga, worn by all Muslims in Russian and Chinese Turkestan.

The disruptive tendencies now common in Islam generally have made themselves felt in China. Ma-hua-lung, who was put to death 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 hsien chiao, ‘new doctrine,’ in contradistinction to tao chiao, ‘ancient doctrine’ (RMM v. 93). The nature of this new doctrine is something of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard it as an outgrowth of Shîism, or perhaps an unusually bold representation of Sufism, but the notices of d'Ollonne (RMM i. 571 ff.) show that in reality there is of genuinely Sufic character, and not a degenerate variety of the mystical philosophy so widely diffused through Asia. Ma-hua-lung was undoubtedly one of that class of visionary impostors represented in Chinese Turkestan by the Khoiys, i.e., the descendants of Makhdum 'Afan, of the sect of the religious organization the present writer has given a detailed account in 'Ein Kirchenstaat im Islam' in Der islamische Orient, i. 196 ff.). It remains an open question whether the Mahdist ideas played any part in the project of Ma-hua-lung; the reports of d'Ollonne 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 the lower classes were stirred by this charlatan, who, wholly destitute of learning, presumably knew 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 others. For this purpose he chose the practice of washing and of holding the hands straight open and horizontal in the gïyâm (at prayer), in contrast to the general custom of Muslim prayer, and to the deliberate and solemnising of the prayer—derived from the personal prayer of some with the intention of praying the Lord’s prayer, and of taking the hands round and below. From this practice of audible prayer is derived the usual name of the sect, viz. Zahiriyâ (corrupted to Châherînîyâ), ‘those who pray openly,’ as contrasted with the Khâfiyyâ (vernacularly ‘Huâ de’), ‘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 Salaras (see above, p. 862) in the person of Muhammad Emin, known as Ma-ming-lân, who introduced the custom of praying aloud, and thereby gave occasion for serious disturbances (Grenard, loc. cit.). Ma-hua-lung did not actually forbid his followers to attend the mosque, but he allowed prayer to be performed at home—in the ‘common hall’—without special ceremonial garments. Usually three or four houses have a place of prayer in common, i.e., a single room set apart for worship, and this arrangement being designed, it is said, to keep above the adherents with the practice of prayer (RMM ix. 571). In Sung-pen-t'ing, according to RMM v. 465, the followers of the new faith attend the same mosque as those of the old, while, on the other hand, the breach is complete (RMM ix. 581). The d’Ollonne expedition had a very uncivil reception in the mosque at Châng-t’u; 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-ming-lâ, fought with each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma-ta-hsi, who is said to be sixty-two years old, has the advantage in numbers because of his place of residence, Cha-kon, near Kua-yen, is an important religious centre, and has a madrasah. Ma-hua-lung’s teaching was introduced into Yunnan by his younger brother, where it is taught by Talaasen or Talamsen, who fell in a struggle with Ma-lung.

In Yunn-nan, however, the sect has apparently a smaller following than in Sze-chuan, where d’Ollonne met with adherents of the Hain chiao from the boundaries of Yunn-nan to Sung-pen-t’ing on the border of Kan-si.

Alongside of the two groups of Hufeye and Châherînîyâ are found two others, viz. Kubêrînîyâ and Katerînîyâ. The meaning of Kubêrînîyâ cannot be precisely determined—the word may mean Kubi or Kubi (‘great’); ‘Katerînîyâ’ is undoubtedly equivalent to ‘Qâdirînîyâ,’ signifying the adherents of ‘Abî al-Qâdir bi‘l-khali‘îl (q.v.). It is maintained by a certain akhôn that the four sects are respectively connected with the first four khâfifs, each of whom is said to have inaugurated a particular ritual, viz. Abî Bakr that of the Hufeye, Othman that of the Châherînîyâ, Omar that of the Kubêrînîyâ, and ‘Ali that of the Katerînîyâ. The last-mentioned name is said to be applied also to those who venerate graves. In China, as elsewhere on the soil, peculiar honour is accorded to the tombs of the eminently pious—those who have given credentials of saintship.
Thus, e.g., within a mile to the north of Sung-p'ang-ting is to be seen the tomb of an akhon from Medin; who came to Sung-p'ang-ting in 1698, lived for a time in Shen-si, and by his prayers saved the land from a drought in 1673. He died in 1808, and his tomb is guarded by an akhon. Another tomb, somewhat smaller, is found within the mausoleum. The orthodox muhlit inveigh strongly against this practice (REMM v. 639). D'Ollone thinks that the veneration of graves is also a characteristic of the male sect (REMM i. 535 f.); but this cannot be admitted, and, indeed, it conflicts with other statements of the same writer. As a matter of fact, the veneration of graves is a world-wide custom, and naturally prevails here too; and that Ho-chou, the rallying-point of the new doctrine, should also contain an unusual number of sacred tombs is a mere coincidence. Moreover, with reference to the name Kumbechiao, which D'Ollone mentions as being applied to the new doctrine, and upon which he bases his conclusions (REMM i. 533), it remains to be shown whether the term ("=grave-doctrine") is meant to indicate the distinctive characteristic of the sect. As regards the relation of the orthodox ethnologically distinct Salars see above, p. 692.

The idea of a khalifah as a single individual invested with authority over Islam as a whole is unique in the history of the Chinese Muslims (REMM i. 561 f.). Yet the efforts directed from Stamboul in the latter half of last century were not altogether without result. Ya'qub Beg recognized Abd-al-Aziz as commander of the faithful, while Sulaiman, the son of Yum-nan, appealed to him, as khalifah—in vain, it is true—for assistance.

As the intellectual life of the Muslims bears the closest possible relation to their religion, the aim of elementary education is to inculcate the rudiments of religious doctrine, the children being taught by readings from the Qur'an and by short catechisms. In these exercises two languages are employed—both the national language and that of the Qur'an (or a mixed Perso-Arabic dialect). There is a considerable circulation of anthologies from the Qur'an, either with or without a Chinese translation, and booklets containing the leading elements in both, Chinese also found.

The life of the Chinese Muslims has no place for art. To anything in the nature of artistic activity only a single field is open—the Arabic script, which is often elaborated in pedantic forms suggestive of the artistic traditions of the Hebrew and Jewish and being formed as in the native calligraphy (especially in epitaphs). The Muslims also erected 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 v. 291).

(c) Political relations.—In China proper the Muslims have never secured an independent political existence, while in Turkestan, since its annexation (c. 1760), they succeeded in establishing only the short-lived Muslim government of Ya'qub Beg (see above, p. 899). The object of the Muslim rights and privileges, which was among the contributing causes of Ya'qub Beg's success, was likewise independence; but the movement proved abortive, and, in fact, no other issue was decided. The Deccan or other condition of a permanent political organization 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 nation, but merely a religious, aggregate, and all seem 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 islamico-Chinese kingdom. Another thing is undeniable that such an ambition is not wanting among the Muslims, and that 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 too purpose of increasing the 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-Rahman in the latter part of 1900; and minor attempts at a later date proved equally fruitless, though hopes were not abandoned even after the deposition of the Sultan.


M. HARTMANN.

MUHAMMADANISM (in India).—The Chins in Yum-nan was introduced into India by the Arab invaders who entered Sind unter Muhammad ibn Qasim in A.D. 712 and founded a Muhammadan State which was eventually absorbed in the Mughal empire; but this early Arab occupation was confined to Sind, and the Muhammadan conquest of the rest of India did not begin until nearly three centuries later, with the raids of Sobuktigin and Mahfud of Ghazna; when, however, Mahfud died in 1039, the province of Lahore was the only part of Indian territory that he bequeathed to his successor. The permanent extension of Muslim rule in India dates from the latter part of the 12th cent.; when the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazna really began the establishment of a Muhammadan dynasty in Dilli, which continued to be a Muhammadan capital up to the extinction of the Mughal empire in 1858. The scope of this article being limited to religion and ethics, no account of the political and legal institutions can be given, though the intimate connexion between Islam as a religious system and the Muhammadan governments in India makes it difficult to consider them apart. A brief reference must be made, however, to the relations between the Muslim rulers and their non-Muslim subjects. The Muhammadan invaders at times during the early stages of the conquest exhibited a brutal intolerance towards the Hindus who opposed their armies, and ruthlessly massacred Brahmanas and razed temples to the ground; but, after the savagery of conquest was over, a certain amount of toleration was allowed to their Hindu subjects. The religions in Sind left the Hindus in undisturbed exercise of their religion and in the enjoyment of their old rights and privileges, and the later conquerors who founded kingdoms in N. India and the Deccan were generous in granting tolerance and in the military consolidation of their own power, or felt too little interest in spiritual matters, to turn their attention to the propagation of their own faith. Even under the settled rule of the Mughals, their dynastic and financial policy was on their own party rather than consideration of the interests of Islam. On the other hand, the reigns of several

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3 The present writer possesses a copy of such a bilingual catechism.
monarchs were signalized by outbursts of fanaticism and the cruel oppression of unbelievers, their temples being destroyed and many of them converted by force. In Gujarát Sultán Mahmúd III. (1537-53) was hated for his fanaticism, and for his anti-Gramourism. His envoys, however, managed 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 thousands of Hindus in various districts throughout the whole extent of the Mughal empire. The latest example of such fanaticism on the part of a Mughal ruler was that of Tipú Sultán (1782-99), whose barbary was shown in anything recorded on the monarchical system after the first conquerors. Apart from such outbursts of fanaticism, the rule of the Mughals has generally been characterized by an attitude of tolerance towards the religious subjects, and the adherents of the rival religions have often been closely drawn together by a spirit of unity and mutual respect.

The fact that the Mughal dynasties in India have still a large measure of foreign invaders was of great importance in the history of Islam: they brought with them a large number of foreign troops, and to their courts military adventurers, poets, scholars, and others, who, when their vassals in the country and other parts of world were drawn into the conversion of the indigenous population, exercised a propondering influence in the administration, the religious organization, and the religious life. They received grants of land from the Mughal 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 the Mughal empire, were in part of foreign extraction, and the shrines of these saints are still centres of religious influence and attract thousands of pilgrims every year. In the 19th century, it 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 population, whether Sunni or Shi‘a, have tended to conform to the mainstream 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 intellectual life of the Muslim thinkers outside India. These 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, especially in the country districts remote from the centres of Muslim culture, many survivals of older cults are to be found, and there the Mughal differences little but in name from his Hindu neighbours. He continues to worship the gods of his ancestors—particularly the village deities, whose rites are associated with the cultivation of the soil, and the deities of disease, especially Sitala, the dreaded goddess of smallpox—and to take part in the Hindu festivals connected with the changes of the season, such as the festival of the spring equinox, and Dasháhrá, the festival of the autumn equinox. Against such Hindu beliefs and practices the orthodox have at all times protested, but the first active campaign against them appears to have been started by Sayyid Ahmad and Haji Sharí‘át Alláh, who in the second decade of the 19th century began to disseminate in India the doctrines of the Wahhábí reforming movement. The writings of a later religious reformer, Manlavi Karamát Allí (†1874), were especially influential in combating the observance of Hindu rites and ceremonies byMuhammadians. In more recent years, the greater facilities of communication between one part of the country and another have increased the tendency towards a uniformity, but the low level of education among the mass of the Indian Muhammadians, and the ignorance of the tenets and facts of the faith which they profess.

The abiding influence of Hindu institutions on the converts to Islam is still further shown by their rejection of the shari‘a in favour of their tribal or Hindu 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 Muhammadianized Rajputs and Jats in the Punjab and the Marathas 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 Musalmans 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 16th and 17th centuries, especially those connected with the Muslim India, were themselves the result of such contact with Muslim influences. Many low-caste Hindus, especially in N. India, worship Muhammadian saints; these saints are sometimes legendary, like Sakhí Sarwar and Shíh Mánar, or historical personages such as Kāpití Fáriz, and at other times sometimes a mixture of both as in certain enumerations of the Pāñch 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 of many Muhammadian habits and observances as are generally significant of adherence to the faith of Islam.

As an ethical system Islam in India presents in many ways a strong contrast to Hinduism. Both, it is true, cherish an ascetic ideal, pursued by few, and Hindus and Muslims ascetics have often found that they have much in common. They have often received the veneration of pious adherents of the rival creeds. But the stern Puritanism of Islam has set its face rigidly against those characteristics of Hinduism which are set forth in the Kānaôkashstras 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 social life, the tends to their outward bearing an aspect of dignity and self-respect such as springs from a constant recognition of moral
'Abbasid conspiracy was begun in Persia; Abû Muslim, the chief conspirator, was a Persian; and the battle of the Žab, which decided the contest, was fought on the border of Iran. Although revolts were common, the authority of the Abbasids was generally recognized by the ruling dynasties in Persia, few of which were Shi'ite. The most determined and powerful attempt to establish Shi'ite Islam was that of the Isma'ilis, or Assassins (q.v.). Persia was the greatest of all in the ruin brought by the heathen Mongols, and Iran seemed about to perish; Timûr was a Sunnite Muslim, but he had mercy on none. With the rise of Safawi kings (A.D. 1538) Shi'ite Islam was established as the State religion—a position challenged since only by the audacious Nâdir († 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 the Allâl the Bahâ'îs recognizes Shi'ite Islam as the religion of the realm.

Within the narrow limits of this article it has not been possible to do more than briefly indicate some of the main characteristics of Islam in Persia. See further, MISTIIONS (Muhammadans), Sects (Muhammadan).

LITERATURE.—No comprehensive work has yet been written on the religion and ethics of the Indian Muhammadans. The researches that have been made on subjects in such periodicals as JAS (Calcutta, 1832 ff.); Calcutta Review (Calcutta, 1841 ff.), Journal of the Oriental Institute (Calcutta, 1866-67); Revue des mondes musulmans (Paris, 1901 ff.); El (Leyden, 1888 ff.). For the bibliography of historical works see The History of India as told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period, ed. from the papers of H. M. Eliot by John Dowson, London, 1896–97. A vast amount of material is to be found in the official publications of the Government of India; for bibliography see F. Campbell, Index Catalogue of the Official Publications in the Library of the British Museum, vol. 100. Among separate works may be mentioned: J. H. Garcia de Tassy, Memoire sur les partis politiques des anciens Indiens musulmans (Paris, 1829); Mrs. Meir, Hassán Ali, Observations on the Muhammadans of India, London, 1832; W. W. Hunter, An Essay on the Religion of the Indians Muhammadans, London, 1844; J. H. Thomson, The Custom of the Muhammadans of India, tr. by G. A. Herklotz, Madras, 1868; S. Baynes' History of Persia, London, 1869; S. Shaikh, Bakhsh, Essays Indian and Islamique, do. 1912. A more detailed bibliography will be found in the present writer's art. 'India' in AT.

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MUHAMMADANISM (in Persia).—Islam began in Persia very early. Within a year of Muhammad's death the Muslim armies came into collision with the Persian power, and the conflict lasted for thirty years, extending from the Tigris to the Oxus. The last Zoroastrian dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 769 by the Persians, and Zoroastrianism was gradually suppressed. The intellectual life of Islam was very soon enriched by Persian scholars. It is significant that after the Arab conquest Nestorian missions were successfully prosecuted among Iranians described as pagans. Still, Islam was identified with foreign invasion—a fact that influenced subsequent history.

The Ahl of 'All gained adherents in Persia from the first, perhaps because Husain married a Sassanid princess. In the Umayyad period revolts were frequent, many of them Kūrījīyīn in origin. The


Even among the Sunnites (especially the Kurds) religion centres much in the cult of the Shaikhs, who are credited with miraculous powers. Many of these are connected with the dervish orders, especially the Naqshbandis.

The great religious principle of the Shiites is the veneration of the family of Ali and the doctrine of the imāmat. While every community numbers its hajas, the great shrine for pilgrimage of the living and burial of the dead is Karbala, which momuments the place of the imam’s 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 Karbala, or at one of the neighbouring shrines that share in its importance. The unifying power of such a centre is very important. The other shrine of importance is Mashhad. For the mass of the people the great religious observance is the commemoration of the battle of Karbala on the 10th of Muharram and preceding days. On the spectacular side it is the carnival of the populace, and the timid disapproval of the educated is unanimous. It is the religious duty of the excesses of grief, in cutting the head and beating the breast. Regular passion-plays are uncommon (cf. art. DRAMA (Persian)). Presiding has an important place in the mosque life, and the great topics for sermon or song are the life of the Imams. Chadir Bārām (when Muhammad is supposed to have designated Ali as his successor) is at least equal to Qurān Bārām in popular estimation. The bānūth (traditions) deal with the sayings and doings of the Imams as well as of the Prophet, the most popular collections being those of Mullā Baqr Majlīs of Isfahān, made three hundred years ago. The expectation of the reappearance of the Twelfth Imam by the ‘Abbasīs is a general. The Sayyids rival the mulla in authority and claim the fifth of field and herd. So far the description applies to all Shi‘ite sects.

The Mutasarrifs, who are by far the most numerous sect, regard the mujtahids as the only representative of the Qārim, or hidden Imam, and only inasmuch as they interpret the sharī‘ah (canon law). They are conservatives and traditionalists. The Shaikhs, Zaidis and others, there is always a representative of the Imam, who possesses in some degree his divine authority. They differ as to who that representative is, and in other matters. The Shaikhs are the intellectual and political party, e.g., the mawqif (Muhammad and Ali) is ascent to heaven, deduced from Qurān, xv. 1), in a spiritual way. Zahābīs resemble the dervishes in ascetic practices and in the use of the dhikr, both ‘arba‘ and ghāsim (kneeling and silent).

‘Ali lllahis and Bahā‘, widely different in other respects, may be classed together as being Muslim in only a modified sense. The former recognize none of the Imams except ‘Ali, care nothing for the sharī‘ah, pay no attention to Ramadan or the prayers, and have their own yearly feast, in connection with which a common religious meal is eaten. Among Shi‘ites they conform more or less, but they do not belong to the mawqif and are not Shi‘ites. They believe in an ascension, but it is not very clear whether the connexion with ‘Ali is not a blind. They call themselves Ahl-l-Haqqah (‘people of the Truth’). In practice, the reference is not to the Sayyids, or πίστις, is great. Their religious centre, where the head of the sect lives, is near Kirmānshah. They are numerous both north and south, among Kurds, Turks, and Persians, and especially in the villages and among the nomads, and are found in smaller numbers in the cities. The Bahā‘īs are too well known to require description. For them Muhammad and the sharī‘ah are superceded. They are found in the cities and among the more educated classes, less often in the villages, and not at all among the nomads. They are increasing. Though only a fraction of the less numerous classes of society, their influence is not to be measured by their numbers. The Imāms are practically extinct, and the Bahā‘īs, with insignificant exceptions, follow ‘Abbās Efendi. Both these sects practise tajiyah, or religious deception.

The Sāfīs (or ‘Arīfs, ‘wārsīs’) are the philosophical and intellectual devotees of religion, belonging, it may be, to some sect, but not often to the Mutasharri‘. Among them are many dervishes. They usually recognize some one as their guide (mawlawī). The most popular poets among them are Jalāl al-Dīn, Shams-ī-Tābrīzī, Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭar, and Hāfiz. Dervishes in Persia are loosely organized, and monasteries are almost unknown. Many dervishes will claim to be khāṣṣā (‘abject, humble’), others to be followers of Shāh Naṣīr al-Dīn al- Ḥallā‘ or of ‘Abd al-Shāh, a saint of recent date.

The organization of religion is democratic, and in the last analysis it is popularly that determines the law and custom. The highest authority exercises a control by granting titles and recognition, and the mulla and mujtahid, both as authorized exponents of the sharī‘ah and as popular leaders, influence government. They are both rich and are susceptible to the influences that affect the people. Low birth is no bar to ecclesiastical advancement. The dervishes are to some extent controlled by the appointment from them of a muftī, or official head, in each city or town, who has charge also of jugglers, mountebanks, snake-charmers, etc.

The influence of religion in moral and social matters is not easy to estimate. Of the Twelfth Imam, the Hartford, is general. The Sayyids claim to be the only true religion, and religious teaching often makes wrongdoing easy rather than difficult. It may be doubted whether those who desire moral or social reform look to religion for inspiration; the lowest religious classes are the educated and the nomads.

An influence at work that must affect the future of Islam is the rationalization of religion. It takes the form of reducing religion to the minimum of doctrine, equalizing all forms of revelation by admitting truth in each, but granting finality to none. Another tendency is that the Persians call tasbit (‘naturallization’), denying all revelation and taking an agnostic position on the question of God’s existence. Another growing influence is the renunciation of Turkish literature in the Adharba‘iyan dialect in Tiflis and Baku. The reaction due to foreign domination is also to be reckoned with. The influence of Western civilization is in many ways disintegrating. The influence of Christianity mediated by commerce, politics and literature, and missionary efforts must not be forgotten. This had its part in Buddhism and also in the man of the present. See, further, artt. BĀ‘B, BĀ‘AN, SHĀHIS, SHĪ‘ISM.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia)

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 language, of Semitic stock. The kingdom of Chosroes, 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 Arab blood. When, therefore, the Arab conquerors made their inroads into the country, they were not invading a foreign people, but rather attacking the countrymen of their own race, the representatives of the Eastern Roman empire. Moreover, it was only a score of years since the Persians had wrested the territory of 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 wondrous splendours 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 encounter brutal invaders, and the indigenous population the issue was not subject so much as a change of masters; and it was not impossible that the new masters might be more gentle than the old.

To the Arabs the conquest of Chosroes was a great victory. The conquest of Egypt was to a large extent a necessity—had it been acquired a year or two earlier 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. Hud and Salih had ministered to tribes within the boundaries of Arabia, but nearly all the remaining prophets—Abraham, Solomon, and above all Jesus—had lived and died in Palestine. Muhammad, too, had visited Syria, once as a mere boy, with his uncle Abu Tulib, 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 arrival of Muhammad at Medina, and that the caliphs of Medina were 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 Rashidun was founded somewhat later. But the sacred character attributed to the ancient city by the Arabs appears in the name Bait al-Maqdis ('holy house') by which their historians always call it, or in the shortened form 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 home and place of burial of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives, as well as of Joseph, to whom it is also attached. Masjid Ibrahim ('Abraham's mosque'), but now it is always called Al-Khalil ('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 do not seem to have had much scruple about entering the sepulchral chambers, and 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 permit.

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 been a governor of the Caliph 'Uthman: 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 supremacy 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 Caliphs Ibn Zubair in Mecca, it was no doubt in some measure owing to the rarity 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 holy house at Mecca, which their armymen had destroyed, the Umayyads' 'Abd al-Malik was building the famous Dome of the Roek upon the site of the Temple of Solomon, as the inscription, in spite of its mutilation under the Abhards, 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 Calipha 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 Umayyads Caliphs acted in this matter from merely pecuniary motives, because he wished to divert the commerce arising out of the pilgrimage to the Hijaz into his own coffers; because, as soon as he was undisputed Caliph, it was evident that the manner which town became the object of pilgrimage (J. Wellhausen, Das arabischc Reich, Berlin, 1902, p. 132 f.).

The truth is that the Umayyads Caliphs, with the exception of the pious 'Abd al-Malik, were not Muslims at all. They sprang from the tribes 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 when they 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 Muslims themselves. All the clerks in the government offices were Christians, and the State archives were written at first in Greek. A similar state of things existed in Persia and in Egypt. It was only under 'Abd al-Malik that the Arab language took the place of Persian in all official business, 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 Michael, held office under these Arab rulers of his native city, and the panegyrist of the Umayyads was the Christian poet al-Aghtal. Moreover, it was not that these Caliphs merely made use of their Christian subjects,
whilst their religious creed. Questions of theology seem to have been discussed by the two parties in the presence of a number of persons on equal terms. Al-Akhtal made no attempt to conceal either his religious belief or the external emblems of his faith, when he stood before Abd al-Malik; and John of Damascus was an ardent defender of the use of images in divine worship, whereby he stood in opposition not only to the Caliph but to the Greek emperor as well. Such a state of things could not but react upon Muhammadanism itself, and there is little doubt that some of the most strict ways of thinking which began to prevail were due to this cause. It was to condone the delinquencies of the Umayyads that the Murjites 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 divine predestination also began to be modified in the direction of an admission of free will. This tendency towards freedom of thought culminated in the Mu'tasimite movement under the 'Abbasids (see Sects [Muhammadan]). Nor was it only on the religious side that Christianity moulded Muslim life. Hishâm, one of the last and best of the Umayyads, appreciated the advantages of Caliphate under a superior agriculture. His governor over Irâq was Khalîd al-Qâsî, who was also a farmer on a grand scale. Khalîd's mother was a Christian, and he built her a chapel beside the palace of his father. The southern Christians and other non-Muslim peoples in preference to Muslims, as he no doubt found them more intelligent and capable. In Hishâm's days the doctrine that the Qur'ân is not eternal, which became the accepted creed of 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 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 in Syria. With the rise of the 'Abbasids, 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, Syria became, with its many holy places, the battle-ground of Christianity and Islam. When it was prosperous and well-governed, it was generally as a dependency of Egypt, under Fathîid, Ayyûbî, 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 middle of the 7th century, Egypt has owed partly to its natural wealth and partly to its possession of the Azhar University and its frequent sovereignty over the holy places, played a leading part in the spiritual progress of Islam, and in especial 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 their masters, until the beginning of the 18th century, they had to endure twelve years of Persian domination. After the conquest was over, however, the Persians ruled Egypt, 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 up, which he seemed to have shown itself in their earlier relations with the Persians and 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 state of things could not but react upon Muhammadanism itself, and there is little doubt that some of the most strict ways of thinking which began to prevail were due to this cause. It was to condone the delinquencies of the Umayyads that the Murjites 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 divine predestination also began to be modified in the direction of an admission of free will. This tendency towards freedom of thought culminated in the Mu'tasimite movement under the 'Abbasids (see Sects [Muhammadan]). Nor was it only on the religious side that Christianity moulded Muslim life. Hishâm, one of the last and best of the Umayyads, appreciated the advantages of Caliphate under a superior agriculture. His governor over Irâq was Khalîd al-Qâsî, who was also a farmer on a grand scale. Khalîd's mother was a Christian, and he built her a chapel beside the palace of his father. The southern Christians and other non-Muslim peoples in preference to Muslims, as he no doubt found them more intelligent and capable. In Hishâm's days the doctrine that the Qur'ân is not eternal, which became the accepted creed of 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 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.

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made a deep impression upon the Christian population of Egypt, and it is without significance that it was in Egypt that the last of the Umayyad Caliphs sought refuge after his overthrow. For two centuries the Abassids continued to send Arab governors to Egypt, and it was not until the year 588 that non-Arab, practically independent dynasties began to be set up in the country.

Under the centuries of Arab sway Egypt appears to have enjoyed a period of comparative prosperity and good government. The governors are no doubt often excesses, but generally without justice. This is especially the case with Qurašt ibn Sharîk, who is usually described as an oppressor and persecutor, but whom numerous payyâr show to have been a just, if strict, ruler. Moreover, not only was there no religious persecution of the Christians by the Arabs, but these had rescued the native Jacobite church from the hands of their co-religionists, the Greek Malkites, the free-lance nature of the Bedawi always leading him to support the more heretical side—a course which was to have its own interests also. The Arabs even despised in the taxation in favour of the Jacobites as against the Malkites to such an extent that not a few of the latter went over to the native church. The Afars found Egypt in a state of fever. The people were serfs attached to the land, and many of the payyers are taken up with the capture of some fugitive who has escaped from his own domain. Not the least beneficial thing the Arab government did for Egypt was to deliver them from their feudal lords, by converting these into mere tax-gatherers for the government.

The purely Arab government under the direct sovereignty of the Caliph was followed by a succession of dynasties of Turkish origin, the Tūlmînids (A.D. 888-909), whose capital Qaṭāl, between Fustât (i.e. Latin fuscotum) and modern Cairo, was famous for its splendour, and who for a quarter of a century ruled Syria as well as Egypt; and after a brief interval, the Ikhshidids (A.D. 925-969), who also ruled both Syria and the holy cities of the Hijaz, Mecca and Medina. The Tūlmûnids did not leave behind them much in the way of architecture to fill 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 the latter was of much more modest dimensions than the present spacious place of worship, and not a trace of it remains. Indeed, the original Arab town of Fustât, although it maintained an independent importance for many centuries, is now regarded as merely a part, and not the most flourishing part, of its younger sister, Cairo.

The dynasty of Ibn Tūlûn, on the other hand, left many memorials of their supremacy. The mosque of Ibn Tūlûn, 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 an external staircase resembling that of the Church of the Redeemer in Copenhagen, is said to be one of the sights of Cairo. Ibn Tūlûn's brilliant but unfortunate son also resembled the late Khedive Isma'îl in his devotion to building and public works.

a century was, however, under the Fatimids that Egypt rose to the height of its greatness. Claiming descent from Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet, these sectaries, as they were held to be by the orthodox Abassid Caliphs, took their origin, like so many other movements, both political and religious, in N. Africa, from which they conquered Egypt (A.D. 909-1171). Mu'izz, the fourth of the dynasty, proclaimed himself Caliph, in opposition to the Abassid Caliph in Baghdad, and founded a new city close to the old capital, which he called Al-Qahira ('the victorious'), the modern Cairo. The name bears a curious resemblance to that of the modern Egyptian city of Khir-eh in the same neighbourhood. Like most heterodox peoples, the Fatimids were enlightened rulers. In spite of famine at home and the inroads of the Carthagians (q.v.) from Syria, they quickly consolidated their empire over all the countries bordering upon the coast 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 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 Abassid capital and the resuming agrarianism of Cairo. 'Azîz, 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 Fâtîmid Caliphate in the Abassid capital itself, but only for one year (A.D. 1055). Under Hakim, the son and successor of 'Azîz, the free thinking of the Fatimid regime ran riot; under the malin influence of the Persian Darâzi the Caliph proclaimed himself an incarnation of Ali, and claimed divine honours. He disappeared, but his doctrines were propagated in the sect of the Druzes (see Sects (Christian)). A persecution was also instituted against both Jews and Christians, in spirit not unlike those which the early Christians suffered for refusing to acknowledge the deification of Domitian and other Roman emperors.

The most enduring benefit which the Fatimids conferred upon Egypt and upon the whole Muslim world was the founding of the Azhar College. It was begun immediately after the conquest of the country, and opened in the year A.D. 972. The text of the inscription commemorating the opening has been preserved (M. van Berchem, Corp. inscr. Arab., i. [Paris, 1904] 43, no. 20). It received its name ('the fair') from an epithet of the alleged ancestress of the dynasty. Originally built as a mosque, it was transformed into a college and hospital for the poor by 'Azîz. Under the Fatimids the instruction imparted was naturally Shi'ite, but of this period little is known, and by a curious irony the college did not attain to full development until it was governed by the rule of Sunni, or orthodox, masters.

The annexation of Egypt by Saladin in the year 1169 and the consequent supersession of the Fatimid by the Ayyûbid dynasty, naturally led to the immediate abolition of the Shi'ite faith of the descendants of 'Ali and the establishment of the orthodox Sunni profession, not only in the Azhar College but throughout Egypt (1171-1250). This was the more easy of accomplishment as the Egyptian Muslims were always Sunnites at heart, and had submitted to the faith of their Fatimid rulers only through compulsion or for the sake of peace. But, if the Fatimid form of faith vanished with their dynasty, they have left behind them monuments which show till the present day the greatness of their race. In addition to the Azhar mosque, the ancient city gates which are still open to the tourist date from the Fatimid period, as also does the mosque of Hakim, modelled on that of Ibn Tulun, situated between the Bab Naar and the Bab Futuh. But their best memorial is the city of Cairo itself.

Of the four schools of doctrine which are recognized as orthodox by the Sunnite Muslims, the one

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which first prevailed in Egypt was that of Malik Ibn Ansar († A.D. 804). It is still the accepted rite of the rest of N. Africa, but in Egypt itself it is preached by that of his friend and disciple, Abu 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 rooting out the Shi'ah doctrines and planting in their stead the orthodox faith, the Caliphs despoiled the Azhar of many of its privileges and endowments, and founded in its place a mosque and college round the tomb of the Imam Shafi'i (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 in favour with the great and benevolent, and it is from the Ayyubid 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 Hanifite school (called after Abu Hanifah, † A.D. 767) came into prominence, and spread under the Ottoman Turks (from 1327 on). Being the least strict of the four schools and also the most inclined to monarchy, it was naturally favoured by the government, whilst the Shafi'ite remained the popular school. As for the Hanbalis, the last of the four orthodox schools (founded by the fanatical Ibn Hanbal, † 855), it has never taken hold in Egypt, and its students in the Azhar have never been more than a handful at the most.

Miss Agnes the Azhar University, which may be considered the intellectual barometer of Egypt, 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 Bagdad 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 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 extra knowledge or obtain a diploma from some world-famous doctor; and the imams 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 Khalidun, 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 title of kadi of the Malik. From there he paid a visit to Timur Lenk at his camp in Syria, and finally died in Cairo in A.D. 1406.

But the Azhar may be considered as holding aloft the torch of learning in the whole world, both Muslim and Christian, up to the period of the Renaissance in Greece, it is not a century that after that epoch it became a stronghold of obscurantism. This is evident from the books which have continued to be studied there. The ancient poetry, which is the whole literature of pre-Islamic Arabia, was unheard of, and even the Astrology of the Harriri were neglected. A study was theological (including jurisprudence), grammatical. Even the original texts of the Qu'ran and the Traditions of Bukhâri were not submitted to critical investigation and super-commentaries upon 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 once the home of Christian monasticism, and this religious tendency of its people showed itself also after they had largely gone over to Islam. One of the earliest and most typical mystics of Egypt is called Dhâl-Nâm (the name of the prophet Jonah, never of the fish!), who flourished in the first half of the 9th. cent. A.D.; but perhaps the most famous is Ibn al-Fârîd, 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. Bâgîrî († A.D. 1279), the author of the famous 'Ode of the Mantle,' which is known all over the Muhammadian world and has been set to music and translated into many languages, was, as his name implies, of Egyptian origin.

Although Islam is theoretically a strictly monotheistic religion, and Mohammed is the prophet in which the worship of saints plays a larger part. The prayer-book of Jâzâlî, a native of Morocco who died in A.D. 1455, consisting of litanies in which the Arabian Prophet is a being certainly more than human, is used wherever his shrines are found, and not least in Egypt. The whole of N. Africa, and indeed the Muslim world generally, is honey-comb with secret societies or brotherhoods (Ha'khas), mostly religious in character. They form each an ecclesiastical college, half-way between Alexandria and Cairo. In Egypt there are four such orders named after four mystic or Sufi (see SUTRIS) saints of the highest rank called 'poles' (qub). The most famous of these is the Shaikh 'Abî al-Qâdir al-Jilânî († 1166), 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 some 60,000 inhabitants, on the railway line halfway between Alexandria and Cairo. A fair is held there annually on his saint's day, during which the population swells to half a million, drawn from all the neighbouring countries. It resembles a fair elsewhere, shows all kinds of merchandise, dominating over whatever religious motive ever existed. In Morocco the four recognized 'poles' differ from those acknowledged in Egypt, and one of them, Shâhîd, a native of the country († A.D. 1238), 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, rags and pieces of cloth are often tied to a neighbouring tree. These shrine 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 son. The saints' tombs, which are such a marked feature of the landscape in all Muhammadian countries, are the emblems of an ineradicable superstition, and it is said, in many cases the haunts of crime.

With the French expedition of 1798 a new era began in the history of Egypt, owing to the attempts of the Khedives to establish a European State. Muhammad 'Ali set the youth of the ruling classes to be educated in Paris, from which they too often returned imbued with the
VICES RATHER THAN THE VIRTUES OF EUROPE. ISMA'IL LAY DOWN RAILWAY AND TELEGRAPH LINES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. UNDER THE TAXUFI, SLAVERY LARGELY DISAPPEARED, AND POLYGAMY IS NOW BANNED IN LAW. FROM TAXUFI ALSO DATES THE LIBERTY OF THE EGYPTIAN NEWSPAPER PRESS, A LIBERTY WHICH HAS BEEN MOSTLY ABUSED. INDEED, THE NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS PRINTED IN CAIRO IS OUT OF ALL PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE. 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 ON THE WHOLE IMPORTANT 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 LINE AS IN THE 13TH CENTURY. TO MEET PRESENT-DAY NEEDS THE GORDON COLLEGE WAS FOUNDED AT KHUFRUM, AND ALSO A MODERN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO, BUT THE INSTITUTIONS STILL RELIGIOUSLY NO STUDENT OF THE AZHAR, WHO HAVE ALWAY BEEN MORE OR LESS INCLINED TO TAKE THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS, IN 1900 WENT OUT ON STRIKE, WITH THE RESULT THAT SOME CONCESSIONS WERE MADE TO THE PROGRESSIVE TENDENCIES IN EGYPT, BUT NEVER, CAN HARDLY BE CONSIDERED AS AN EXAMPLE OF MUHAMMADAN RULE, AS ALL THE IDEAS WERE EUROPEAN, ALTHOUGH THE INSTRUCTORS PUTTING THEM IN FORCE WERE MUSLIM.


C. MESOPOTAMIA.—IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 17TH CENT., A.D. THE PERSIANS HAD CONQUERED EGYPT AND SYRIA, AND THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE WAS, FOR THE MOMENT, ALMOST LIMITED BY THE WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE. BY A MIGHTY EFFORT, HOWEVER, HERODOTUS DROVE THE EMPIRE FROM HIS PROVINCES AND THE PERSIAN EMPIRE WAS IN ITS TURN COMPLETELY BROKEN. THIS WAS THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE ARABS. CHALDEES BECAME AN EASY PREY, AND IN HALF A DOZEN YEARS THE EMPIRE, WHICH UNDER ONE DYNASTY AND ANOTHER HAD WITHSTOOD THE MIGHT OF GREECE AND ROME FOR A MILLENNIUM, HAD CAVED TO THE PERSIA. THE SADDEN COLLAPSE OF PERSIA IS EXPLAINED BY ARAB WRITERS BY THE DECADENCE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY, THE EFFEMINACY OF THE PEOPLE, THE TURNOFF OF THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, AND THE CHAOTIC STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT. WHEN Brought FACE TO FACE WITH THE HARDY NATURE AND SIMPLE HABITS OF THE ARABS. BUT Equally important is the fact that the population of Chaldees was itself Arab. The Lakhmids, whose capital was at Hira, near the ancient Khis, and the present Najaf, were, like the Ghasanids on the other side of the Syrian desert, immigrants from Southern Arabia. Mesopotamia itself was peopled by the tribes of Taghibil, Iyya, and further to the west, Nimap, and at Damas, in the so-called the route leading from Medina to the Euphrates, was settled a branch of Kelb, the tribe which so influenced the Umayyads in Syria. All these tribes made a profession of Christianity; but how lightly their religion sat on them is clear from the nonbalance with which the tribe of Taghibil fell in with Omer's stipulation that they should not bring up their children in the Christian faith. Accordingly, when the Muslims met them with little opposition and with some assistance from these tribes, the ties of blood proved stronger than those of religion.

Thus Mesopotamia quickly became a Muhammadan country, and being largely people
Arabs of the tribe of Quraish, it rapidly assumed a leading place in the Muslim world, and remained for three centuries, even when the political capital was Damascus, the spiritual capital of Islam. It was generally divided into two provinces—Iraq, the southern half, its most northerly town being Takrit, and the northern portion, Jazira (the Peninsula). Much the more immediate source of irritation to the Prophet and his successors was the schism which divided the Arab nation into two hostile camps, one of them led by the Khawarij or Secelessers, 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 person of the Caliph against the fanatic and treacherous Rawandid, a sect of Khurassan (A.D. 762).

In the first half of the 9th century, three of the 'Abbasid Caliphs threw their lot with the Mu'tazilah, or party of freedom of thought, and instructed the orthodox Muslims to persecute and expel the adherents of the orthodox believers; and in the second half of the 9th century a seditious party broke out in the country to the north of the Persian Gulf and continued for fifteen years before it was suppressed. With the 10th century, the incursions of the terrible Cumaic wars began, who, though originating in Bahrain, quickly overspread and devastated Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt (see CUMASH). Meanwhile the Turkic slave-soldiers of the Caliphs had become so numerous in the 'Iraq 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 caliphate of a man of real authority was swept away by the Mongol invasion.

But, whilst Iraq was the principal seat of heresy and sedition, it became for that reason a stronghold of the Saracens. Its turbulently populated required the best brains and the strongest arm to keep them in check, and their very opaqueness 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 Medina, so some of the best, from the point of view of the Caliphs, were sent to Iraq. Such governors were, under the Umayyads, Ziyad, half-brother of the Caliph Mu'awiyah; the famous, if bloodthirsty, Hajjaj ibn Yufa, and Khalid ibn al Qari. 'Iraq, too, produced Hasan al Basri (729), a commentator on the Qur'an and caliph on a small scale, to whom the mysteries trace their origin; and Abu 'l-Hasan al Aahari, who at first a Mu'tazilah, enfeebled by reducing the faith to a system which was quickly undermined and, as orthodox and remains so at the present day.

The twin cities of Basra and Kufa were founded immediately after the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Prophet (A.D. 689). These cities 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 what may be called the university towns of Islam. They were hospitable to all races compared to Oxford and Cambridge, not only in their mutual rivalry, but also in the wide-spread authority which attached to their diets. Their scholars laid down the principles of Arabic grammar, and decided at least pronouncedly the growing reading of the text of the Qur'an, those of one city often taking the view opposed to that advocated by the other. Basra especially was the home of free-thinking. It was there that the Arab theologians published their treatises, and nowhere could the Assembly of Jairiz (722), with their airy use of expressions from the sacred volume, have been so fitly written. The Zanj and the Cumaic insurgents, which destroyed the cities, brought ruin to both towns; but, whilst Basra, under the enlightened open door policy of native rulers, rose again, and is likely to continue an important commercial city, Kufa never recovered.

One of the most curious facts in connection with the history of Islam in Mesopotamia is the continuance of idolatrous rites in the midst of the true Faith at the city of Harran. Originally the seat of the worship of the moon-god, and best known from its mention in the Biblical story of Abraham, this city, from the time of Alexander, became a centre of Greek civilization. Long after Mesopotamia had become a Muslim province, Babylonian magic and Greek wisdom, Syrian paganism and Hellenic rites, all combined into one system of religion, continued to flourish there. Muslim governors were either kept in ignorance of these practices or bribed to remain silent regarding them. It was only in the year 800 that the Caliph Mahdi, when on an expedition against the Byzantines he passed by Harran, was struck by their strange garb and long hair. Then for the first time their existence became known to the central government. They were known as the people of Islam—one of the tolerated sects or the sword. After some delay they declared that they were the Christians sect of the Sabians and that the Church was granted in the Qur'an. No doubt the Caliph was only too glad to let them be, 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 Tabbith Ibn Qurrah (790).

The 'Abbasid was essentially a Persian dynasty. The cause had its beginnings in Khurassan. One Caliph even wished to make the capital there. But the claims on government were too strong. Its turbulently populated required the best brains and the strongest arm to keep them in check, and their very opaqueness 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 Medina, so some of the best, from the point of view of the Caliphs, were sent to Iraq. Such governors were, under the Umayyads, Ziyad, half-brother of the Caliph Mu'awiyah; the famous, if bloodthirsty, Hajjaj ibn Yufa, and Khalid al Qari. 'Iraq, too, produced Hasan al Basri (729), a commentator on the Qur'an and caliph on a small scale, to whom the mysteries trace their origin; and Abu 'l-Hasan al Aahari, who at first a Mu'tazilah, enfeebled by reducing the faith to a system which was quickly undermined and, as orthodox and remains so at the present day.
MUHAMMADANISM (in Turkey)

1. Beginning. — The first appearance of Islam in Turkey appears to have been in the thirteenth century, and it was brought there by the Turco-Mongol conquerors who overthrew the Seljuq dynasty. The Seljuqs had been a strong and powerful dynasty, and the Turks, who had conquered them, sought to spread their religion among the conquered people. They established mosques and schools, and encouraged the study of the Qur'an and the Hadith. The Turks also adopted the Arabic language, and this became the language of communication among the Turks and the Muslims.

2. Development. — It is a fact that the Turks as a people have not played so important a part in the formation of the doctrine as in the development of the religion. The share which they have had in the later development of Islam cannot be determined, since the necessary scientific investigations have not been made. Nor has the protracted struggle which Summite orthodox has had to wage in Turkey with the Shi'ite faction and various sectarian movements been as yet examined in detail. On the other hand, the innovations introduced during the last century as a result of European influence have been in a measure explained and studied. While it is true that many of the proposed improvements were but imperfectly carried out, or were not carried out at all, they nevertheless form the most significant effort made in recent times to modernize Islam. At the outset they were ostensibly to be put in practice in the spirit of Islam, and in many cases, as a matter of fact, they ran counter to it.


T. H. WRAZ

MUHAMMADANISM (in Turkey). — Back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the history of the Turks in Turkey is not well known. The Turks had been in contact with the Persians for many centuries, and had absorbed many of their ideas and customs. The Turkish language was based on the Persian language, and the Turkish people had become accustomed to the Persian way of life. The Turks had also adopted the Persian alphabet, which became the basis of the Turkish alphabet. The Turks had also adopted the Persian way of clothing, and the Turkish people had become accustomed to the Persian way of life. The Turks had also adopted the Persian way of thinking, and the Turkish people had become accustomed to the Persian way of life.

1. These laws were published in the Dastuff (Constantinople, 1858 [i.e., A.D. 1258]).

2. The number of laws in the Code of Justinian is given as 500 in the Textus. The number of laws in the Code of Justinian is given as 500 in the Textus. Since 1860 there have been the Code of Justinian in the Code of Justinian, and the Code of Justinian in the Code of Justinian.


MUHAMMADANISM (in Turkey)

ing influence of Russia. The Turkish administration was not blind to the difficulty of the undertaking, and to some extent evaded it in a very adroit fashion.

The various points were settled as follows:

1. In order to permit Christians to take oaths as witnesses—a privilege denied to them by the shari'ah—an entirely new jurisprudence, upon which the experts had been at work for a number of years, was established. In addition to the jurisdiction of the shari'ah, which thereby retained its competence only in matters pertaining to the personal status of Muslims—such as e.g. affairs relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc.—the civil laws of the European models were introduced, organized on European models. At these courts, instead of the sworn evidence permitted by the shari'ah, documents and evidence were received as valid, so that it was now possible for a Christian to give his testimony even against a Muslim.

The abolition of capital punishment for defection from the Muslim faith was conceded in the following terms: 'As every religion and sect in my empire may preserve its form of worship with complete freedom, no one shall be obstructed or molested in practicing the worship of the religion to which he belongs, and no one shall be compelled to change his religion or sect.' (Text, § 8.

The abolition of ḥadd (police-tax) and the introduction of the military service for non-Muslims were effected in name, but commutation (ḥadd-i-ṭukhab) was still to be allowed (cf. the law of 1860, art. 27). In reality, therefore, the state of affairs remained as it was, the only modification being that the term ḥadd was replaced by the expression ḥadd-i-ṭukhab. It was not till the Revolution of 1908 that military service was actually imposed upon all Turks, and this was done in violation of the religious profession—a measure certainly not conducive to the national welfare. The military service was imposed at variance with the criminal law of the shari'ah. It was framed by the simple process of taking over the French code penal in 1856, although as late as 1866 M. Hatt-i-ṭukhab had promised that such a code would be drawn up, and this had in some measure been attempted. The new penal law was at length modernized by the supplementary decree of 4th April 1874. The later code, however, did not supersede the penal ordinances of the ancient shari'ah, as the new code, by increasing the two sets of laws remains in operation side by side, and citations can be tried by either (cf. E. Nord, Däische Strafbüchstossbuch, Berlin, 1912, and A. Halin, Proces public et administration, Femmes ottomans, l. Vienna, 1909, p. 584). Of the other reforms, reference need here be made only to the enactments relating to the slave-trade. An act of 1st Oct. 1854 forbade the buying and selling of Georgian slaves. Various ministerial ordinances, dating from the years 1848, 1867, 1871, 1879, and 1886, prohibited all commerce in slaves whatsoever; since 1862 the trade has been regarded as smuggling. From 1800 Turkey has taken part in the International Conferences for the suppression of the slave-trade in Africa at Brussels.

While it is true that many of these reforms were imperfectly carried out, or not carried out at all, yet their importance should not be underestimated. In not a few cases they made a breach in the fabric of the shari'ah alike in theory and in practice. The assimilation of the new laws would serve to bring Islam into line with modern ideas; but to what extent this may be effected without great religious wars, and how far the Muslim theology is able and willing to deal with the fresh problems involved, the future alone can show.

Ibnṭevi 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 begun to show support among the theologians, but no attempt has been made yet to produce works of importance in the field of scientific theology. The views of this liberal tendency—very much the same as it is the tendency to express in the Siyāṣa-i-Muṭtahif, a periodical founded immediately after the Revolution, and from no. 183 (5th March 1912) continued under the name of Siyāṣi-i-Bekahf (cf. L. Bouvry, in Revue des M. Hartmann, Untersuchungen aus der Türkei, Leipzig, 1910, p. 137).

3. Religious organization. Apart from the traditional group just referred to, the religious ranks of Islam in Turkey have no likings for innovation. The name by which the entire class, as well as the individual member of it, is known is 'ālim (the plural of 'ulāmā, learned). The long-established organization as still existing with but little change in its main features, was founded in the reign of Sultan Muhammad II., the Conqueror (1451-81) (cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung, pt. ii. Vienna, 1819, p. 372 ff.; W. Gibb, A Hist. of Ottoman Poetry, London, 1900-09, ii. 394; C. d'Ohsson, Tableau général de l'empire ottoman, i. 2. Paris, 1791, p. 482 ff.). At its head stands the Shaikh-al-Islam, whose office, as now constituted, was created by Sultan Sulaiman I. the Magnificent (1520-66), though the title had been conferred by Muhammad I., the Conqueror, upon the mufti of Constantinople. In consequence of the reforms, and especially the creation of the Şafii-kim-i-nizamiyya (see above), his authority has suffered a considerable decline; he now controls only the religious schools and the shari'ah. The board which over him presides is called Şâbi-i-maşali-kâtibi-i-talabî, Şâbi-i-fatih-i-paraâr, or, popularly, Şâ-talabîn, and consists of the following departments:

a) Administrative boards: (1) Maşali-i-tâbii-i-talabî-i-tarikh-i, the commission for the selection of spiritual judges; (2) Maşali-i-tâdibusnâ, the commission for the examination for the maâdî-muâdî; (3) Maşali-i-tâbii-i-sûrâl, the commission for the affairs of schools; (4) Maşali-i-tâbii-i-madrasâ, the commission for the affairs of the derwîsh orders; (5) Maşali-i-tâbii-i-sûrâl, commission for examining madrasâ students with a view to their exemption from military service; (6) Maşali-i-tâbii-i-sûrâl, commission for distributing endowments of the religious officials; (7) Board for the administration of the property of Şâ-baybâ (8)board of judges; (9) Şâbâ-i-tâbii-i-talabî-i-tâbilâh, the court of the legal decisions of the shari'ah, commission for the removal of the decisions of the shari'ah; (9) Fatârâlahân, office for the legal decisions of the shaikhs (cf. Heldborn, i. 293 ff.).

While the standing of the Shaikh-al-Islam, as of the 'âlamân generally, is now great inferior to what it once was, yet it is one of the great masses of the people is still very considerable, and to this day they form a power which cannot be safety be ignored by the politicians.

4. The derwîsh orders. Perhaps an even greater influence among the people is enjoyed by the derwîsh orders. From the foundation of the Ottoman empire they have played a great role in Asia Minor, as they did to some extent even before. As a matter of fact, the gradual Moslemization of the Christian elements is very much the work of the derwîsh order; in their indifference towards the existing forms of religion, views of the most diverse character could find a refuge in their midst. Their ideas have come in contact with the ideas assimilated to those of the official and national religious organization. The order of the highest rank at the present day is the Mawlawi, so called from the nass of its founder, Mawlawi Jalâl al-Dîn Rumi (q.v.), and known in the west as the 'dancing dervîshes.' The next in general regard are the Râfî, so-called 'howling dervîshes.' Certain orders which at one time occupied a powerful position, e.g., the Naqshiband, the Haidari, the Qâdiri, etc., have now sunk to a lower level. Others, again, have been of late gradually growing in prestige—e.g., the Malâmî (cf. Hartmann, Index).

The Baqâsh, an order which at one time, owing to its close connection with the Janizaries, held a position of special prominence, sank into the background after the suppression of that force by Sultan Mahmud in 1828, 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 strength. By reason of its heterogeneous 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, Entwürfe zur Kenntnis des
MUHYI AL-DIN IBN AL-ARABI

MUHYI AL-DIN IBN AL-ARABI.—Muhyi al-din ibn al-'Arabi, the celebrated Muhammadian mystic, who is generally known by the name of Ibn al-'Arabi or Ibn 'Arabi, was born atMurcia in Spain in 1165. Much of his youth was spent in Seville, where he devoted himself to literary, theological, and mystical studies. After visiting Granada and other Spanish towns, as well as Tunis, Fez, and Morocco, he set out in 1201 for the East by way of Egypt, whence he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He did not return to Spain until 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 disciples and spreading his doctrines in conversation with high and low, while, as he believed, he was assisting in the recovery of the Crusades, he called for repressive measures against the Christian population and encouraged his fellow-Muhammadans to persevere in their faith. He died at Damascenus a. D. 1240.

Whether we regard his religious and philosophical writings or their influence on the subsequent development of Islamic mysticism, Ibn al-'Arabi can justly claim the supreme position among Shi'i authors who posternly the commentaries on the Qur'an, which is attributed 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 220 titles (Beuckelmann, Gnom., der arab. Literatur, i. 442), and some of them are of enormous length. The most famous and important is the Futuhat al-Makkiya (4 vols., Bulaq, 1876, comprising about 3,500 pages). In this, as in many of his works, the nature and significance of the divine revelations imparted 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. Fleischer, Orientalische mater. bibliotheca senator. Lipsiensis, Griimm, 1838, pp. 490-495).

Another book, of smaller compass but equally celebrated, is the Fuqah al-Hikam, in which the author discusses the nature and significances of various holy revelations imparted to twenty-seven prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammad. Besides the Futuhat and the Fuqah, 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 Sufi traditions and technical terms, which has been edited by G. Fluegel, (Leipzig, 1844), and a short treatise on mystical psychology (Arab. text with Span. tr. by A.I. Palmez, in Actes du xiv Congrès international des orientalistes, iii. 151 f.). He also produced several volumes of mystical poems, one of which, the Tarjumah al-ulumyy (ed. with Eng. tr. by the present writer, London, 1911), is an important work in the history of the poetry of the poets and the mystics. His poetic style in which there are written, was evidently the desire of the age and the aim of the poet, and in order to refine his writings Ibn al-'Arabi published a second edition accompanied by a commentary on 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 uninstructed. The question of his orthodoxy was keenly disputed, and if, many Muslims saw in him a dangerous heretic, others had no doubt that he was a great saint; but even his adversaries recognized that the outward sense of his writings was frequently ambiguous, and that the study of them should be permitted only to mystics of ripe experience. At first sight, it seems hard to reconcile Ibn al-'Arabi's extreme conservatism in this sphere of religious law with his remarkably bold and fantastic speculations in the domain of theology. He belonged to the Zahirite school, which rejects opinion, analogy, and authority, and stands on the external (zahir) literal meaning of the Qur'an and the traditions. But, while his attitude in regard to legal and ritual practice was that of the literalist (zahiri), who looks only at the outward form, in all matters of doctrine he was pre-eminently the mystic (bāāti), who sees his gaze on the inward spirit and seeks to
discover the reality of which the words and letters are a symbol. As I. Goldziher has shown (Die Zähriten, Leipzig, 1884, p. 170 f.), the two points of view are not mutually exclusive. The Zährits practice a form of mystical pantheism, whereas the Khawâbi claim to have discovered in it an essentialism of the opposite kind. In the case of the latter, this sect, the core of the sect, is the doctrine of the Essential Unity of God, and the method of logical demonstration as opposed to intuitive knowledge.

Ibn al-'Arabi, like other Sufis before and after him, endeavours to combine the Ash'arite theology with philosophical ideas which, in his case, are mainly derived from Plato and the Neo-Platonic school. Thus he has to deal with two different conceptions of God: (1) the Allâh of the Qur'an, endowed with attributes that are superimposed on His essence, and (2) the One Being which is devoid of every attribute, quality, and relation, and which is all that exists. His God retains the attributes of Allah, but these are reduced to mere relations, having no real existence; hence, although they are connected with the essence of God, they do not affect the essential unity of God, in whom all contraries are identified. In his attempt to explain how plurality can proceed from the Simple One, Ibn al-'Arabi accepts Plato's allegory of the cave, and his favourite illustration being the diffusion of light. The intelligible world is constituted by a series of seven realities: (1) God, the One Essence; (2) the First Intelligence or Universal Reason, which comprises every species of divine knowledge and, in Arabic language, is the Pen that inscribes on the Tablet of Universal Soul the divine ideas whereof created things are a copy; (3) Universal Soul; (4) Universal Nature; (5) Universal Matter; (6) Universal Figure. The entire phenomenal universe is the manifestation of those realities, which, before their manifestation, exist potenti ally—or, as Ibn al-'Arabi says, are non-existent—in the luminous darkness that hides eternally the essence of the Godhead. Manifestation involves relativity, and the relation of the universe to God is that of the determined to the Absolute, of the shadow to the sun. All existence is in sympathy with the essence of God (al-Insân al-kâmil). Form answers to the Aristotelian definition of matter; i.e., it is essentially potential and imperfect. Spirit, on the other hand, is what Aristotle calls 'form,' the principle that perfects the forms produced by Universal Nature, which take their place in the order of existence according to their capacity for receiving and manifesting the life of the Universal Spirit that animates the whole. Of these forms the highest is man, who, in virtue of the microcosmic function assigned to him by his Creator, unites and displays all the divine names and attributes, so that he is the mirror in which God beholds and reveals Himself as He really is. This description refers only to the supreme type of humanity, 'the perfect man' (al-insân al-kâmil), whom Ibn al-'Arabi says, are nonexistent—men—propagists, saints, and theosophists—that possess a unique knowledge of God (Fāqîh al-Hikmâ, ch. i. of El, art. 'al-Insân al-Kâmil'). Knowledge is a process of reminiscence. In the great purifying of the soul (al-nâdîqah), which must be distinguished from the vital or animal soul (al-rûh al-bâyâni). While the former has only an accidental 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 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-Insân) and 'creatures' (khâliq) are logically included in one another as moments of one Absolute Being, not indeed of equal worth—since al-Insân is eternal, while khâliq is contingent (i.e., eternal in the knowledge of God, and originated in respect of its manifestation)—but interchangeably subjects of predication (cf. L. Massingham, Kitâb al-fawâdan, Paris, 1912, p. 130 ff.). Ibn al-'Arabi delights in the paradoxes which this line of thought suggests to him—e.g.,

*He praises me and I praise Him. And He worships me and I worship Him. In one state I acknowledge Him, but in the objects of sense I deny Him. He knows me and I know Him not, and I know Him and behold Him. How can He be included in me? When I help and aid Him? For that cause God brought me into existence. Therefore I know Him and bring Him into existence. (Fâqîh, Cairo, 1352 A.H., ch. v. p. 79.)*

Although the core of the same sentiments appear in some passages of his writings, he makes a distinction between the divine and human natures, and his pantheism does not lead to the doctrine of incarnation (khâtâb) or identification (ittâbîd). The man can never say with the Law (Anâ' al-Insân), because, owing to 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' (hâqîq), not 'the Truth' (al-Hâqîq), who is the One Being of the whole universe of created things (cf. Massignon, p. 183 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 Sufistic speculation, 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 ecstasy and the seven degrees of 'passing-away' [fanâ] we refer the reader to the works of his pupils). Ibn al-'Arabi, however, preserved a few of the most characteristic features, which he enumerated in a treatise entitled 'La Falsafika según Mohamín Almemrah,' in Actes du xve Congrès international des orientalistes, iii. 125 ff.). Among the twenty-four heretical doctrines attributed to him by Allâl Qârî (Bâshîbî ft wahdat al-wujûd, Constanti nope, 1294 A.H.) the following are noteworthy:

(a) That man stands to God in the same relation as the pupil to the eye, which is the instrument of vision, to the eye; i.e., man is the means whereby God beholds His creation and knows Himself; and that we (mankind) are ourselves the attributes with which we can endow nothing, being only the attribute of necessary and essential being—so that when we contemplate Him, we contemplate ourselves, and when He contemplates us, He contemplates Himself (Fâqîh, ch. ii.). Elsewhere Ibn al-'Arabi says: 'Weal soul is a paradigm that sustains the being of God, and He is our food.'—a further instance of the way in which he turns the principle of logical correlation to pantheistic uses.

(b) That God is the sole source (al-sin) of the things that He brings into existence, and which He indicates in the 'self' or essence of things in manifestation, though He is not the 'self' of things in their essences. Therefore Ibn al-'Arabi holds that the true mystic, combining the doctrines of tâbidh and tasâhid, worships God both
as absolutely transcendent and as externalized in nature (Pêoûa, ch. xii.).

c. Their faith and 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 sycophy forms some notion of God, and in praise of the god which he has in his heart, while at the same time he blames the gods of other sects and individuals. It would be more wise and just if he perceived God in every form and in every belief, according to the verse (Qur'an, xlix. 100, 101). There is the face, i.e. the reality, of Allah (Pêoûa, chs. x. and xxvii.; cf. Tairûmân al-
ashâwî, Preface, p. vii.

d. That, even if the infidels shall remain in hell for ever, their tortures will ultimately be transmuted into such pleasure as is enjoyed by the blessed in paradise. 'Abd al-Karîm al-Jihál develops this theory in his Ismân al-Kômî (see the present writer's article, 'A Modern Philosophy of Religion,' in Jubiläumsblätter der Darmstädter Gesellschaft, 3rd ser. i. 1 [1916] 85 f.; cf. E. E.) Evidently there is no room in Ibn al-'Ârâbî's system for the Muslimian schemes of rewards and punishments. The fullness of the divine wisdom as manifested in the creation requires that the spiritual capacities of human souls shall be infinitely various, and salvation and perdition are the effects that correspond with the capacity eternally implicit in God's knowledge of every human soul before its individualization in the material world. Ibn al-'Ârâbî proceeds to argue that, 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 the soul (Pêoûa, 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 illumination (jâhîli) in the form of pleasure or pain, as felt by God Himself.

e. That the saints are superior to the prophets. Ibn al-'Ârâbî does not state the doctrine in this absolute way. The prophet, 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 abide in Him. Saintship is the inward, mystical,顷迈 element in prophecy. Hence the prophet qua saint ranks above the prophet qua religious legislator or preacher of divine truth (Pêoûa, ch. xiv.). According to 'Ali al-Qârî, Ibn al-
'Ârâbî was the one who claimed to be the Seal of the Saints (Khâtâm al-ulfîyâ), as Muhammad is the Seal of the Prophets.

LITERATURE.—The best general survey of Ibn al-'Ârâbî's thought is contained in two papers by Amin Pâshâ."La Psicología según Mohâmîd Abû-Árambî," in Actes du xviè Congress internat. des orientalistes, Algiers, 1906, iii. 79–150, and "Mohâmîd's "Itikâf al-Mahmûdî."" in Homage à M. Mârîâsî Yело, Madrid, 1913, i. 217–256. The latter volume (pp. 191–219) includes an essay by J. R. R. Tolkien. "Les enquingments de la philosophie de Nâmûdî Lâlî,\ which gives much information concerning the life of Ibn al-

MUJURAT.—See MOEKA.

MULUT.—Mulut is a title of varied usage, given to officials of different ranks, but invariable to those who have reached some degree of education in a madrasah, or higher mosque school, and hold certificates testifying thereto; it is also a generic term applied to such officials as a class.

Mullut is a proper and fundamental of the Turkish manuals, the Arab manuals (e.g. "lord," "master," "patron"; also "slave,

"official." Any one standing in any sort of fixed relationship to another; it is used commonly among the Muhammadans of Turkey, Persia, Russia, India, and their dependencies. In India, however, the term mujurrut or mulut is also used in reference to the muluts of the lower grades, below the rank of muhaddith (plural: muhaddiths). The term originally meant "with" or "near," and is applied to the most eminent muhaddith, and also to eminent Sufis. In Turkish a distinction is further made by attaching instead of prefixing mulut to the name of a judge of a higher court. In Arabic-speaking countries mulut as a generic term is not frequently used; in the latter case, "friend," "ally," "comrade," "follower," "disciple," "student," "professor," etc., are references to the chief judges of the Muhammadan religious courts of the land. The title of Mulut, a title of older usage in Muhammadanism, has persisted, esp. in application to a religious teacher of authority. The term "Mal Muluts" has come to designate legal and religious leaders in India and the Sudan who, having proclaimed themselves Muluts (cf. q.), have led revolts against the established government.

The characteristics of the muluts as a class are determined largely by the education which they receive. The ranks are recruited normally from the lower, less often from the middle, classes. Between the ages of eleven and fifteen, having passed through the maktah (elementary school), students are admitted as sâqfus (undergraduates) to the madrasah (higher mosque school). The curriculum offers training mainly in dialectics, theology, and the canon law based on the Qur'an and traditions (hadith); it is that of a theological seminary of the orthodox type. The Oriental languages are also taught, and in previous centuries there were Muluts who became proficient in the science of belles-lettres; but in more recent times the graduates have been only lawyer-theologians. The complete curriculum requires at least fifteen years, in practice generally eighteen, years for fulfillment; but very few students succeed in completing the course and passing the various examinations which entitle them to a place in the higher ranks of the 'ulamâ and to appointment to the higher judicial and university positions. Owing to the Oriental veneration for scholars, as well as to certain privileges which they 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 uniffited for the full curriculum. Accordingly, the majority leave the madrasah after from one to five years of study, during which any tendency to independence in thought and investigation has been discouraged and a blind devotion to traditional Muhammadanism has been made the fixed principle of life. At the end of each year's work or the completion of each lessor's course, the student receives a certificate testifying to his fitness to hold some position demanding that amount of learning. Leaving the madrasah, he is now in the muluts class, and receives the support of that class in the appointment 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 muluts 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 muluts as provincial mosque preacher who is regarded as the head of the class. Only in office, the mulut is sure of a position for life, though he may be transferred from one school or mosque to another.

Without any fixed organization, the muluts nevertheless form almost a caste; they are distinguished by the large turban and the flowing robe, though neither is prescribed. In influence over the masses and in devotion to formal religion, the muluts class has often been likened to the byzantine, a call to arson which falls in irrelativity only so far as the muluts 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 mullah considers himself in a position above that of the other Oriental clergy—whose 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 mullahs 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 fanaticism. 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 mullahs 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 mullah, like mosques and shrines in all Muhammadan lands, is an inviolable place of refuge; and Persian mullahs have often been charged with harbouung outlaws, whose services they have then used in furthering their own designs. The power of the mullahs 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 mullah 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 mullahs, 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 mullahs everywhere, especially those who fill the office of minor judge, are not above reproach; inasmuch 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 mullahs, the history of Muhammadanism contains the names of many mullahs conspicuous for nobility of character and devotion to absolute justice, who have risked their lives to rebuke 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 ulamas have been sent from Turkey to receive part of their education in Europe; in India the ulama have sometimes warmly advocated the innovations of the English; and everywhere in the larger cities subjected to European influence the traditional type of mullah 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.


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